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EAST AND WEST

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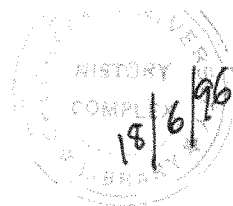
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EAST AND WEST

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Vol. 44 - No. 1 (March 1994)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	— <i>Archives of Asian Art</i>
AAH	— <i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ACASA	— <i>Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America</i>
ActaO	— <i>Acta Orientalia</i> , Copenhagen
ActaOH	— <i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ADMG	— <i>Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
AION	— <i>Annali dell'Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli</i>
AJA	— <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	— <i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
ArOr	— <i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
ASLAR	— <i>Annual Reports (Archaeological Survey of India)</i>
BEFEO	— <i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BMC	— <i>Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum</i>
BMFEA	— <i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
BMMA	— <i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BSO(A)S	— <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>
CAH	— <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CAJ	— <i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
CHC	— <i>Cambridge History of China</i>
CHInd	— <i>Cambridge History of India</i>
CHIr	— <i>Cambridge History of Iran</i>
CIIInd	— <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
CIr	— <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i>
CIS	— <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
CRAI	— <i>Comptes rendus des séances (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres)</i>
EW	— <i>East and West</i>
HJAS	— <i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HR	— <i>History of Religions</i>
IJ	— <i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IsmeoRepMem	— <i>Reports and Memoirs (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia)</i>
JA	— <i>Journal Asiatique</i>

JAH	— <i>Journal of Asian History</i>
JAOS	— <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JAS	— <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
JASB	— <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JESHO	— <i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JGJRI	— <i>Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute</i>
JLABS	— <i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
JISOA	— <i>Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art</i>
JNES	— <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	— <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
JUPHS	— <i>Journal of the Uttar Pradesh (formerly: United Provinces) Historical Society</i>
KSLA	— <i>Kratkie soobščeniia Instituta Arheologii</i>
MASI	— <i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
MCB	— <i>Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques</i>
MDAFA	— <i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i>
MIA	— <i>Materialy i issledovanija po Arheologii SSSR</i>
MTB	— <i>Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko</i>
NTS	— <i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
OLZ	— <i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
PSAS	— <i>Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies</i>
REI	— <i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RHR	— <i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
RSO	— <i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
SA	— <i>Sovetskaja Arheologija</i>
SOR	— <i>Serie Orientale Roma</i> (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)
TOCS	— <i>Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society</i>
TP	— <i>T'oung Pao</i>
TPS	— <i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
VDI	— <i>Vestnik drevnej istorii</i>
WZKM	— <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
WZKS	— <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sudasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie</i>
ZAS	— <i>Zentralasiatische Studien</i>
ZDMG	— <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

FOREWORD

This number of East and West is devoted entirely to the results of the joint mission of the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde of the University of Vienna and the IsMEO, which took place in Himachal Pradesh during the months of August and September 1991. As president of the IsMEO, I should like to stress the significance of this expedition, which set out to travel over the same itinerary that Professor Tucci had followed sixty years earlier, an exploit which left its mark on a great deal of later research. The fact that the results of this new expedition are appearing in 1994, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of that intrepid and ingenious scholar who was Master to so many of us, is also particularly significant to the institute that was his brain-child, conceived in those very years of his Himalayan expeditions. East and West, 44, 1 is therefore not just a minor aspect of the IsMEO's efforts to commemorate its most enlightened and farsighted leader.

The 1991 expedition took place as part of an agreement that was signed by our institute and our Viennese colleagues on 13th December 1990. This agreement expressed the hope that our common commitment would help to further study and research in the field of Tibetological and Buddhist studies, in the form of joint projects referring mainly to southern Asia, with particular emphasis being placed on history, art history, the history of religions and philology. The supervising committee in charge of this programme was composed of Professor E. Steinkellner and Dr D. Klimburg-Salter on behalf of the University of Vienna — two scholars whom the IsMEO is pleased to count amongst its Corresponding Members — and Professors L. Petech and Maurizio Taddei on behalf of the IsMEO. It was also part of the agreement that the IsMEO would publish the results of the joint project in its series and in East and West.

In these first few years the agreement between the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde and IsMEO has made it possible for a group of scholars appointed by the two institutions to complete its mission. The group which was led in the field by Professor Steinkellner, with the assistance of Dr Klimburg-Salter, was composed of Dr E. De Rossi Filibeck, of Dr Jampa Losang Panglung, of Mr C. Luczanits, of Dr O. Nalesini, of Dr F. Noci, of Mrs P. Smith and of Dr H. Tauscher.

All of the above persons have made excellent contributions to the present issue. The group was subsequently enlarged in January 1993 with the cooption of Drs Chr. Cüppers, E. Lo Bue, P. Harrison, G. Orofino, Chr. Scherrer-Schaub, Lobsang Shastri.

The IsMEO extends its grateful thanks to Professor Steinkellner for the sense of commitment he put into the fulfilment of the undertaking.

Thanks are also due to Dr Klimburg-Salter, whose contribution also included the reorganization of the Tucci Himalayan Archives, together with Dr O. Nalesini. The IsMEO is also grateful to all the members of the Austro-Italian mission and takes pleasure in publishing the results of the expedition, mindful of the fact that it is not only an important contribution to the increasing of our knowledge but it is also an effective and concrete way of continuing the work of Giuseppe Tucci.

Last of all, I should like to express my special thanks to Professor Taddei and to Drs B. Melasecchi and F. Noci for the editing of the present issue.

GHERARDO GNOLI

Tucci Himalayan Archives Report, 2 The 1991 Expedition to Himachal Pradesh

by DEBORAH KLIMBURG-SALTER

'For my part, I am quite ready to scale mountains when I find them in my path; [...] But the aim of my expeditions has been quite different; that of revealing and preserving, at least insofar as the record of photography may preserve, the remnants of the civilizations which have succeeded one another in the Himalayan area, and of reconstructing the complex events of the peoples who form a bridge between the Indian sub-continent and Central Asia' (Tucci 1962: 8).

This overtly simple manifesto guided Tucci's work from the time he first arrived in India in 1925 until his death in 1984, and has continued to be the goal of the Tucci Himalayan Archive Project. This has involved both the archival problems of identifying, classifying, storing and conserving (see Klimburg-Salter 1985; 1988; 1990; Nalesini in this issue), as well as following Tucci's footsteps in search of the archaeological and epigraphic documents which would help to explain the civilizations whose remains were, in part, documented in his extensive (c. 16,000 photos) archive. 'Temples, ruins, inscriptions and chronicles came suddenly upon me as if for centuries they had been awaiting the propitious moment [...]' (Tucci 1962: 4).

Our work began with the published expeditions. Having completed the identification of the photos from the Western Himalayan travels — 1933 and '35 (Fig. 1) we were able to attempt to identify the photographic documents of the expeditions undertaken between 1928 and 1931 when Tucci taught in India.

THE TUCCI EXPEDITION 1931

In addition to visiting historical centers throughout India from Rawalpindi (today Pakistan) to Assam, Tucci collected Tibetan texts and artifacts during voyages to Ladakh and adjacent areas in '28, '29 and '30.

In 1931 Tucci returned to Italy for three months during which time he presented a lecture concerning these discoveries to the Royal Academy, in March 1931, and arranged for the publication of earlier and projected expeditions, in a series to be entitled *Indo-Tibetica*. He also continued his efforts to interest the Italian Government and



Fig. 1 - Tucci and Gherzi in 1933, Spiti valley (E. Gherzi). Courtesy of Gen. Gherzi.

people in academic and cultural exchange with India ⁽¹⁾. Tucci also pursued the time consuming practical preparations for an extended expedition across high mountains and restricted borders in the Himalayas.

He reached Bombay on 1st July and proceeded directly to Simla (the summer capital of the British Raj) in order to obtain the necessary passports for his journey, then to Kashmir for provisioning and hiring Kashmiri attendants. Despite a particularly violent monsoon which had converted the 'prosperous valley of Srinagar into an immense lake' (1933: 246) he reached the Zoji-la (pass) by the 12th of July.

The 1931 journey was meant to complement the expedition of 1930 (Tucci 1935: 251) and Tucci's original intention was to travel to Gartok which was not realized. We know from Tucci's publications that his route took him from Ladakh, Rupshu, Lahul, Manali, Saraj, Tiak and return via the Sutlej to Simla (Tucci 1933: 247). However, he did not explain his exact route through Lahul to Kinnaur and Tiak. This year, as a result of our own travels in Lahul and Kinnaur (albeit only as far east as Dabling in the Sutlej valley; see Gherzi's map 10 in Klimburg-Salter 1990) we were able to establish his route via Keylong, etc. (see map drawn by O. Nalesini, Fig. 2).

⁽¹⁾ For these lifelong efforts as well as his distinguished scholarship he received the Nehru Prize in 1976.

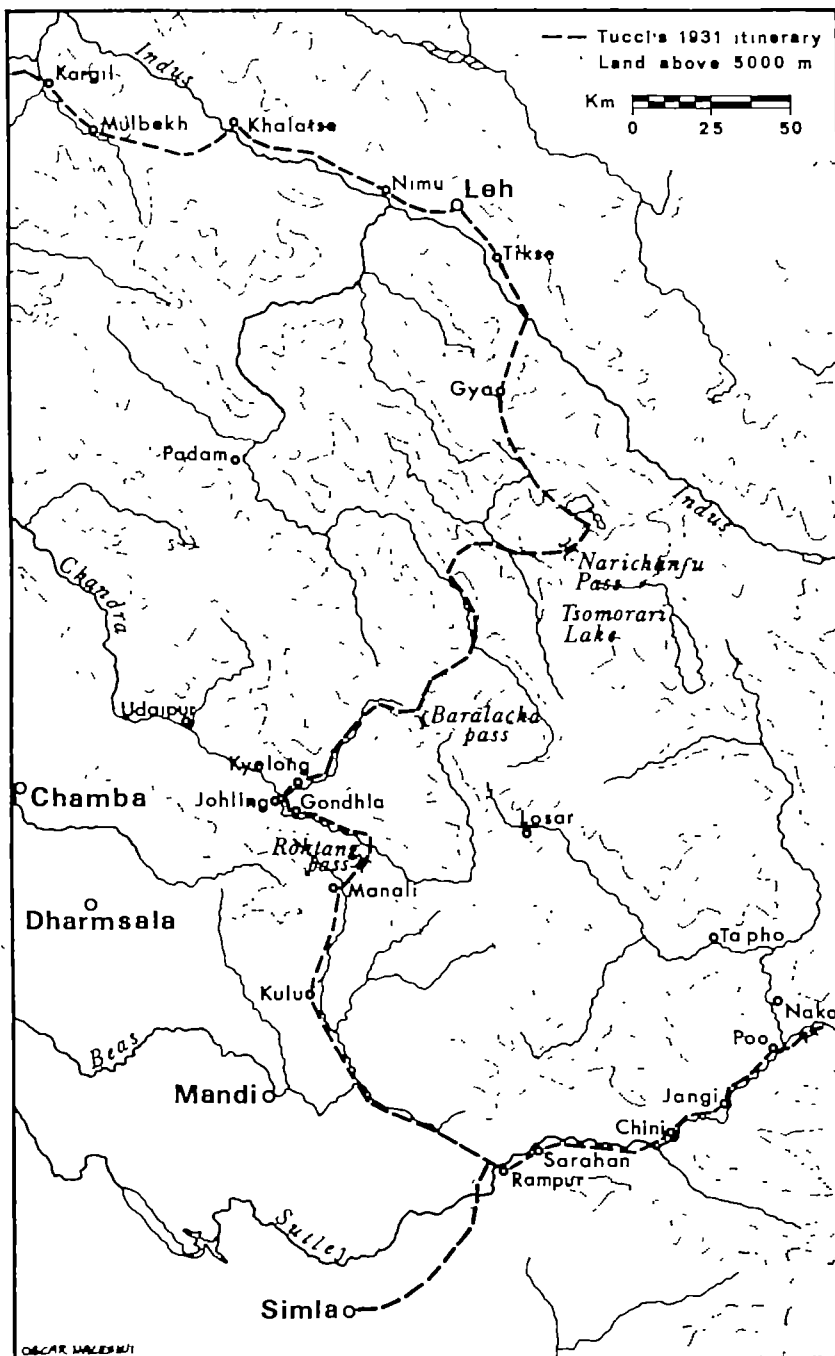


Fig. 2 - A proposed reconstruction of Tucci's 1931 itinerary (O. Nalesini)

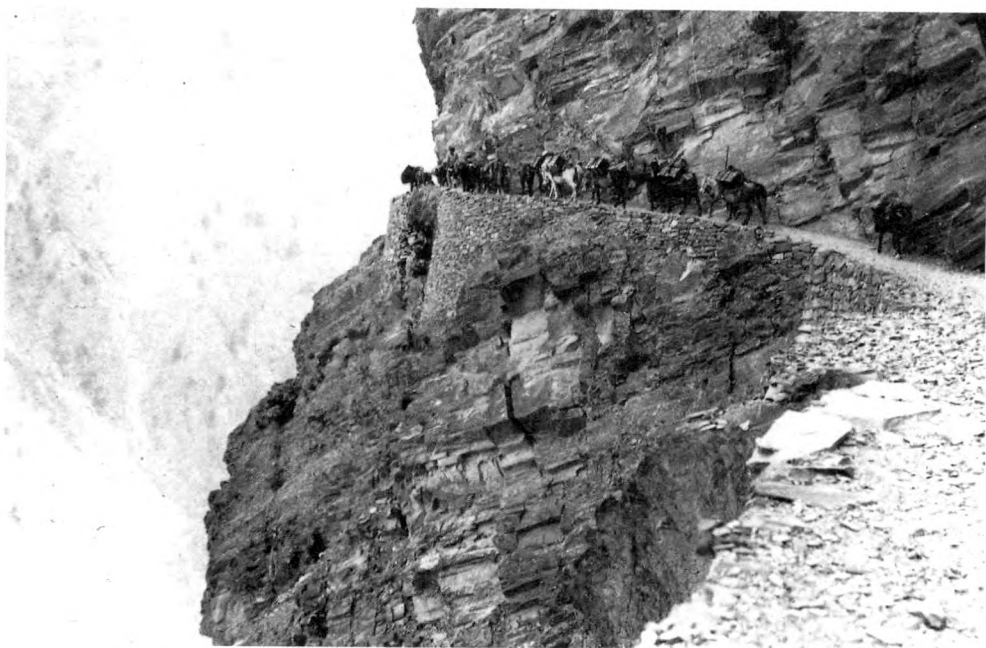


Fig. 3 - Tucci expedition 1931, Kinnaur (IsMEO, Tucci Archives, Neg. Dep. 6474).

Possibly the restrictions placed by the English authorities caused Tucci to be vague about his itinerary. However, from a few indications in various publications and the photographs in the Archives we may propose: Srinagar, Zoji La, Ladakh, Rupshu Gya, Narachanfiale, Lanchi lung lang, Muldem, Kinlung, Zing zing bar, Dareha, Kyelong, Gondhla, Sissu, Manali, Sultanpur (= Kulu), Rampur, Sarahan, Chini, Dablung, Shipki, Tiak, and return via the Sutlej valley to Simla. The manuscripts and *tsha tsha* he collected on this and the 1930 journey were published in *Indo-Tibetica*, Vols. I and II (Tucci: 1932; 1933). The stark beauty of the landscape unencumbered by asphalt roads and the difficulties of the narrow Hindustan-Tibet route at the Dablung gorge and in Kinnaur (Figs. 3-4) is impressive even in Tucci's small snapshots. On Oct. 21st Tucci reached Tiak. And because of the threatened onset of winter and the danger of blocked passes he decided to return, following the Sutlej (as he did again in 1933) through Kinnaur, then the Bashahr state, reaching Simla on Oct. 29.

In attempting to follow Tucci's footsteps exactly 60 years later we were not able to match his impressive speed and efficiency in organizing our departure. Despite all the so-called progress in transportation and communication the same process, particularly obtaining the necessary permissions, took considerably longer. Although we should note that in 1931 Tucci was not allowed by the English authorities to travel the more direct route from Ladakh to Gartok, as described by his Italian compatriot, Desideri, some two centuries earlier. Nor did he in 1931 (Tucci 1933: 246) travel through the Spiti valley. Our expedition however, thanks once again to the Indian



Fig. 4 - Tucci expedition 1933, in the vicinity of the site of Fig. 3 (IsMEO, Tucci Archives, Neg. Dep. 6077/7).

Government and to the kind efforts of H.E. Ambassador Dr Christoph Cornaro and his staff ⁽²⁾, was able to obtain two two-week permissions for Spiti. Our most sincere thanks go also to Mr M.C. Joshi, Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India with whom we have collaborated on our research.

Sixty years later, almost to the day, we also watched the surrounding mountains become increasingly covered with snow. The constant topic of conversation among the local people — predictions of when the passes would close and how severe the winter would be. The winter of 1990-91 was the longest and coldest in memory resulting in considerable damage to the roads and flooding in the early summer.

⁽²⁾ We would like to thank not only H.E. but also Dr Deiss, Mr Schachinger and Munish Bhal who not only obtained the visas for the 1991 expeditions but also for Mr Luczanits during his 1990 research at Ta pho.

The 1991 joint expedition of the IsMEO and the University of Vienna, Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, is part of an ongoing research collaboration under the guidance of Dr D. Klimburg-Salter, Prof. L. Petech, Prof. E. Steinkellner and Prof. M. Taddei ⁽³⁾. The expedition, under the leadership of Prof. E. Steinkellner (Univ. of Vienna, C.M. of IsMEO), with the assistance of Univ.-Doz. Dr D. Klimburg-Salter (Univ. of Vienna, C.M. of IsMEO), consisted of a four-member philological team and a four-member archaeological team. The members of the philological team were Prof. Steinkellner, Dr E. De Rossi Filibeck (Univ. of Rome, O.M. of IsMEO), Dr Jampa Losang Panglung (Bayerische Akad. der Wiss., Munich); Dr H. Tauscher (Univ. of Vienna); the members of the archaeological team were Dr Klimburg-Salter, Mr C. Luczanits (Univ. of Vienna), Dr F. Noci (Univ. of Rome, O.M. of IsMEO), Mrs Pat Smith (IsMEO).

The team, in three jeeps and an extra truck to carry the generator and some provisions, left Manali at 4:30 in the afternoon following a tremendous thunderstorm, a dramatic reminder of the extreme changes in weather conditions which have been occurring throughout the Himalayas ⁽⁴⁾. As we were soon to see in Ta pho, and as has already been noticed in Alchi ⁽⁵⁾, the rather drastic increase in precipitation has accelerated the deterioration of medieval mud-brick buildings and their decoration. We learned on our return to Manali that only hours after our departure the extreme rains caused the closure of the roads and a disastrous landslide in Manali itself. The first night was spent at Marhi, c. 3320 m, in order to acclimatize some of the team members who had only arrived the preceding day from New Delhi, before crossing the Rohtang and Kunzum La passes (4500 m). From Gherisi's altitude profile (fig. 26 in Klimburg-Salter 1990) this would have been camp 3 of the 1933 expedition — apparently then uninhabited, the tourist-truck stop many decades in the future.

The continuous rains did not diminish the stark beauty of the Chandra Valley with its monumental stone boulders randomly strewn across the valley floor during the last ice age. During this journey I had often pause to consider the curious impact of 'art on life', for it was not memories of my earlier journeys through the Chandra valley which came to mind but rather images from the film made by Wolf Kahlen entitled 'Der Dämon im Stein' ⁽⁶⁾. August 29th we set our camp just before reaching the check post at Losar (camp 10 of the 1933 expedition) in order to enter the restricted area early in the morning and thereby making maximum use of our limited two-week permit. We arrived at Losar as the sun was setting.

⁽³⁾ This research is made possible by grants from the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung and the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

⁽⁴⁾ We would like to thank Mr Sam Malik for his contribution to the expedition. Tiger Tops Mountain Travel, India, provided us with vehicles, equipment and assisted us with personnel during the expedition.

⁽⁵⁾ The Alchi Preservation Project under the direction of Prof. R. Goepper and Prof. J. Poncar.

⁽⁶⁾ The film is part of Kahlen's *Tan stoñ rgyal po* project.

The Spiti (T. sPi ti) district is situated between latitude $36^{\circ} 1'$ and 33° north and longitude $77^{\circ} 73'$ and $78^{\circ} 53'$ east. There is a surface of 7589 sq. km, comprising the Spiti river and its tributaries. All cultivation depends on irrigation. The raw layers of geological history present a veritable geological museum. During each season, and each time of day, the cliffs, mountains, and valleys, spotted with intense color from the sparse flora and the cultivated patches, reflect differing hues.

The severe terrain, and climate — snow cover in the valleys can remain more than six months a year — means that Spiti is a single crop region, barley and local grains. Animal husbandry is also important; but unlike the neighboring regions there is almost no transhumance beyond the district. All these factors conspire to limit spatial and demographic expansion, thus the traditional pattern of small villages clustered near a water supply is still in evidence. The changes brought in the second half of the 20th century, which opened Spiti to the impact of foreign influences and an abrupt increase in population, has had, and will certainly have, an overwhelming impact on the small, insular population.

The changes in Spiti valley which I noticed during the 1989 expedition, after an 11 years absence, were even more marked in 1991. By this time, the new development program, initiated in the past two decades by the Indian government, had begun to demonstrate results in all sectors, reforestation, horticulture, hydro-electric power, education, etc.

The process of cultural changes thus set in motion, was intensified by the closure of Tibet and the resulting loss of access to the traditional cultural, educational and economic exchange systems. However, in recent years, the impact of high ranking Lamas (Dalai Lama and the Sa skya Trinzin in particular) and other Tibetan refugees have had an invigorating influence on the Buddhist culture (see discussion on *lcags mkhar*), although overall the number of men and women entering the monasteries seems to be declining as a result of increased economic opportunities.

A recent study estimates that the traditional balance between the population of c. 5,000 men and 10,000-12,000 animals has been altered — with the population rising to 1.5 times the latter number during the summer months and a steady increase in the birth rate (Sanan 1991). At the same time, the positive effects of the distribution of land to the landless and, those having little land, and the increase in irrigation and energy resources has been accompanied by some negative effects on the physical environment. Fortunately, some government officials are aware of the fragile balance of factors which has traditionally sustained the population of the Spiti valley under the extreme climatic circumstances of this high altitude, cold desert environment.

Although primary economic data are not available, based on the art historical evidence, it would seem that during only two phases in the last millennium had political, cultural and economic factors conspired to produce a cultural florescence, in the 11th-12th centuries and in the 15th-16th centuries. Despite considerable

destruction during the 19th century Dogra wars (see Steinkellner's article in this issue), the artistic remains still testify to a vibrant Buddhist culture which was part of the contemporaneous culture of the international Buddhist community. Apparently, it is thanks to the limited economic resources that there was relatively little unnecessary refurbishing of these monuments, although, of course, new chapels and *mchod rten* were built at other times as well.

Unfortunately, we have no economic documents for the early period (the 'second diffusion of Buddhism') and the necessary research has not been conducted on the economy of Spiti during the later period (c. 15th-16th centuries). Nonetheless, it is well known that at both times there was a strong political center in western Tibet and/or Ladakh and that as a result, long distance luxury trade in this region flourished. The high value — low volume ratio which characterized this luxury trade was extremely important since the severe climate, geography, and high altitude makes transportation in bulk difficult (Sanan 1991). To what degree the Spiti valley was involved in this trade network is an important question. We know that, since the 17th century, the trade route between India, Tibet and China was along the Sutlej, the Indus, and the Beas river valleys. The lack of any important mineral resources, in Spiti itself, meant that trade was limited to barley surplus and wool cloth as well as secondary commodities traded up from Kinnaur and Kulu (the latter having diverse mineral resources). This self-sufficient but extremely basic economy certainly could not have generated the surplus necessary for the building and decorating of chapels and monasteries on such a luxurious scale. How then was this accomplished? This is certainly one of the more important questions which future research must address. There would seem to be only two possibilities: that funding came from outside the valley and/or from the surplus from a luxury long-distance international trade. According to Sanan's (1991) understanding 'Spiti was never located on an important trade route'. However, when Gu ge was a political center and the north-south traffic to Central Asia and China an important economic factor, Spiti may have become an important secondary trade route. Evidence for involvement in the long-distance international trade network is contained in the story of the 'Piti Thakurs' (= chiefs of Spiti) who were said to have established settlements at strategic mountain strongholds along the 'ancient trade route(s) from Ladakh and Tibet Proper to Rampur Bashar' (Hutchison & Vogel 1919: 155, *passim*).

On the morning of the 30th August, we registered with the office of the joint D.C. at Kaza (Kaja) (?), on the north bank of the Spiti river, and reached Ta pho by mid afternoon. The dramatic climatic changes can be appreciated by comparing an observation recorded on the same day in the Spiti valley in 1847 by a British civil servant who speaks of a desert climate with few trees. Today, all along our route, the river was bordered by stands of poplar trees and shrubs.

(?) We would like to thank Mr Sushil Negi for his continued assistance and interest in our expedition. Mr Negi was also kind enough to assist Mr Luczanits during the 1990 expedition to Ta pho.

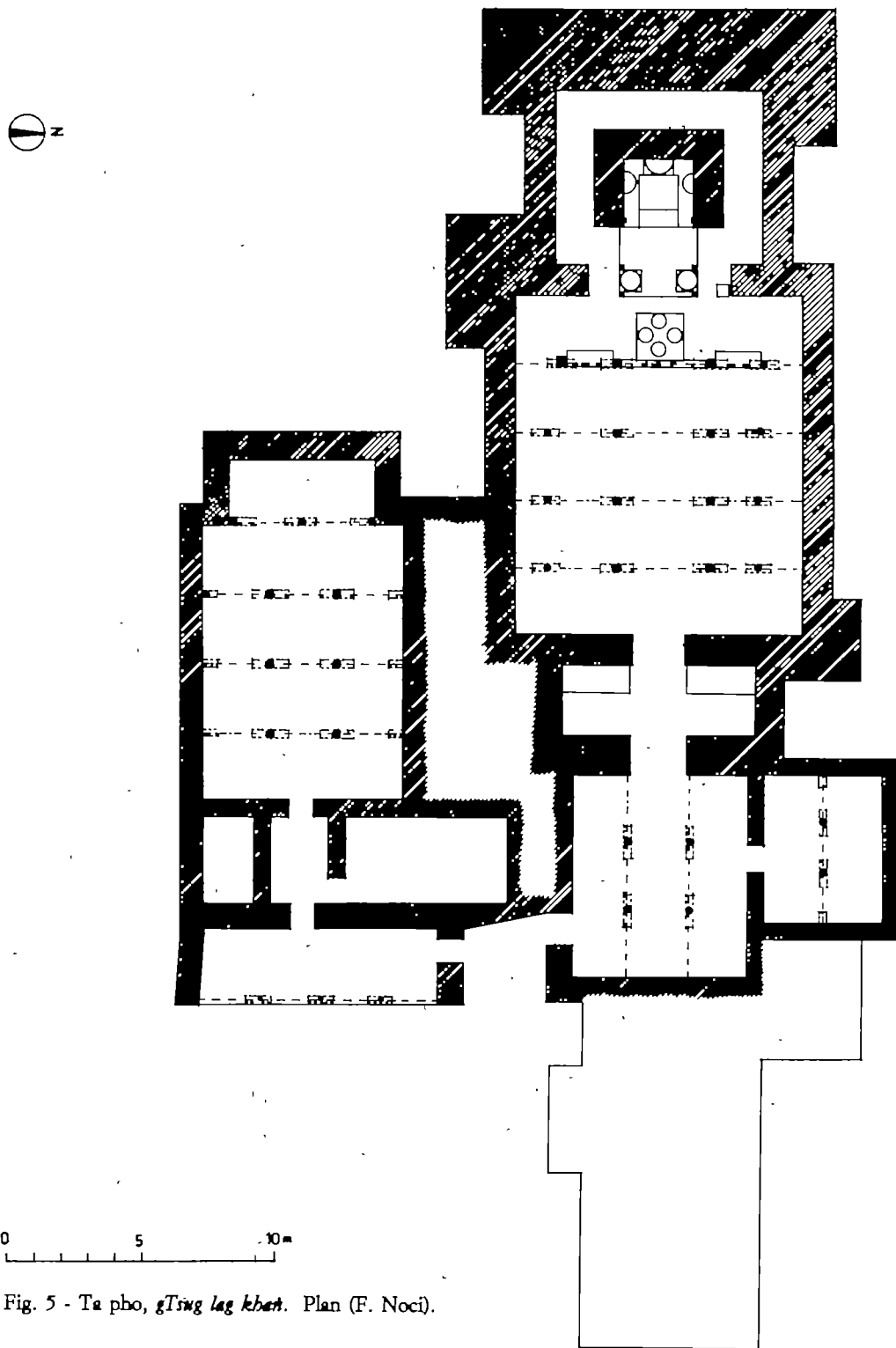
Through the continued assistance and kind interest of the Abbot of Ta pho monastery, Geshe bSod nams dBaṅ 'dus, we were able to accomplish our principle goals despite the restricted time. The expedition work was divided between research on the Kanjur (see report by Steinkellner in the same issue) and the archaeological recording of the monastery. Our goal was to try to understand the earliest periods of construction and decoration at Ta pho monastery and towards this end to finish the documentation of the relevant parts of the site through photography, preparation of plans, and drawings.

The primary focus of Dr Noci's work was to prepare an architectural study of the monument, and for this purpose he has prepared a preliminary plan of the entire Ta pho *chos 'khor*, which has never before been accomplished to this degree. His second goal was to prepare a plan of the Ta pho *gTsug lag khañ* with a view to understanding its original structure (see plan by F. Noci, Fig. 5) ⁽⁸⁾. Although it was built approximately 1000 years ago the *gTsug lag khañ* appears to have experienced relatively little rebuilding. Nonetheless, as the monastery has been under repair and conservation by the Archaeological Survey of India (Sengupta in Klimburg-Salter 1982) for the last twenty-five years, and thus now has a number of structural changes, it is somewhat difficult to estimate the chronology without being able to perform any archaeological investigations. Nonetheless, on the basis of first-hand observation, measurements, and comparison with old photographs, Dr Noci was able to propose, as a working hypothesis, that the plan of the *gTsug lag khañ*, as it now stands — old *sGo khañ*, 'Du khañ and a cella with ambulatory — appears to be original ⁽⁹⁾. The present new *sGo khañ* is probably an enlargement of an earlier atrium or porch (see plan, Fig. 5). The date of the *mGon khañ* is at present difficult to determine. All the paintings there belong to a later period than the paintings in the 'Du khañ.

Although the present plan of the *gTsug lag khañ* is unusual, parts of the original building, as proposed by Dr Noci, are found in temples of the region dating to the 'second diffusion of Buddhism', such as a shallow porch and an interior *skor lam* or ambulatory. Nothing contradicts the hypothesis that the present roofing system is based on the original conception. The location and extent of repairs, however, remains to be determined. The date of the present ceiling is of particular interest because of the paintings on cloth between the beams. These paintings are in an unusual style that, until now, can not be securely dated. The presence of a ceiling painting from Gumrang, Lahul, with one of the Ta pho motifs does not yet assist us in establishing

⁽⁸⁾ We would like to thank our driver Galden Chhimed who, despite no previous experience, quickly adapted to the equipment and Dr Noci's needs and ably assisted him in measuring all of the buildings which were surveyed during our expedition.

⁽⁹⁾ We use the term *gTsug lag khañ* to refer to the large building which today consists of entry, *mGon khañ*, *sGo khañ*, 'Du khañ, ambulatory and cella. This term however is not without its problems. In the final publication we will discuss Tibetan architectural designations



a chronology for the Ta pho paintings (see Luczanits in this issue). The same phenomenon but with different patterns exists at Alchi where, however, the paintings between the beams are directly on the wood and not on cloth. Thus, the Alchi technique appears to follow Ta pho.

Ceiling decorations imitating textile patterns existed earlier as well (e.g. the painted ceilings of cave temples at Bāmiyān and Ajanta), but Ta pho is the only temple known to me where actual painted cloth decorates the ceiling. Indeed, textile patterns and techniques shown on costumes worn by many figures — secular and lay — in the '*Du khañ*' wall paintings are carefully depicted. The hypothesis that they represent actual textiles was the point of departure for a research project presently being conducted by Erna Wandl at the University of Vienna. To date, the patterns have been identified in western Indian manuscript paintings c. 12th century and textile fragments from Fustat in the Ashmolean Museum. A detailed investigation of these Fustat textiles is currently being pursued with Dr Ruth Barnes, from the Ashmolean. An important question for future investigation is the nature of trade contacts between Himachal Pradesh and Gujarat.

Pat Smith divided her time between making drawings of specific architectural features and important iconographic elements which were too destroyed to permit adequate photography.

sGo khañ

In addition to Dr Noci's work, the most important result of the 1991 campaign was the description and documentation of a previously obscure, early phase of the *gTsug lag khañ*. These paintings had not been studied by Tucci. This phase, which was hardly detectable, is now revealed as a result of the cleaning of the paintings by the Archaeological Survey of India (= A.S.I.) and because of the introduction of sky lights. The earliest level of painting at Ta pho can now be discerned under the present painting in the ambulatory and in the old *sGo khañ*, which apparently was never repainted. The remains in the ambulatory are extremely fragmentary, nonetheless, we are able to propose the working hypothesis that the earliest layer of painting in the ambulatory and all of the paintings in the *sGo khañ* belong to the same period. This painting is distinguished from the later three phases (Klimburg-Salter 1985) by the quality and colors of the paint, the style and the iconography. The paint is extremely thin with an extremely weak binding material so that the color is easily rubbed off the wall. Therefore, in part, the present extremely faded condition of the paintings in the *sGo khañ*. The palette is extremely limited, dominated by a pale blue-green, light pink, rose, red, white and black with touches of blue.

The iconography of the *sGo khañ* will represent a major chapter in our study of Ta pho. To briefly summarize: One enters the original *sGo khañ* from the east. The east wall is very destroyed but there are most interesting fragments. To the proper right



Fig. 6 - Ta pho, *sGo khañ*, *Wi ñu myin* and retinue (Dep. CS Neg. 17656/6; F. Noci).

of the entrance are the fragmentary remains of a Wheel of Life. In the upper (northern) corner is a fragmentary inscription which has been identified by Dr Panglung (Panglung Rinpoche) as coming from the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* ⁽¹⁰⁾. Also in the northeast corner is the only figure of a Buddha in the *sGo khañ*. It is seated on a lotus with upturned petals which can be compared to fragments of the early paintings in the ambulatory. In the southern corner at the top of the wall there are multiple vertical lines and under this a scale. This composition may have been a cosmological drawing.

Over the doorway leading to the '*Du khañ*', is a painting of a protectress riding a reindeer and accompanied by her retinue of 18 female attendants, nine to each side. She is identified by inscription as *Wi ñu myin* (Fig. 6), a name unknown in Tibetan Buddhist traditions but perhaps having analogy in the Bon tradition. The composition is painted in a rather flat style without the sometimes strong shading found on the north wall. Unfortunately the goddess is destroyed — only the head of her vehicle has survived. Her attendants are dressed in the typical western Tibetan style, long cape, long hair with many necklaces and head jewellery composed of blue stones. The only unusual dress is worn by the woman leading the group to the right of center and proffering an offering. She wears a short red, flower patterned jacket (Fig. 7): similar jackets are known from Central Asia. The rest wear long capes.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The location of the Wheel of Life in the vestibule is traditional in Buddhist monasteries.



Fig. 7 - Ta pho, *sGo khan*, deities on south wall (C. Luczanits).

In our forthcoming Archive publication it will be demonstrated how the protectress of the *gTsug lag khan* subtly changes her identity through the various chronological stages in the monastery.

The north and south walls (Figs. 8-9) have a parallel composition. At the top of each wall is a decorative floral band under which are today preserved eight rows, three rows of deities, and five rows of figures. The latter rows are divided conceptually in the middle. To the east of the center in the first three rows are the secular figures, to the right, the monastic. The three members of the royal house, depicted on the south wall, are seated on footed thrones as are all the princely figures (identified by the inscription *Lha sras*) on the north wall. All other figures are either seated, or in the lowest row kneeling, on the ground. The south wall is the best preserved. From the top row to the west of the center line are represented a community of monks. They are identified in the inscriptions *dge' sloñ* and by their monastic dress. In the 4th row appear to be nuns and the lowest preserved row contains secular figures.

The style of the *sGo khan* paintings is extremely unusual within the context of western Himalayan painting and we would propose that they are the earliest wall paintings yet to be found in Himachal Pradesh. Based on a preliminary impression, however, they seem to be most closely related, not only in style but also in iconography,

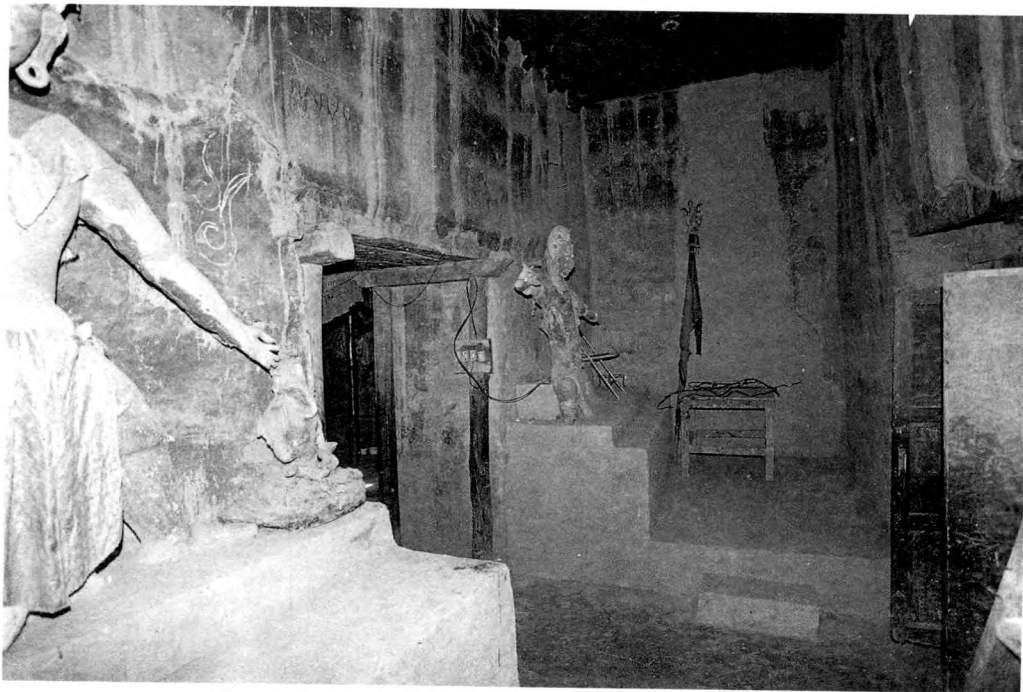


Fig. 8 - Ta pho, *sGo khañ*, north wall (Dep. CS 17656/8; F. Noci).

to drawings and paintings from Central Asia particularly to some found in Tun huang. The problem with the relevant Tun huang drawings and paintings is, that, until now, they have been grouped together in a very general way using various terminologies such as the 'Himalayan style' (Klimburg-Salter 1982: 117-18). The intention of this designation was to distinguish this group from the Tun huang pictorial images in the Chinese style. In fact, the non-Chinese paintings form a number of stylistic sub-groups, some of which have Tibetan inscriptions (e.g. Klimburg-Salter 1982: pl. 74) and, apparently some also have distinguishing technical features. Recently Gropp, supported by Whitfield (Gropp 1974; Whitfield 1982), has suggested the possibility that a well known group of silk banners may have been made in Khotan and imported into Tun huang ⁽¹¹⁾. Further, while some of the drawings and paintings in the 'Himalayan style' can be associated with Tibetan inscriptions, some cannot. And some paintings which are actually in a Chinese style have Tibetan inscriptions. Clearly an important problem

⁽¹¹⁾ Gropp's suggestion is based not only on the distinctive style which he believes can be compared to fragments of painting from Bezäklik but also to the weave of the banners which is different from other silk banners found at Tun huang and therefore suggests another place of manufacture. Tibetan tradition considers Khotan to be one source of their artistic tradition.

in the analysis of the Ta pho *sGo khañ* paintings is the chronology and origin of some of the comparative imagery from Central Asia.

In addition to the stylistic group just discussed, other paintings in the *sGo khañ* must be considered evidence of a regional style. That this latter style is used to represent the historical figures and the protectress (*Wi ñu myin*) and her retinue is probably significant.



Fig. 9 - Ta pho, *sGo khañ*, south wall (C. Luczanits).

Inscriptions

Certainly the most troublesome of the many art historical problems at Ta pho is the fundamental question of chronology. Unfortunately, internal evidence for an absolute chronology is missing. The situation is not clarified in the literary sources, on the contrary, there is no agreement regarding absolute dates for the patrons of the temple, the kings of Pu 'rañ-Gu ge. In fact, the available literary sources are so sketchy and contradictory that Ta pho itself is one of the major sources of evidence for the period. The evidence from, and problems with, the literary sources pertaining to this question will be presented by Petech (forthcoming). Here I will only briefly summarize my present hypotheses based on the last seasons finds.

The main temple (*gTsug lag khañ*) and the *chos 'khor* belong, to a large degree, to the original conception of the complex. A number of other structures, such as the *dKyil khañ*, *gSer khañ*, and *Byams pa lha khañ* have elements which appear to connect them to the early period but they are completely repainted. A number of changes have occurred in the monastery which seem to fall into distinct chronological phases, some of which are documented in the inscriptions (Klimburg-Salter 1987: 687-90).

At the moment we have concerned ourselves only with the first phase of construction and renovation which we see as a homogeneous cultural period roughly corresponding to the moment of greatest political stability of the kings of Pu 'rañ-Gu ge, from the later part of the 10th century (the reign of Ye śes 'od) to the end of the 11th century (Peteč, forthcoming). During this period Ta pho appears to have been a major center of translation and learning, perhaps occupying an important position in the propagation of Buddhism in *lCog la* ⁽¹²⁾ as did Āra mā in Ladakh and mTho gliñ in mNa' ris (*ibid.*). From the artistic remains, known almost exclusively from photos in the Tucci Archives, Khojanath, in Pu 'rañ the original political center of this dynasty, may have been the earliest Buddhist center of this dynasty, but its continuing role is not clear.

Of principal importance is therefore the astonishingly large number of inscriptions at Ta pho. The almost 1000 years old wall inscriptions are often difficult to read. It is only thanks to the combined efforts of a number of people over many years that it is now possible to transcribe these inscriptions. Luczanits, who had first recorded the *sGo khañ* inscriptions during his visit to Ta pho in 1990, was now able to verify his readings assisted by other members of the team ⁽¹³⁾ who also independently read the inscriptions. The analysis of the philological, historical and doctrinal contexts still lies before us. Based on my 1978 field research, I published some preliminary notes on the 'Du khañ inscriptions (Klimburg-Salter 1982; 1987) ⁽¹⁴⁾. This year, thanks to the cleaning, new sky lights, and our generator, the conditions for reading, in particular controlling earlier readings, were optimal (Fig. 13).

The inscriptions in the *gTsug lag khañ* are of 2 kinds, religious and historical — religious inscriptions consist of identifications of images and quotations from religious texts: The *Gaṇḍavyūha* of the *Avatamsaka* literary corpus (Klimburg-Salter 1982: 158-59; 1987: 696-97), and the *Kṣitigarbha-sūtra* ⁽¹⁵⁾. The former is being prepared for publication by E. Steinkellner and the latter by H. Tauscher.

The historical inscriptions can be divided into three sub-categories according to their location: *sGo khañ*, 'Du khañ and entrance to the cella. These inscriptions form two rough chronological groups, 10th-11th centuries and later. We have primarily concerned ourselves with the inscriptions belonging to the earliest phase of the monastery. This cultural unity is indicated by a common orthography, and content

⁽¹²⁾ We have several indications for this term as summarized by Peteč (forthcoming). Today this designation refers to the region of Po-Tabo-Lari. But it is probable that originally a larger area was implied — perhaps the entire lower Spiti valley which would include Nako, today in Kinnaur

⁽¹³⁾ I would like to thank in particular Prof. Steinkellner and Dr. Panglung Rinpoche.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The correction to 1987: 690; Pl. IIa, gnas brtan chen po 'dul ba byaṇ chub sñel 'or I; chos sga'i slob chen po gu na ba? ma / te 'or lcog la'i sde dge sloṅ / mos pa bsod nams / kra(g) I.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Based on my poor and incomplete photographs I misidentified the text on the south wall at the entrance to the ambulatory as a *Vinaya* text (Klimburg-Salter 1982; 1987: 686). H. Tauscher's photographs taken in 1989 form the basis of the new translations of the religious texts. See summary of Steinkellner (forthcoming).

such as names of people and places. Similarities and changes in nomenclature can be understood as having a chronological significance. On a second visit to Ta pho (October 1991) we were fortunate to be accompanied by Tshe riñ rdo rje. He recorded most of the later medieval inscriptions in connection with his long standing study of local history.

Thanks to the evidence of the inscriptions in the *gTsug lag khañ*, we have the names of a large number of historical personages, some famous, most unknown. The earliest group of historical inscriptions in the *sGo khañ* lists monks who came from places (or belonged to clans) bearing non-Tibetan names. They perhaps referred to local places, and may be connected with the history of Zañ zuñ. The most frequently found place or clan name is *sñel 'or* and then *mag pi tsa*. A significant cultural change can be seen when one compares this list to the list of abbots preserved in the late 17th century chronicle the *Vaidūrya Serpo*. Tucci believed this latter information was taken from the census ordered by the 5th Dalai Lama (1971: 475). There, names are typically Tibetan and the places of origin are usually in the vicinity, such as Ta pho itself (rTa po) or La ri.

To some degree the evidence of the inscriptions and the art historical remains confirm the picture presented by literary sources, but there are also inconsistencies. A preliminary hypothesis which would permit us to integrate the various types of information as one now understands them: Painted during the first phase of activity at Ta pho, the inscriptions in the *sGo khañ* record Ye śes 'od and his two sons *Na ga ra dza* and *De ba ra dza* (Fig. 10). They are seated on thrones, each under an umbrella and the three are placed at the center of the composition. However, the placement of the figures is a bit confusing. Ye śes 'od is in the middle which is the place of honor, and his two sons are to either side and turned towards him, he also appears slightly larger. But, *Lba btsun pa De ba ra dza* is separated from the others by vertical lines, he is at the middle point, just before the line of monks, and is also the only royal figure to clearly wear monastic dress. Could he have been the Abbot of the Ta pho community? The short title preceding *chen po Ye śes 'od* in the inscription is not clear, it seems to read *d slob*. He is not called a Bodhisattva. One may assume that the painting was produced during his life time, thus between A.D. 996 and c. 1036. Since the colors and style seem quite primitive, and in any case earlier than the Kashmiri influenced painting, one may suppose they were indeed painted before the earliest surviving paintings in the *'Du khañ*. As it was customary to decorate the walls at the time a temple was built, a reasonable hypothesis is that the entire first phase (surviving fragments in *sGo khañ* and ambulatory) date to 996. On the north and south walls a relatively large number of original inscriptions identifying monks (*dge' sloñ*), princes, and nuns remain. There are about 30 names in the five rows of historical personages on the south wall. Of these, particularly significant, as we shall see, is the fourth monk in the first row after *Lba btsun pa De ba ra dza* (Fig. 11). He is identified as *sñel 'or dge' sloñ 'Dul ba byañ chub*. Fragments of eighteen names survive on the north wall.



Fig. 10 - Ta pho, *sGo khañ*, *Ye śes od* and his son *De ba ra dza* (C. Luczanits).

The function of these paintings, which occupy a large amount of space on the lower halves of the north and south walls, is not at all clear. No directly comparable paintings have survived. Groups of religious figures occupying less space, and usually in less prominent locations, remain in several early monasteries but their function appears to have been different. For example, in *gSum brtsegs* Alchi, on the third floor (where they are functionally not visible) there is a row of religious figures which appears to be the 'Bri khuñ pa lineage up to the time of the temple's founding (Goepper 1990: 163-65). From mTho gliñ, Tucci (1934: 238) published three photographs, each with a group of three monks which may date to the 11th century; the first group represents the three religious kings of Tibet, and in the painting in the adjacent panel two monks are identified in the inscriptions, first *Lha btsun pa De ba bra pa* and the center larger figure as *Lha bla ma Ye śes 'od*, the third figure is not visible on the photograph. Another painting also from mTho gliñ has no inscription but is similar to the painting in the Ta pho *dKyil khañ* (Tucci 1934: 237) and thus may also represent monk-kings (*Lha bla ma*) of Pu 'rañ-Gu ge. In any case it is clear that one is dealing here with a sort of visual *tópos*. Certain features are standard elements of the type. The throne, the umbrella over each head, the curtain behind the main image(s) gathered



Fig. 11 - Ta pho, *sGo khañ*, row of monks with *sÑel 'or dge' sloñ 'Dul ba byañ chub* (C. Luczanits).

in peaked folds with the highest point at the center, and the followers, worldly and monastic, placed behind the curtain. We note that the painting accompanying the *Byañ chub 'od* inscription in Ta pho (Fig. 12) includes all these conventions. The painting in the *sGo khañ*, however, has only some of these elements (the curtain and onlookers are missing) which is another indication that this painting is earlier than the painting with the *Byañ chub 'od* inscription and the *mTho gliñ* paintings.

The Ta pho *sGo khañ* paintings are distinguished by the large number of personages belonging to all the important social categories relevant to a religious institution. It may be that the paintings represent an assembly of some kind — perhaps at the time the monastery was founded. An interesting corollary is found in *bSod nams rtse mo* and transmitted also by *Sa skya paṇḍita*. Apparently in 1016 Ye śes 'od met with his two sons in order to formally set up the administration of Gu ge proper 'as a sort of theocratical estate' (discussed in more detail in Petech, forthcoming). Petech's interpretation would concur with the special placement of *De ba ra dza* at Ta pho. Unclear is why *Na ga ra dza* (called prince) is seated with the worldly figures and wears secular dress. Was he not yet ordained? Ye śes 'od also wears secular dress, although he was already ordained. Ye śes 'od is his ordination name.



Here we have only briefly referred to a few of the problems posed by these paintings. However, they contain an enormous potential fund of information concerning local customs and social hierarchy, the inscriptions are also an important source of geographic and proper names.

Fig. 12 - Ta pho, 'Du khañ, inscription no. 1 (Byañ chub 'od inscription) (C. Luczanits).

Suggested Chronology of Ta pho gTsug lag khañ

In addition to the inscriptions there are extensive architectural decorations consisting of painting and sculpture. Unfortunately a comparative stylistic analysis has so far yielded only limited results with regard to chronology. A proper understanding of the stylistic variations would also eventually assist us in a better understanding of the meaning and function of the iconography. There are, however, a number of major difficulties in evaluating the stylistic history of the *gTsug lag khañ*. At the moment, on technical as well as stylistic grounds, one can only clearly distinguish three phases — early (Ye śes 'od), middle (Rin chen bzañ po? and Byañ chub 'od, consisting of three stylistic groups A, B, C, Klimburg-Salter 1985) and late, the various very late repairs, i.e. on both sides of the door.

The difficulties in refining this stylistic analysis — and particularly dating the all important groups of the second phase — are several. We have very little directly comparable art historical material. And that which exists is without a clear historical context. In addition, we have no understanding of the production of art during that period.

It is evident from the mss. folios (see below) and photos in the Tucci Archives of murals at Mañ nañ, among others, that there was a wide range of shared stylistic and iconographic elements throughout the kingdom of the kings of Pu 'rañ-Gu ge. This led to two, as yet untested hypotheses — that artists were itinerant, and that patronage played a decisive role in the production of art, particularly royal patronage. But even the organization of a workshop and the production of art in a single monastery is totally obscure.

Ta pho itself is too small to have permanently supported a workshop with enough craftsmen to have decorated the *gTsug lag khañ*. (Although two-three residence monk-artists would have been always possible — just as is the case today). During a particularly active phase of artistic production a group of craftsmen could have been occupied for several years. In the extreme cold of the long winter it is difficult to imagine work on the architectural decoration. Therefore one might imagine that work was confined to several months. How large was a workshop? How many men would have worked at Ta pho in one season? How much painting or sculpture could one man produce? Or one team? The next season perhaps the same or other artists from the same workshop came — thus producing certain small differences. This can be seen in the painted valance in the ambulatory.

We presume that the patron played a significant role. In this case the similarity between Mañ nañ and Ta pho might be accounted for by Byaṅ chub 'od's patronage.

Then we have the problem of pounces and molds. All the figures in the mandala were made with molds. How long would these have been kept and used? Would they be the property of the artists and carried from place to place, or that of the monastery and thus stored and used decades later for repair?

And then there is the question of local tradition, the presence of a particularly famous person, or the tradition of certain rituals which are maintained for 100's of years. We have no indication that the living tradition in Ta pho was ever broken until perhaps briefly after the Dogra destruction in the 19th century (although, Steinkellner (in this issue) proposes several phases in the destruction of the Kanjur).

At least during the medieval period the story of the illustrious patrons of Ta pho was certainly well known. If a particular vision or teaching was associated with the iconography of the 'Du khañ then the respect for this tradition would have encouraged the local people to make any necessary repairs consistent with the original. This in fact is the only way to understand the remarkable survival of the *sGo khañ*. Certainly the inscriptions, which even today are readable, confirm the presence of Lha bla ma Ye šes 'od, the Bodhisattva, and his two sons.

Even the question of patronage is not so simple as might appear from the inscriptions. Did the presence of the royal patrons necessarily exclude co-participation by other donors? Were the Abbots during the 11th-12th centuries and perhaps even later related to the royal family — as seems likely from the pattern in the *Vaidūrya Serpo*. In this case, one would assume a continuing conservatism maintaining the original artistic and iconographic traditions and thus it would be even more



Fig. 13 - Ta pho, 'Du khañ, gNas brtan chen po 'Dul ba byañ chub / sñel 'or (C. Luczanits).

difficult to differentiate chronological phases.

The combined evidence of the comparative stylistic analysis and the inscriptions lead us to propose the following preliminary model for the two early phases of artistic activity at Ta pho.

The 11th century inscriptions are all in the 'Du khañ. Inscription no. 1, painted 46 years after the founding of the temple (A.D. 1042), refers to Ye śes 'od as the grandfather, the Bodhisattva and one may assume that he was then deceased. Byañ chub 'od is referred to twice as *Lha btsun pa* and one may assume he was alive at the time. Also apparently still alive but now a person of significant importance — perhaps the Abbot of Ta pho, is 'Dul ba byañ chub, who now appears with the title *gNas brtan* ⁽¹⁶⁾. There is no doubt that this is the same person as in the *sGo khañ* inscriptions. Because in the 'Du khañ inscription to the right of the entry (Fig. 13, fn. 14 and above, inscription no. 1) he is also found at the head of the

community of monks, he is again identified as *gNas brtan* and coming from *sñel 'or* (*gNas brtan chen po 'Dul ba byañ chub sñel 'or / ta po yi dge 'dun sde chen po*) ⁽¹⁷⁾. Rin chen bzañ po is not found either in the relatively well preserved inscription no. 1 or the poorly preserved but contemporaneous inscriptions in the 'Du khañ, nor in the earlier *sGo khañ* (he would have been in the first row of monks which is completely preserved). In fact, he occurs in none of the inscriptions from Ta pho, excepting a modern painting in the new entrance hall.

Most of the painting in the 'Du khañ, with the exception of the uppermost row (see Klimburg-Salter 1985: 18-40, group 'B' and group 'C' respectively) and some of

⁽¹⁶⁾ There is no doubt that there are two distinct persons. The royal blama Byañ chub 'od is specifically referred to in inscription no. 1 with the title *Lha btsun pa*. The monk is named 'Dul ba byañ chub.

⁽¹⁷⁾ In Pritzker (1989) the Tibetan inscription is written correctly, but wrongly translated because 'od has been added to the name by the translator.

the paintings on the external wall of the cella, where the inscription no. 1 is located, were created during the period of renovation under Byañ chub 'od, referred to in inscription no. 1. I have earlier suggested (1985) that these paintings are later than the so-called group 'A' to which the Bodhisattvas painted on the south and north walls of the ambulatory belong. Thus, to the three stylistic groups earlier defined (Klimburg-Salter 1985) can be added a 4th, earlier stylistic group, located in the *sGo khañ*, and also discernable under the paintings in the ambulatory. The problem is what dates can be attributed to these phases.

At this point it is necessary to note that, the information contained in our inscriptions does not totally agree with some important literary sources. In both Rin chen bzañ po's biography (a later redaction) and the *Vaidūrya Serpo*, Rin chen bzañ po is considered to have been the founder of Ta pho *chos 'khor*. Earlier, I had relied on the literary tradition that Rin chen bzañ po was co-responsible for founding Ta pho, and therefore proposed that Ta pho must be placed after Rin chen bzañ po's second journey to Kashmir, since it occurs in the list of 'smaller foundations' (which cannot refer to its size) (see Klimburg-Salter 1985: 33-36 for discussion). The other monasteries known to have belonged to the first period of monastic foundations (Ñar ma, mTho gliñ (mTho dliñ) and Kojarnath) are not in this list.

In the forthcoming Archive publication an historical model which allows us to accept both the inscriptional evidence in the *gTsug lag khañ*, which omits Rin chen bzañ po, and the literary traditions, as well as Petech's new chronology for the kings of Pu 'rañ-Gu ge, and which respects the art historical evidence will be proposed. Petech proposes that Rin chen bzañ po returned from Kashmir after 1003, at which time he brought with him the large number of Kashmiri artists, books and liturgical artifacts which initiated the flowering of Kashmiri artistic influence in western Tibet.

We may propose that Ye śes 'od had founded Ta pho during the first phase of his missionary activity. The first artistic phase at Ta pho (as seen today in the *sGo khañ*), shows no Kashmiri influence and is indeed technically inferior to the later artistic phases. As Ye śes 'od is the name taken by the former king after his ordination, the paintings were made after Ye śes 'od's ordination *c.* 985. The most likely monkey year prior to Rin chen bzañ po's second return from Kashmir is 996. However, 984 was also a monkey year and as Tibetan dates do not directly correspond to our solar calendar and the dates for Ye śes 'od are only hypothetical, he might indeed have received his initiation in 984; and Ta pho may also have been founded in the same year. At least one son, *De ba ra dza*, has a title indicating that he was already ordained.

The large size of Ta pho *gTsug lag khañ* is evidence of its importance, and it is natural that Ye śes 'od (or Lha lde) may have wished this royal foundation to be refurbished in the new style. As we have no inscriptional evidence for Rin chen bzañ po's activity at Ta pho, defining the nature of his contribution is highly speculative. However, in addition to the literary tradition, another indication for Rin chen bzañ po's participation is the iconographic program of the '*Du khañ*. Careful study has confirmed Tucci's first impression that the entire program of the '*Du khañ* is a

conceptual and aesthetic unity which is at the same time simple and intellectually consistent. Although there are at least two and perhaps three stylistically different but related groups of paintings, all the images can be understood as supporting the same scheme. There is abundant evidence from Tibetan hagiographies (*mam thar*) that important Lamas would plan the decoration of the temple in all its detail. Usually on the basis of a dream or vision. Although it is certainly possible that the iconographic conception was conceived by Byaṅ chub 'od, or rebuilt on a model first constructed by Ye śes 'od, such a vision would rather seem to be the work of a great teacher. It is precisely in this role also that his biography presents Rin chen bzaṅ po.

In this case, a very hypothetical model would then see a major rebuilding and redecoration by Kashmiri artisans sometime soon after 1003 under the guidance of Rin chen bzaṅ po and probably also Ye śes 'od who was still alive. The 33 seated figures of the mandala in the '*Du khaṅ*' are clearly in Kashmiri style, although the '*Du khaṅ*' paintings appear slightly later (see below) (Klimburg-Salter 1985: 16-18). There are, of course, certain indications for the location and the extent of repairs in the *gTsug lag khaṅ* but they are not conclusive. One curious fact is that not a single trace of the pre-Kashmiri, or any earlier painting, can be seen under the present murals in the '*Du khaṅ*' although a fragment is discernible under the Kṣitigarbha inscription at the entrance to the ambulatory (18). The cella and the ambulatory where the 10th century paintings are found were bonded to the '*Du khaṅ*' walls in the late 10th century as they are today, and the '*Du khaṅ*' originally must have also been decorated (see plan, Fig. 5). The only possible explanation for the total disappearance of this earliest phase from the '*Du khaṅ*' walls was the destruction of the wall (not just the repainting as in the ambulatory). Such a destruction could have been caused in several ways. Either a violent attack on the monastery, or an earthquake, or the deliberate dismantling of the wall in order to insert the struts for the seated mandala images (Klimburg-Salter 1985: 18). Thus, one likely explanation is that Rin chen bzaṅ po was responsible for constructing the main iconographic program of the temple — the *Vajradbātu* mandala.

In A.D. 1042 (or 1030) Byaṅ chub 'od renovated the *gTsug lag khaṅ* again. Most of the paintings in the '*Du khaṅ*' can be attributed to this phase. A *terminus post quem* for Ta pho is provided by the paintings at Maṅ naṅ which may have been created by the same artists who worked at Ta pho. We have already demonstrated the close similarity between style group 'C' in Ta pho and Maṅ naṅ (Klimburg-Salter 1985: 18-40). The *Vaidūrya Serpo* attributes Maṅ naṅ to Byaṅ chub 'od and says that Atiśa resided there. Thus, the latest possible date for Maṅ naṅ and Ta pho group 'C' is 1045 when Atiśa left for central Tibet. Therefore, 996 is the latest possible date when Ta pho could have been founded.

A critical factor in understanding the nature of the Byaṅ chub 'od renovation is the precise interpretation of the first lines of his inscription. The monk (dge sloṅ)

(18) We exclude here the obviously new (20th century) additions.

who wrote the inscription (his name is not quite clear although rendered by Tucci as *Phes kha rgyu bdag*) says that *Byañ chub 'od* 'renovated' the temple (*gTsug lag khañ*) 46 years after *Ye śes 'od* founded it and that the present inscription (no. 1) was written after the painting of the chapel (*Dri gtsaṅ khañ*) was completed. What exactly does the verb imply, that the temple was refurbished or rebuilt? And, what is the *Dri gtsaṅ khañ* and why does he make the distinction here? Based on younger sources one may propose that *Dri gtsaṅ khañ* is the inner chapel (i.e. here the cella). However, Chandra Das considers the term as a synonym for *gTsug lag khañ*. Does the writer mean to give the redecoration of the *Dri gtsaṅ khañ* particular importance or does he merely mean to say that it was completed last — perhaps as much as a year later (i.e. in c. A.D. 1043)? Certainly, the location of the large inscription next to the entrance to the cella is somewhat unusual.

It is not clear if the remaining five statues can be attributed to the *Byañ chub 'od* renovation (Fig. 14). It has been difficult to understand the chronological place of the five clay statues in and in front of the cella. Also the iconographic function of the five figures is not clear, and a number of important paintings in this area, including the ceiling paintings on cloth, do not fit into the four stylistic groups belonging to the first two phases as now defined. This then forms the agenda of our present research program.

To summarize, our previously proposed chronology would be amended through the additions of an earlier pre-Kashmiri artistic phase attributable to the founding date A.D. 996 under *Ye śes 'od*. The true Kashmiri style (group 'A' in Klimburg-Salter 1985, e.g. painted Bodhisattvas in the ambulatory), could be attributed to the early 11th century under *Rin chen bzañ po* (presumably together with *Ye śes 'od*) and groups 'B' and 'C', most of the rest of the paintings in the '*Du khañ*', to *Byañ chub 'od*'s renovation in 1042 (see Klimburg-Salter 1985 for further discussion). We have chosen to call this phase the true 'Western Himalayan' style because it is a synthesis of the two earlier artistic phases which contributed both regional and Kashmiri elements. This can be clearly seen in the *Nor bzañs* cycle.



Fig. 14 - Ta pho, '*Du khañ*, cella, standing Bodhisattva (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 15 - Ta pho, wooden architectural fragment (D. Klimburg-Salter).

Naturally, there are many details, problems, and questions not addressed by this rough outline. And it would be pre-mature to consider the foregoing as anything but a working hypotheses, an attempt to give shape to the evidence now available to us, in the hope that other students of the period may contribute to the dialogue and process of understanding the temple and its chronology.

Incidental Architectural Wood Decoration

During 1991 one of the large *mChod rten* next to the 'Du *khañ* developed a hole and a large carved wooden lintel was found inside. It was generally considered to have been a fragment of an abandoned religious building which had been deposited within the *mChod rten*, rather than a part of the *mChod rten* itself. The deeply carved floral and figurative elements (Fig. 15) were in a different style from either the surviving, but much eroded wooden door frames, or the other sculptural fragments at Ta pho photographed by Tucci. Each deeply carved floral rondel was occupied by a seated Bodhisattva figure — the tri-partite division of the torso, garments, jewelry and crown resemble Kashmiri models, such as the copper alloy Avatāra frame in the Śrī Pratap Singh Museum, but even more, the high crown and large knots and streamers of wooden figures from Alchi 'Du *khañ* and Ropa (see below).



Fig. 16 - Lalung, village in 1991 (C. Luczanits).

SPITI — LALUNG

Among the smaller *Lha khañ* in the Spiti valley the most important to survive, that we know of, is the chapel in Lalung on the Lingti river. Lalung (beginning with Shuttleworth we find the Tibetanized 'Lha luñ' but know of no primary evidence for this spelling) was visited by Tucci and Gherzi on their 1933 trip; it was earlier visited by Shuttleworth in 1924 and subsequently also by Khosla in 1968 (Khosla 1979: 48-53). Inexplicably Khosla says '[...] The village of Lalung is situated a short march away from Drangkhar the ancient capital of Spiti. There is nothing very distinctive about the village and its historical importance really lies in the fact that it was chosen by Rin chen bzañ po or his successors as the site for a temple [...] why an obscure village along the Lingti river should have been chosen as a site for the Lalung temple remains a mystery' (*ibid.*: 48-49). In contrast to this impression, Lalung appeared to us to have an extremely favorable setting. Today, it seems a prosperous village with well cultivated fields all around the slopes of the hill leading down towards the river (Fig. 16). The valley beyond the village, according to the reports of the villagers, offers extremely fertile summer pasturage for their Yaks. According to Harcourt in the early 19th century Kashmir authorities considered the Lingti river as the border between Lahul and Ladakh (repr. 1972: 8).

We were received most hospitality by the villagers who, in response to our question about old manuscripts took us to the village doctor-herbalist. A practitioner of traditional Tibetan medicine, he did indeed have a collection of manuscripts related to his profession. Even more interesting was his altar which contained a collection of painted wooden sculptures and wooden *mChod rten* dating from the c. 15th-17th century (Fig. 18). We were under the impression that they had come from a local temple. However, in Prof. Wolf Kahlen's slide collection we later noticed the missing parts of the same altar which Kahlen had photographed in 1986 in Kyibar. From this fact we now assume that the sculptures come from a destroyed ancient temple somewhere in the general region.

The temple itself lies at the crest of the mountain above the village. The temple is painted white with a red stripe on the top and above that is a roofing of twigs and mud (Fig. 17). The main building consists of one story with a half story above which is completely empty and appears to have been too shallow to have served any function other than as a protection zone like an attic. This plan is well suited to an area of heavy snowfall and is not unique. In front of the entrance to the chapel is a sacred pond with an enormous willow tree which appears, from its extraordinary dimensions, to be many hundred years old. That the pond and tree are sacred can be seen from the fact that the *skor lam* which allows the sacred circumambulation goes around not only the chapel but also the tree and pond.

Lying to the west of the entrance to the temple, at some distance is another small chapel which is totally devoid of any decoration and contains only a fourfold image of Vairocana (Fig. 19). This chapel is part of another building which we could not enter ⁽¹⁹⁾. In Shuttleworth's time the building was inhabited by local *lamas*. A line of much ruined *mChod rten* can be seen descending the mountain from the temple to the village.

Returning to the temple. If one compares Shuttleworth's plan with the plan drawn by Noci (Fig. 20) one sees that the *bsTan 'gyur*, *gSer khañ*, and ambulatory, as well as a very narrow room running along the side wall of the *gSer khañ* existed also in 1924. According to the brief survey which Dr Noci was able to undertake it seems to be a reasonable hypothesis that these last three structures perhaps with a porch or another structure allowing access to the ambulatory belonged to an early date. However, the relative chronology remains to be determined.

The only decoration which was described by Tucci is that of the spectacular *gSer khañ* (Fig. 21). The decoration of the small room in front of the *gSer khañ*, called the *bsTan 'gyur* (Fig. 22), appears to be of a more recent date. The *gSer khañ*

⁽¹⁹⁾ Tucci in *Indo-Tibetica* says that in a closed chapel next to the *lba khañ* (referring to what is actually called the *gSer khañ*) the Vairocana image is situated. This is not actually correct as there are the pond and the tree and other buildings between them. In the future, the buildings lying between the two chapels should be investigated. During our visit this was not possible.



Fig. 17 - Lalung, *Lha khañ* (Dep. CS 17658/28; F. Noci).



Fig. 18 - Lalung, altar (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 19 - Lalung, Sarvavid Vairocana (Dep. CS 17660/18; F. Noci).

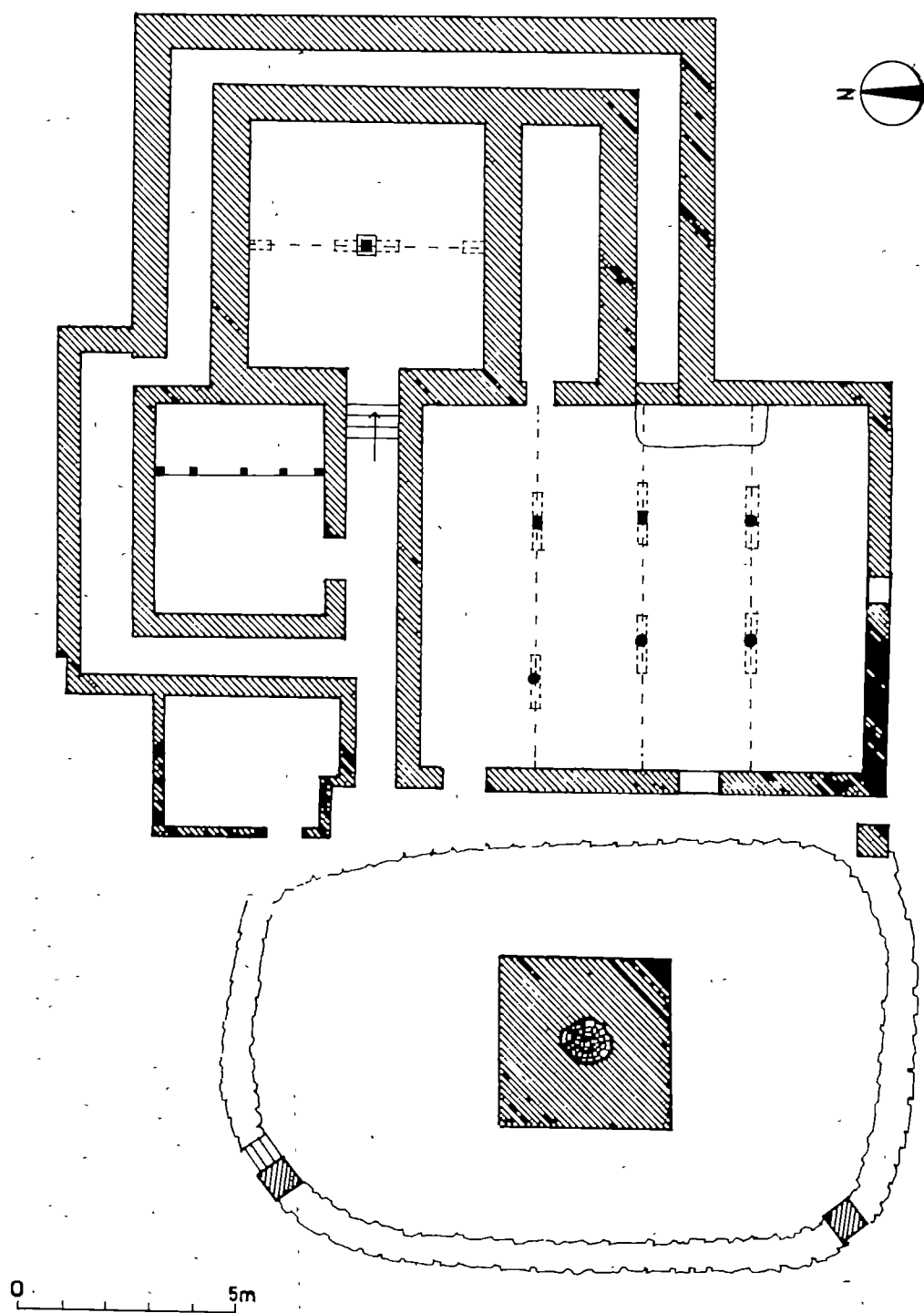


Fig. 20 - Lalung, *Lba kbat*. Plan (F. Noci).



Fig. 21 - Lalung, *gSer khañ* (Dep. CS 17658/8; F. Noci).

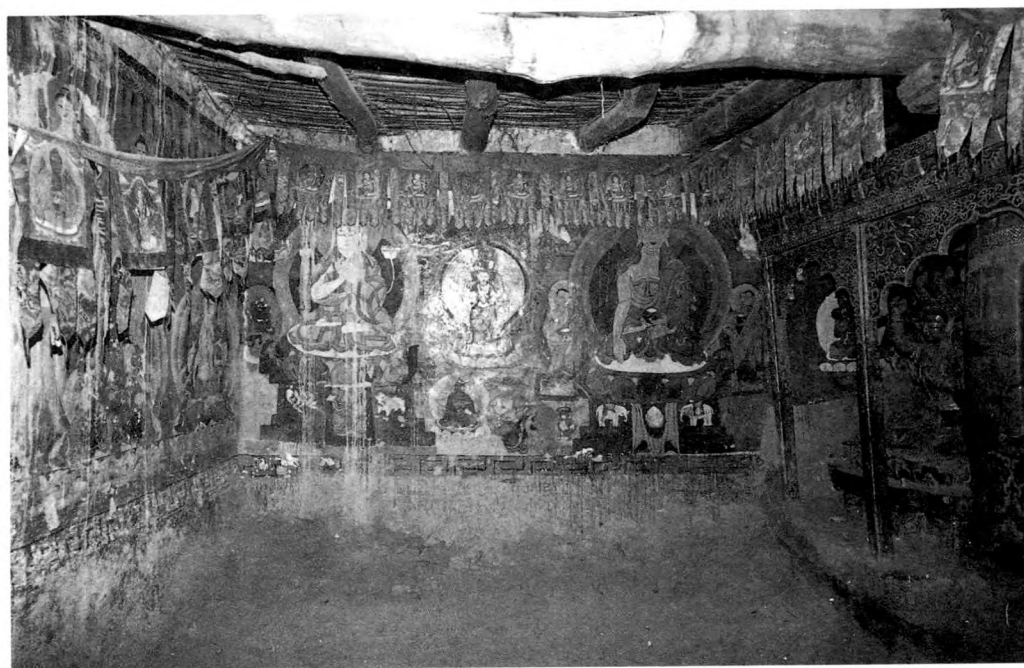


Fig. 22 - Lalung, *Lha khañ*, *bsTan 'gyur* (Dep. CS 17659/8; F. Noci).

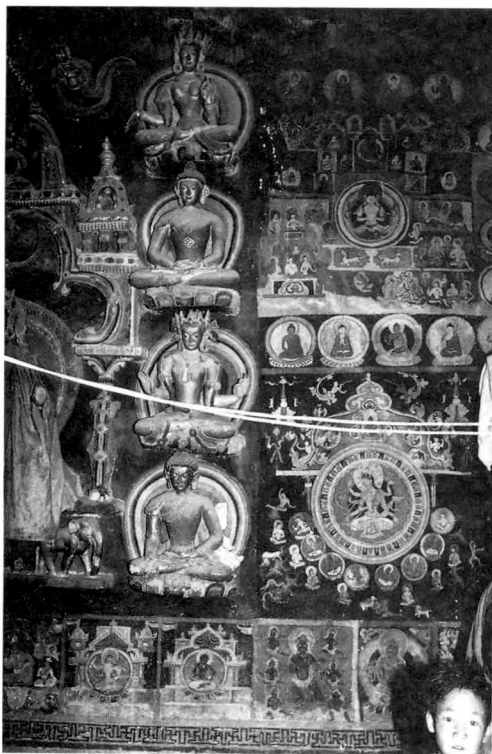


Fig. 23 - Lalung, *gSer khañ* (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 24 - Lalung, Buddha ambulatory (C. Luczanits).

itself has been repainted in rather bright and glowing colors (Fig. 23). Shuttleworth (1929) noted that the paintings were extremely fine but very faded. His careful description of the painting verifies that the present paint has been faithfully copied over the original. It would seem that Shuttleworth's enthusiasm for the temple encouraged this renovation, because by Tucci's visit in 1933 it was in its present state. The paintings of the ambulatory have not been noticed until now by scholars. At the back part of the ambulatory, on the right wall there are six seated Buddha figures, on the left of the ambulatory are seven Buddhas (Fig. 24), only the upper parts of the Buddhas survive and some monks and donor figures. The style of these figures is rather provincial but there is some relationship to a painting attributed to western Tibet, 14th century (Béguin 1990: pl. 4; ms. page in the Fournier Collection, Musée Guimet).

Shuttleworth recorded seeing two inscriptions which Gergen copied for him and sent to Francke. We have not yet been able to trace the copy of these inscriptions. However, fragments of the founding inscription survive to the proper right of the entry. Luczanits together with Steinkellner and Panglung recorded the badly destroyed

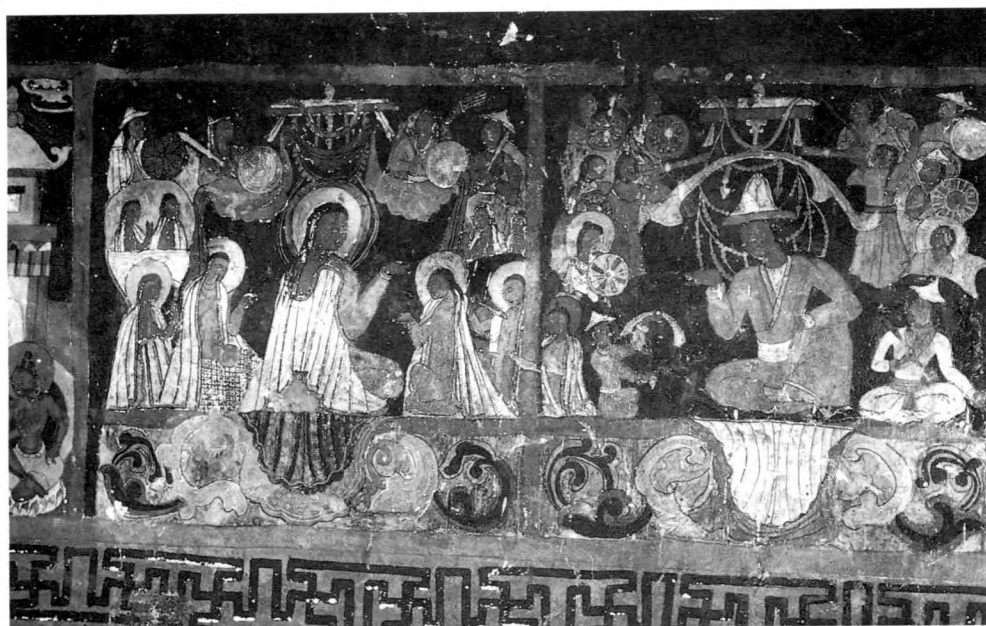


Fig. 25 - Lalung, *gSer khañ* (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 26 - Lalung, detail of sculpture (C. Luczanits).

inscription. It is not mentioned by Tucci. The inscription will be published together with a complete description of Lalung in the forthcoming Archive publication.

Particularly remarkable are not only the graceful sculptures but also the different forms of the architectural frames inhabited by the deities. The palaces, as they are known in the texts, show a close relationship to those depicted in the paintings at Ta pho. The style of the sculptural figures at Lalung — the largish facial features, broad shoulders, large hands, feet and head, and also the form of the robe are different from those at Ta pho.

The wall paintings are not mentioned by Tucci in his description, although they can be glimpsed in Gherzi's photographs. They seem quite closely related to paintings in Alchi 'Du khañ. Moreover, an extremely fascinating detail is a courtly group which is intimately connected with Alchi (Fig. 25). These relationships to Alchi 'Du khañ would suggest a date after the middle of the 12th century when Spiti was conquered by King Lha chen Utpala of Ladakh (Fig. 26). A date towards the end of the 12th century would seem to best coincide with the latest research on the chronology of Alchi (Goepfer 1990).

LAHUL

The joint IsMEO-University of Vienna archaeological team visited Lahul from Sept. 13-23. Our objective was to study artistic and architectural monuments which would assist us in understanding the art history of the monuments Tucci had visited in Spiti and Kinnaur, and to verify Tucci's itinerary in 1931 (see above).

We would particularly like to thank the Deputy Commissioner of Lahul-Spiti, Mr Narinder Chauhan, I.A.S., for his kind assistance. We are also indebted to Tserin rdo rje who shared with us his extensive knowledge of local history and often accompanied us during the following weeks in Lahul and Spiti.

Lahul (known to the Tibetans as Gar za or less frequently dKar zva) is the geographic and economic crossroads of a cultural zone which stretches from Kulu to Kashmir and Ladakh to Kinnaur. At times this entire region belonged nominally to a single political unit, although in fact the local chiefs (Thakur) ruled their own territory and paid tribute to the central political institution. According to both the Kulu genealogy of kings, *vansāvali*, and the Ladakh chronicles, there were several moments during the early medieval period when Lahul played a pivotal role in the trade between Ladakh and Kulu. Although the history of the early periods is extremely obscure, in Hsuen Tsang's time (mid 7th century), Kulu appears to have been a large and prosperous state. It is also possible that one of the early Karakota kings of Kashmir may have conquered part of Kulu (Hutchison & Vogel 1919: 132-34). Western Himachal (Kulu in the largest sense) had silver, iron, gold and crystal among other natural resources. It was Lahul's role to exchange these goods for those coming from the north and the south along the trade network — for barley, wood, borax, salt and

dzos, woven woolen textiles — and from the further reaches of the international trade network came the precious commodities from Central Asia — including silk and jade. From further south came spices, and cotton fabrics from India.

Lahul also played a pivotal role in the relay of artistic influences. Goetz has eloquently described the relationship of the early medieval art of Lahul to the arts of the Gurjara-Pratihara on the one hand and the kingdom of Pu 'rañ-Gu ge on the other (Goetz 1955: 117). Thanks to the increased number of known monuments and also to improved documentation, now it should be possible to refine more precisely the art historical interrelationship so broadly conceived by Goetz.

The administrative center of Lahul is at Kyelong (Kye lañ or sometimes Kye glañ) located on the north bank of the Bhāgā river. Kyelong is located along the main route between Ladakh and Kulu-Manali. Today the bazaar has expanded rather unattractively in order to accommodate the increase in foreign tourism. The Moravian mission had its headquarters here from 1857 to 1940.

At earlier times, however, the main route ran along the south bank of the Bhāgā through the ancient capital of Kardang. The earlier importance of Kardang as a Buddhist center can still be seen from the rock engraved Buddhist images (c. 10th-11th century) now standing in the middle of the village (Fig. 27). Following the route from Kardang along the south bank of the Bhāgā we first visited the interesting small monastery Labjang. After a short walk further along the river we arrived at the almost deserted hamlet called Johling (*žo liñ*). There we visited a chapel called by the local people *Lha bla ma Lha khañ* which we took to refer to *Lha bla ma* Ye śes 'od. This may be the same chapel which is attributed to Rin chen bzañ po in his biography where it is included in the list of 21 smaller temples as *žo liñ* (Snellgrove & Skorupski 1980: 95, 108). Other authors have noted that a temple by this name is attributed to the period (Lauf 1971: 369; Singh 1983: 144; Handa 1987: 185) but none of them describe or discuss the temple.

The small single-celled *Lha khañ* is oriented east-west. It is now in total ruin (Fig. 28; see sketch plan by F. Noci, Fig. 29). Nonetheless it is still revered by the local people who were quite distressed by our visit and watched us carefully to make sure we did not touch anything. A harvest offering recently had been placed in the middle of the temple, before the former altar. Arranged on three sides of the temple, excepting the entrance wall were remains of at least fifteen wooden stūpas (Fig. 30). These are probably later additions to the original temple. They have the same form, which appears typical of Lahul, as the wooden stūpas in Gumrang which are placed along one wall of the *Lha khañ*. The latter most certainly do not belong to the initial phase of the temple as there are traces of wall painting behind them (see Luczanits same issue).

The stone walls are today completely unadorned, the roof collapsed, and almost all of the other wooden elements are missing. However, we were told by two persons, that the interior of the building originally had been covered with wooden carvings. A British official acquired a Buddha image from Johling in Kyelong which is now in the British Museum (Klimburg-Salter 1982: 73). The figure wears a crown and jewels



Fig. 27 - Kardang, rock engraved Bodhisattvas (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 28 - Johling, *Lba khan* (D. Klimburg-Salter).

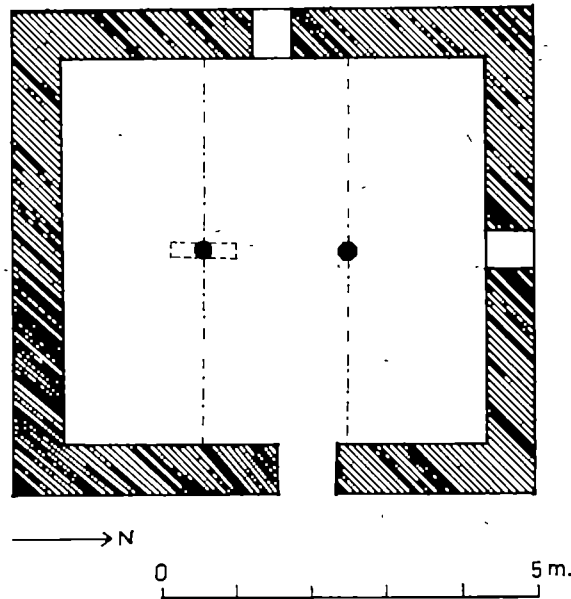


Fig 29 - Johling, *Lba kban*. Plan (F. Noci)

together with monastic dress and is seated on a peacock, traces of red paint remain (Fig. 30 bis). This large Amitābha figure was probably part of a set of five *Jinas*. Although essentially different in style from the Buddha-figure in the nearby and roughly contemporaneous Devi temple at Udaipur, certain features — the face with blotted cheeks and high arched eyebrows — do permit comparison with the Udaipur carvings (Figs. 37-38). Some time ago Tshe riñ rdo rje took the last remaining sculpture to the Chamba Museum. We were unable to visit the museum so we unfortunately have no idea what this sculpture looks like. Other sculptures may have been removed earlier. Cunningham deposited a wooden Buddha image in the Chamba Museum (published in Aryan 1984-85: pl. XI, where she discusses the image's origins and Ohri 1991: pl. 5.55, without information). Indeed, a careful investigation reveals not only a large number of wooden objects of various functions (e.g. architectural decoration, free standing sculptures, shrines, Buddhist ceremonial crowns) in Western and Indian collections but an astonishingly large number still in monasteries and homes in Himachal Pradesh. These objects need to be documented and systematically defined and compared. It is certain that there were more Buddhist temples of this period and some of them most likely still contain some indication of earlier artistic activity. One such is Gumrang (Guñ rañ) a small chapel on a slope north of the lower Bhāgā valley about one and a half hours walk from Kyelong. This chapel still contains clay figures which originally belonged to a mandala of Sarvavid Vairocana, and is discussed in a separate article by Luczanits (same issue).



Fig. 30 - Johling, *Lha khañ* (D. Klimburg-Salter).

Fig. 30bis - Wooden Buddha from Johling. London, British Museum, 1954.2-22.1 (by courtesy of the Trustees).

Mirkulā Devī Temple, Udaipur

One of the most important surviving monuments for the history of art in Himachal Pradesh is the small wooden temple in the center of the bazaar at Udaipur (see Noci, this issue, fig. 2). According to Vogel (1911: 15) Rāja Udai Singh (1690-1720) changed the name of the village to Udaipur from Markulā. Considering its good state of preservation and the beauty of its wood carving, it is astonishing that so little has been written about it. The only substantial study is by Goetz (1955: 90-117) using also material gathered earlier by Vogel (1911 and notes to Goetz 1955). Nonetheless the principal questions regarding the shrine remain unresolved — chronology and function. Due to the limited time at our disposal we were able to spend only one

day at Udaipur (September 18th). Here we must limit ourselves to sharing the documentation which we were able to collect and some descriptive notes. The art historical discussion is limited to the main temple — the western structure on the plan (see Noci, this issue, fig. 1), and to the earliest period of the decoration.

Goetz suggested that the building had two main building periods. To the later building period would belong two smaller pillars in front of the main sanctuary, the architraves of the ceiling in front of the sanctuary, and the panels on the inside of the window, he would also attribute the standing *dvārapālas* (see Noci, this issue, fig. 11) to this phase though I believe they may be later. During his visit in the summer of 1939 the two figures stood to either side of the main sanctuary covered with the blood of sacrificed animals. Today they stand to either side of the door and there is no trace of animal sacrifice in the shrine. The Thakur of Gondhla told us that the carved decoration on his family *Lha khañ* was produced by the same Bengali sculptor who had fashioned the *dvārapālas*. Goetz believed this phase could be dated to the same period as the present cult image. Vogel (1911: 248 ff.) discusses the dedicatory inscription which is written in late *śaradā* script, and a very corrupt Sanskrit. The image was dedicated by Thakur Imapāla (1569-70). The door to the temple (see Noci, this issue, figs. 12-13) has Kafir-like motifs different from anything else in the temple but similar to motifs in small unidentified local shrines. This door is not mentioned by earlier researchers. (See Noci, this issue).

The earlier phase consists of the wooden façade of the inner sanctuary (*garbhagrha*) (see Noci, this issue, fig. 5), the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* and the four main pillars. Goetz suggested that this part of the temple dated to the early 11th century but was based on a 7th-8th century model. Here we shall not concern ourselves with whether or not these carvings date to the 10th or 11th century, but it is interesting to note that based on the location of the early panels, the original location of the south wall and the size of the ambulatory is questionable (see Noci's discussion of the architectural evidence). This point is interesting because the present plan (enclosed ambulatory and shrine on *maṇḍapa*) can be related to earlier Hindu temples of India (e.g. Aihole) as well as contemporaneous Buddhist temples (i.e. Poo *Lo tsa ba lha kañ* and Ta pho *gTsug lag kañ*). The later, however, have flat roofs, while the Mirkulā Devī temple has a peaked roof.

The question of the identification of the original function of the temple is somewhat confused by the present 16th century cult image, a Mahiṣāsūramardīnī (Maxwell 1980: 52). It is generally thought that the temple was originally dedicated to Sūrya (Maxwell 1980: 50) but the identification of some of the key images on the doorway is unclear. Goetz gives a detailed description of the carvings of the façade (1955: 98-100) of the *garbhagrha*. The monumental doorway is composed of seven vertical frames, the second from the inside is a row of Viṣṇu Avatāras (Fig. 31). Above the doorway to the inner sanctum are three horizontal rows of deeply carved figures. On the vertical axis of the door are three images one above the other (see Noci, this issue, fig. 10). Maxwell only discusses the upper (Fig. 32) and the middle image (Fig. 33) — the latter he identifies as Sūrya but he is unable to identify the former. He does not mention



Fig. 31 - Udaipur, Mirkulā Devī temple, detail of portal to *garbhagrha*, Viṣṇu Avatāra (C. Luczanits).

Vogel — Goetz's identifications. Thus presumably he rejects their notion that the images above the door are the Grahya. There are indeed several difficulties with this identification, causing Goetz to offer differing interpretations — including the possibility that the lower image placed just above the door and not mentioned by Maxwell (Fig. 34) is Sūrya and the image above it (Maxwell's Sūrya) is Chandra. As can be seen from Figures 32 and 33, both figures carry astral emblems and ride in carriages drawn by seven animals. The middle figure (Fig. 33) appears to be horses but this is not absolutely clear, while in the lower figure (Fig. 34) the animals are simply too destroyed.

The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* is decorated with a magnificent stylized lotus (Fig. 35) where one row of petals is replaced by a circle of *vajras* (Fig. 36), the lotus is set in a 'latern roof' framed with four oblong and four square carved panels. The panel



Figs. 32-34 - Udaipur, Mirkulā Devī temple, portal to *garbhagrha*, central figures: upper row (Fig. 32), 2nd row, Sūrya? (Fig. 33), just above door (Fig. 34) (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 35 - Udaipur, Mirkulā Devī temple, ceiling of *maṇḍapa* (C. Luczanits).

on the west contains a six-armed dancing Śiva with his family — Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya, and Nandi, the northern panel contains a well known image of Buddha overcoming the temptations of Māra (Fig. 37). Although Goetz acknowledged the aesthetic unity of the composition — ‘costumes and other details, technique and style are the same’ (p. 98) — he found the presence of Buddhist motifs so disturbing that he contradicted his own art historical analysis and proposed that the Buddha panel and *vajras* were the result of a later repair. I quote the paragraph in full because it is a rather extreme example of the tendency to transform art history into romantic fiction, rather than confining oneself to objective analysis, when confronted with unfamiliar and unexpected elements in ancient or medieval monuments. ‘Some decades later king Lha-chen Utpala (c. 1080-1110) invaded and conquered Kulu, and apparently also Lahul [...] May we assume that after this conquest the Markulā Devī temple was converted into a shrine of Mārīchi-vajravārāchi, the Lamaistic light-goddess? And that on this occasion part of the ceiling, probably broken by an avalanche, was replaced, i.e. the center-piece with the *vajra*-petal frieze and the “Assault of Māra”? For the differences in style are almost *imperceptible* [*italics mine*], so that they can be only separated by a few decades at the utmost’ (p. 113). In fact if we compare the Buddha image (Fig. 37) in the ceiling with the Buddha image represented on the left side of



Fig. 36 - Udaipur, Mirkulā Devī temple, ceiling of *maṇḍapa* (C. Luczanits).

the door to the sanctum, at the top of the frieze of Viṣṇu Avatāra (Fig. 38) we find no difference in style — note the long ears jutting out from the side of the face, the carving of the robe, the decoration of the pillow. There is no doubt that all of these early carvings were produced at the same time.

The *vajras* and the Śākyamuni on the ceiling, as also the image of the Buddha Avatāra, were simply Buddhist elements integrated into Hindu iconography. We would choose to see this iconographic program as characteristic of the eclectic imagery which characterized the upper valleys of Himachal Pradesh. A phenomenon discussed by Goetz himself on many occasions.

Maxwell (1980) makes several interesting sociological observations in his analysis of the ‘transformation’ of some local shrines during several periods. However, I am not sure how useful it is to view the initial phase of the Mirkulā Devī shrine in light of sectarian tensions. Maxwell uses the phrase ‘[...] Buddhist pressure of the kind we saw rejected at the temple of Mirkulā Devī’ (1980: 64). On the other hand, it is true that all public monuments are in some way a reflection of their historical environment and it is thus important to note that the temple presumably dedicated to Sūrya was built at about the same time as the two Buddhist chapels at Gumrang and Johling. Rock engravings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas throughout the area further

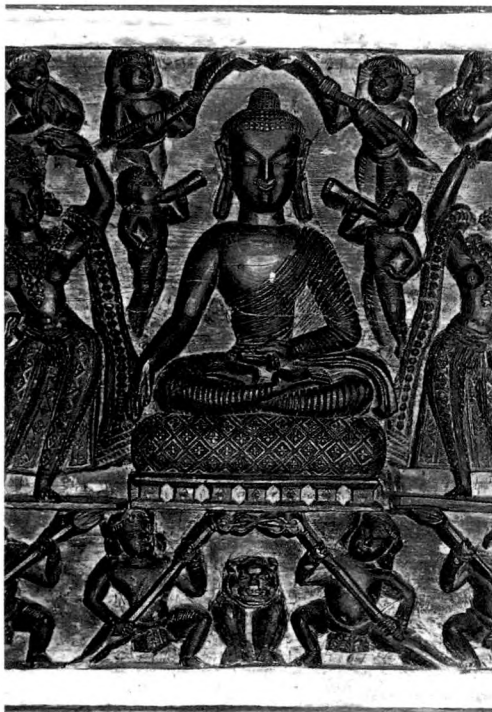


Fig. 37 - Udaipur, Mirkulā Devī temple, ceiling of *maṇḍapa*, Śākyamuni and the temptation by Māra (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 38 - Udaipur, Mirkulā Devī temple, façade of *garbhagṛha*, Buddha Avatāra (C. Luczanits).

testify to widespread Buddhist activity. At the same time, in the same areas, we have fountain stones decorated with Hindu imagery. According to Vogel's translations of inscriptions on stylistically similar stones, they can be dated to about the same time (c. 10th-12th century) and demonstrate that at least some of the ruling classes continued to worship Hindu deities (Vogel 1911: 25-39).

The phenomena of Tantrism, and the fluid boundaries between Buddhism and Hinduism in the eastern and western Himalayas, has been discussed often (see Staal 1982 for a particularly provocative discussion of this theme). Throughout the Tibetan cultural sphere, 1991 was pilgrimage year. The pilgrimage cycle in Himachal Pradesh included a circuit walked between Trilokanath and the Mirkulā Devī Kālī temple. In the former, devotions were watched over by a Tibetan Lama and in the latter *pūjā* was performed according to Hindu custom.

Heterogeneous popular ritual practice has ancient roots. Excavations at a Buddhist center in Afghanistan have revealed the existence of eclectic cults as early as the 8th century (Taddei 1973; Taddei & Verardi 1978: 47-58). In the same regions and periods, the cult of Sūrya flourished. This was also the case throughout Pakistan, Kashmir,

and Kulu (in the larger sense), where (Diserens 1981; 1983) images of Sūrya are ubiquitous on the early medieval Hindu shrines. According to Goetz this cult flourished from the 6th-10th centuries (Goetz 1955: 50) which would place the Sūrya temple at Udaipur at the close of this period.

Not only were cult practices not neatly distinguished between Hinduism and Buddhism, but also the use of artistic motifs was not necessarily confined to a single religion or region. The half-palmette decorative band found on the inner frame of the sanctuary door at Udaipur also appears on the door of the *Lha kan* at Gumrang; the architectural frames isolating the deities are used in analogous ways on the monumental doors from Alchi and mTho liñ (Klimburg-Salter 1988: fig. 2), as well as in the portable arts, e.g. one of several known examples photographed by Tucci/Gherzi at Ta pho in 1933 (Tucci 1935: pls. XLVI, XLVII). Although this motif always has been traced to Kashmir, it is so ubiquitous in the art of Himachal Pradesh and Guge that the Kashmiri connection is no longer meaningful. At this point, it would be more useful, to define more carefully the many wooden art objects, Hindu and Buddhist, monumental and portable, and try to trace the relationship between them. It is possible, for instance, to observe that the mTho liñ portal, which is more complex than the door at Udaipur, appears to have been the inspiration for the Alchi 'Du khañ portal which in turn is far more complex in format and in its multiplication of iconographic themes and decorative motifs than the portals at mTho gliñ and Udaipur. And, while the architectural motifs at Udaipur show close relationships to other wooden architecture of the region — for instance the ceiling decoration is related to the wooden ceiling of the Śakti Devī temple at Chatrarhi — also individual motifs can be found in the stone architecture of the region. The temple at Udaipur is a key monument for the study of the arts of the period and one can only hope that it will be the focus of a monographic study in the near future.

Gondhla

We spent the following two days at the beautifully situated little rest-house in Gondhla, in the Tinan district on the upper Chandra River. The largest building in Lahul was said to have been the Thakur's castle, of which only the famous tower remains (Fig. 39). However, a painting in the Thakur's house and a fuzzy snapshot taken by Tucci in 1931, and several descriptions (e.g. Harcourt, repr. 1972: 100) give a clear idea of its former imposing size. We would like to thank the Thakur Fateh Chand and his family for their kind hospitality. Along the former main road of the village (the present asphalted road is considerably higher up) are three large-scale engravings of three Bodhisattvas — Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, and a Padmapāṇi (the object held in the left hand is awkward for a lotus but I cannot imagine what else it can be). Because of their large size and the foliage no complete picture was possible (Fig. 40). Another indication of earlier Buddhist activity was a manuscript of the *Lalitavistara* which can

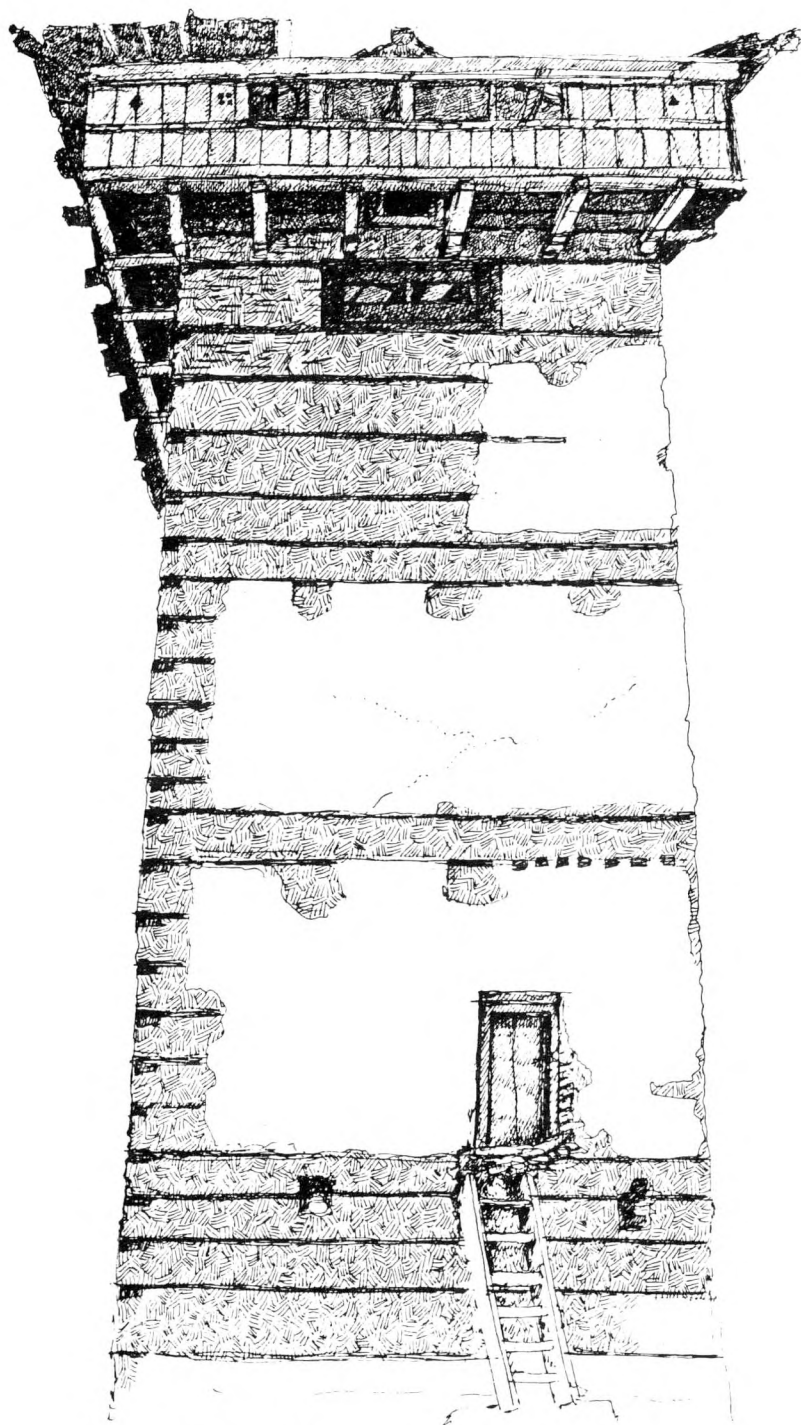


Fig. 39 - Gondhla, tower (drawing by Pat Smith).

be tentatively dated — on the basis of the paleography, orthography, and the style of the images (Figs. 41-42), particularly the Bodhisattva figures, to *c.* the 11th-12th centuries (see the section on Poo regarding manuscript discoveries).



Fig. 40 - Gondhla, rock-engraved Bodhisattva
(C. Luczanits).

KINNAUR

Due to the time limit of our permit we were only able to spend a few days in Kinnaur. We would particularly like to thank the Deputy Commissioner of Kinnaur, Deepak Sonan for his interest in our research and for assisting us in our work, and also for sharing with us his unpublished manuscript cited above ⁽²⁰⁾.

Kinnaur (with various spellings most particularly Kunawar, in the local language Kanauring) is one of the most culturally fascinating regions in northwest India. Despite a number of western travellers since the early 19th century very little is known about this relatively small, and mountainous region with its ancient and complex cultural levels. It lies between 31° 05' 55" to 32° 05' 20" N latitude and 77° 44' 0" to 79° 0' 50" E longitude, it has a surface of 6,553 sq. km, a population, as of the census

⁽²⁰⁾ We would also like to thank Mr and Mrs Deepek and Dhanu Sonan for their kind hospitality in Kalpa.



Fig. 41 - Gondhla, *Lalitavistara* (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 42 - Gondhla, *Lalitavistara*, Bodhisattva (C. Luczanits).

of 1981, of 59,547. The hydrological basin of the Sutlej nowhere opens into a broad plain, and Kinnaur consists of a series of rocky and precipitous ravines descending rapidly to the bed of the principal river, the Sutlej (Singh 1990: 244). Both Francke (1908) and Tucci (1935 etc.) briefly passed through Kinnaur (Tucci three times) but both were following the main caravan route and their destination was elsewhere, so that they did not have time to explore the many villages in side valleys that claim to have ancient Buddhist temples. In recent years there have been several surveys and travelogues published in India dealing with Himachal Pradesh. Government restrictions have prevented foreigners from working in the area ⁽²¹⁾ and until now no single monographic study on any aspect of the Buddhist culture has appeared. However, the first two volumes of *Indo-Tibetica* published by Tucci in 1932/3 were based on material collected by him in part in Kinnaur and Lahul during his expeditions in 1928, 1930 and 1931 (see map, Fig. 2).

Although this isolation has limited our scholarly knowledge of the region it has most certainly assisted the people in maintaining their artistic culture intact. We most urgently hope that once this region is open to tourism the government is able to support its intention to protect the artistic treasures of the region with the most stringent means.

Both Francke and Tucci attempted to combine their understanding of Tibetan history and culture based on written sources, with observations of the contemporary culture — language, art, architectural and archaeological remains. F.A. Peter, a Moravian missionary, lived in Ladakh and Lahul from 1930-1940. During this time he collected information about place names throughout the region and some interesting information can be obtained from his glossary (1975). The considerably different impressions which each of them reported, combined with my own observations, reflect the progressive socio-economic and cultural changes which have occurred during the 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century Tibetan culture was discernable further westward along the Sutlej than in the 1930's. In recent decades, Tibetan Buddhism is again expanding.

The degree of Tibetanization, which was introduced during the period of the 'second diffusion of Buddhism' and which can only be inferred from the archaeological remains, is difficult to evaluate. The extreme cultural-political changes which occurred in Kinnaur, as in Ladakh, in the 16th-17th centuries disrupted the ancient Buddhist culture. Nonetheless, traditional trade contacts with Tibet which were maintained by the Bashahr kings from the 17th century until 1962 (Singh 1990: 245; Petech 1977: appendix B) testify to the economic interconnection between Tibet, Kinnaur, Spiti, Lahul, Ladakh, Central Asia and the plains of India (Singh 1990: 256). The increase in Indianization which characterizes the 20th century has been somewhat tempered by the impact of high ranking Tibetan Lamas which has caused a revival of Tibetan Buddhism, manifested, for instance, in the construction of new temples, such as in Poo and Ropa.

(21) Again we thank M.S. Negi and the Lama of Poo for their interest and assistance.

However, the presence of non-Buddhist beliefs and deities, some of which can be identified with animistic cults, and the continuing importance of these cults, parallel to the Buddhist cults, does suggest a strong pre-Buddhist substrata, as already described at length by Francke and Tucci. The manner, process and chronology of Tibetan influence in the region thus remains a fascinating and little explored problem. There is no doubt that Poo remains, as already noted by Tucci, a focal point for such a study.

Poo

Our purpose was to study again the monuments we had first visited in 1989 (Klimburg-Salter 1990). Our emphasis here too was on the 10th-12th centuries. Our comments on the finds from the region are severely limited by the lack of primary research on Kinnaur. A systematic search through the primary literature must begin with a definition of the geographic terms. In Rin chen bzañ po's biography the area around Poo (sPu), upper Kinnaur, appears to have been called *Roñ chuñ* (Snellgrove & Skorupski 1980: 95).

Poo, north of the Sulej river, today consists of a modern center occupied by the Indian administrative buildings, and the ancient villages of Poo, and dKor where the early medieval monuments are located. Today Poo is a thriving trade center which has recently completed an impressive new Buddhist temple financed totally by community contributions and painted by Tibetan artists from Dharamsala. This village must always have been the cultural and economic center of upper Kinnaur. A Moravian mission was located here from 1865-1915.

Poo has several important remains from our period which will be discussed in more detail in a forthcoming Archive publication. Poo is mentioned in Rin chen bzañ po's biography (Snellgrove & Skorupski 1980: 95) where it is written *sPu*. The same orthography is found on the Ye šes 'od stone inscription from dKor (Klimburg-Salter 1990: 48; 1991). There is also a small *Lba khañ* (*Lo tsa ba lba khañ*) attributed to Rin chen bzañ po. Although no original decoration is left, the plan of the temple — a small inner chapel with an ambulatory placed at the back of the *'Du khañ* — is found in all the other early temples of the region. Two of the several stone monoliths in the village called *ndo riñ* by the local Lama are also located near the *Lba khañ* together with a pile of *mañi* stones and prayer flags, and one is built into the back wall of the *Lba khañ*. None of these monoliths, except the one from dKor, has ancient inscriptions.

Preserved in the *Lo tsa ba lba khañ*, is a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of great importance. Lovingly cared for by the community throughout the last millennium it is still in an almost perfect condition. The manuscript is quite large as can be seen in relation to the man holding the covers (Fig. 43). The beautifully carved wooden covers may be contemporaneous or a century later. Similar covers have been published by various authors and usually dated from 12th-13th century. But a systematic analysis of early Tibetan carved wooden covers is yet to be accomplished (Klimburg-Salter 1991).



Fig. 43 - Poo, detail of wooden cover to *Prajñāpāramitā* (C. Luczanits).

The manuscript belongs to the large-size category (Steinkellner in the same issue), having ten lines of text — on fine beige paper, in a beautiful and very readable *dbu can* script. Both the style of the images, painted on every page, and the conjunction of paleographic features suggest a c. 11th-12th century date.

The Poo manuscript is of unique importance. As it is as yet the only complete Tibetan manuscript with illustrations from such an early date known, it assists us in the complex process of chronological attribution: the style of the illuminations is particularly helpful in distinguishing between genuinely early manuscripts, copies of same, or medieval manuscripts written in archaic styles. When all the formal features of the manuscript itself, the calligraphy and images are consistent, and with no trace of error — misunderstood copying, or anachronistic intrusions — then we feel safe in proposing an early date. Obviously the larger the number of pictorial features, the greater the analytical possibilities. Thus the date for the Poo manuscript is more secure than the separate folios from Ta pho or even the *Lalitavistara* from Lahul which has only Buddha and a very few Bodhisattva images.

The frontispiece (Fig. 44) is painted on a dark blue rectangle with square paintings to each side on white paper (the relative date of the sketch in the upper left corner is unclear). The title page, the only one to be damaged, is written in silver (?) ink. The painting on one side depicts a preaching Buddha (Fig. 45) and on the other the conquest of Māra (Fig. 46). They are painted in vivid primary colors.

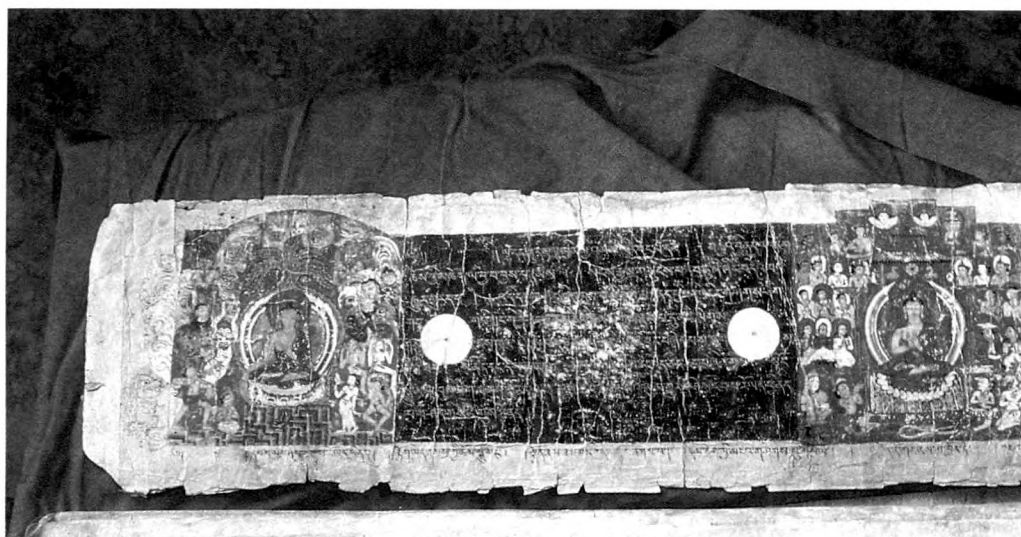


Fig. 44 - Poo, frontispiece of *Prajñāpāramitā* (C. Luczanits).

There are two more large rectangular paintings of scenes from the Life of the Buddha, and each page is illuminated with small Buddhas. The great variety in skill suggests that several members of a workshop contributed to the manuscript — with differing results (Fig. 47). The style and individual motifs have numerous points of comparison with the Ta pho 'Du khañ paintings as well as the Ta pho ms. folios (Figs. 48-50) and folios found by Tucci and Ghersi in mTho gliñ (which are now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art — Pal 1983: 125, pl. j).

Despite the great difference in scale between the Ta pho 'Du khañ wall painting and the tiny miniature paintings, points of comparison can be noticed: the same western Tibetan dress — the women wear a long cape, many necklaces, head ornaments composed of blue stones; the men with their wide-lapelled, tight-waisted *chuba* over long pants and high felt boots, a large blue stone at the front of the neck; also the drawing of the Buddha figure.

It is not possible here to examine the ms. paintings in detail; rather I have elsewhere raised some problems concerning the origin of this western Tibetan ms. painting tradition and its impact on the later school of Tibetan ms. painting ⁽²²⁾.

These questions are quite important as it is now clear that there was a prolific school of manuscript production in western Tibet and that in every possible way, except the subject of the manuscripts, this tradition was distinct from that known in contemporaneous India or Nepal.

⁽²²⁾ Klimburg-Salter paper to be published in the proceedings of the International Conference of Tibetan Studies, Fagernes. We thank again Mendrup Negi.



Fig. 45 - Poo, detail of *Prajñāpāramitā* (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 46 - Poo, detail of *Prajñāpāramitā* (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 47 - Poo, *Prajñāpāramitā*, detail of Buddha (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 48 - Ta pho, folio of 'Kanjur' (H. Tauscher).



Fig. 49 - Ta pho, folio of 'Kanjur' (H. Tauscher).



Fig. 50 - Ta pho, folio of 'Kanjur' (H. Tauscher).

Ropa

The list of the foundations in Rin chen bzañ po's biography appears to follow a quasi-geographical order and this was one of the guides which Tucci used in attempting to locate the chapels attributed to him. In addition to which, throughout the region, there persists the local tradition that certain chapels were founded during the time of the 'the second diffusion of Buddhism', although the names of Rin chen bzañ po's twenty-one smaller temples recorded in the biography, are often difficult to identify with modern names. Ro dpag (or Ro pag) may be the modern Ropa in the Ropa valley ⁽²³⁾.

⁽²³⁾ We are indebted to our friend Lama bSod nams who told us about Ropa and kindly accompanied us on our visit.

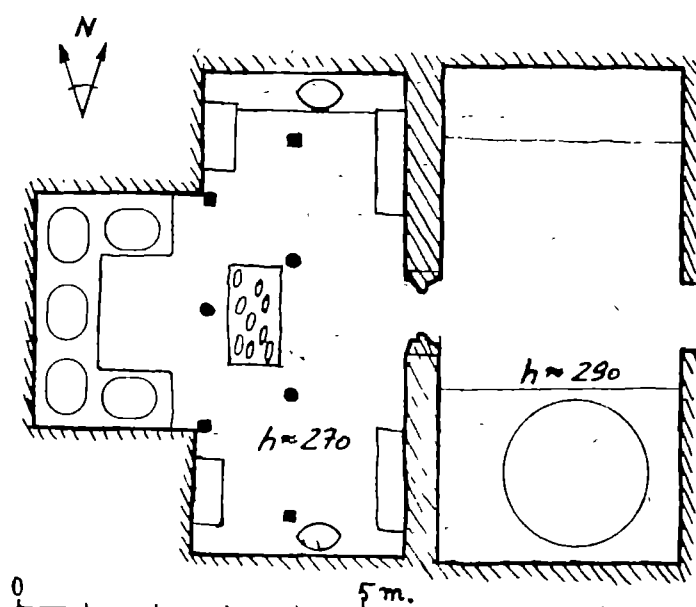


Fig. 51 - Ropa, *Lo tsa ba Lba khar*. Plan (C. Luczanits).

Ropa is beautifully situated on a mountainside in the Ropa valley. The village appears (like Poo) to have an elder and a newer part. When inquiring for the *Lba khar* we were first taken to a newly built chapel in the newer part of Ropa. The chapel was chiefly interesting for its plan which included a covered ambulatory around the exterior and for the fact that at the time of our visit the Buddhist temple was serving as the temporary home of the village Devatā⁽²⁴⁾. Seated in a palanquin, she was covered with several layers of cloth and 'a hairy looking' headdress. The Devatā's usual resting place, lower down in the old village, was under repair.

Below the new village, in the center of the old village, is a small chapel known as the *Lo tsa ba Lba khar* (plan by C. Luczanits, Fig. 51). The *Lba khar* consists of two rooms which are actually two separate buildings — the fore-room, a later addition, is not even completely bonded to the original building, as can be seen from the outside. The original entrance to the small chapel can be seen from the massive wooden door entered from the front chapel. The front chapel has a small shallow porch. The *Lba khar* is built of stone with wooden intermediate courses and a wooden superstructure. The small back chapel is distinguished by a lower floor level and different masonry. There is also a small window in the side wall. The *sKor lam* (*pradakṣināpatha*) is found on the outside of this cella. Over the centuries worshippers have built up a massive *mani* wall along the outside wall of the chapel. The apse has a raised platform on

(24) Locally pronounced 'Devta'. We had neglected to ask its name but it may be Candikā, who is reported at both Ropa and Yuwaringi (Singh 1990: 249).



Fig. 52 - Ropa, five Tathāgatas with wooden sculptures on altar (C. Luczanits).

which are seated five clay Tathāgatas — three along the back wall, one each along the side (Fig. 52). Each of them is painted in a different color. According to the present color scheme Vairocana is in the center, as is traditional in all the early temples. This follows the preference found in the mandalas of the Yoga Tantras. However, this figure appears to be in *dhyānamudrā* which might suggest Amitābha. However, in early *Vajrayāna* iconography Vairocana is often depicted in *dhyānamudrā* holding a *dharmacakra* (Klimburg-Salter 1982: pl. 61).

In front of the side walls of the apse are a pair of white Bodhisattvas (Fig. 53), both in *lalitāsana*, between them and in front of the apse is an altar, at present containing nine mainly wooden sculptures in different sizes and belonging to different periods. Three of the sculptures appear stylistically related to the seated clay Bodhisattvas. Two seated Bodhisattvas appear to be in a style already familiar from the 11th-12th century art of Spiti (Ta pho and Lalung). While a six-armed female figure is rather in Kashmiri style as are the spectacular standing wooden Bodhisattvas (to whom we shall return).

The date of the clay statues is difficult to determine. The heads often appear to be too awkwardly placed on the necks as also are parts of the hands and arms, which may result from frequent repairs. A more detailed first hand examination is necessary. It may well be that the original statues were medieval in date but often repaired. This is suggested by the pointed top of the Buddha figure's slender, oval halo, also the



Fig. 53 - Ropa, *Lo tsa ba Lha khañ*.
A Bodhisattva (C. Luczanits).

form of the 'descent-from-heaven *stūpa*' (*mChod rten*) at the apex of the halo (Fig. 54). This *stūpa* shape is found from the 7th century from the Hindu Kush to Kashmir and Spiti. In Ta pho (Fig. 55) a similar *stūpa* occurs at the apex of the Vairocana sculpture in the 'Du khañ. Also the shape and décor of the crown placed on large rosettes above the ears suggests a medieval date.

On either side of the door is a guardian figure, a red Hayagrīva (Fig. 56) and a blue Mahākāla. As with the seated clay images the date of the guardian figures is difficult to determine. The fact that they each have only one head and two arms, and a semi-ferocious demeanor suggests an early date. This is also suggested by the structure of the head and torso as well as the shapes of the headdresses which have affinity to Central Asia ⁽²⁵⁾.

⁽²⁵⁾ Hayagrīva is one of the oldest of the Tantric figures known in Northwest India, as attested to by the beautiful seated figure from Kashmir, c. 8th century (Klimburg-Salter 1982: 20), in the St. Louis Museum of Art. I thank Prof. John Rosenfield for bringing the Alchi fragment (Fig. 62) to my attention.

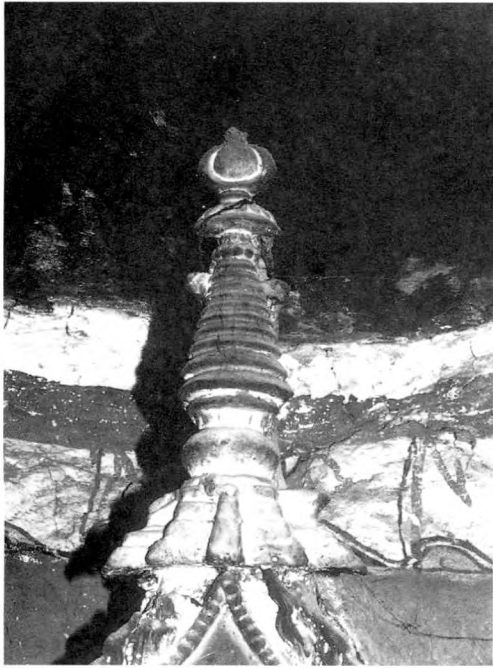


Fig. 54 - Ropa, *mChod rten* on top of halo, clay figure (C. Luczanits).

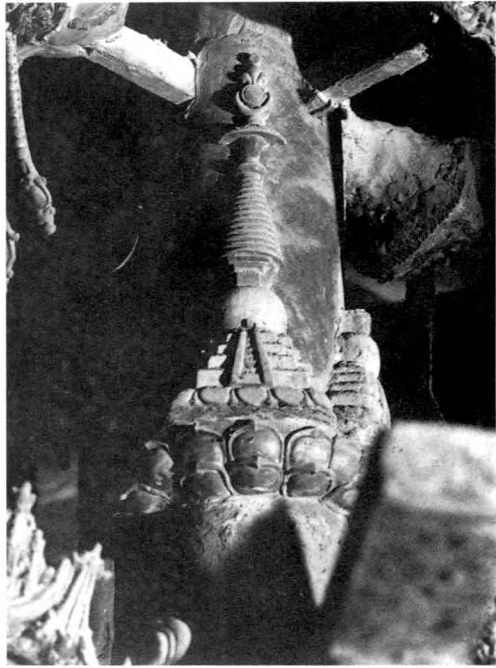


Fig. 55 - Ta pho, *mChod rten* above Sarvavid Vairocana (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 56 - Ropa, Hayagrīva (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 57 - Ropa, wooden Vajrasattva (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 58 - Ropa, wooden Avalokiteśvara between Hayagrīva and seated Bodhisattva in clay (C. Luczanits).

Placed one each against the side walls are two standing Bodhisattva figures. The figures and their bases are made of wood. They are placed rather awkwardly on clay platforms which are lower than the platforms containing the clay Bodhisattvas. Further, as can be seen from the Vajrasattva (Fig. 57) to the right of the apse, they seem to have a provisionary relationship to the clay pedestal — note the awkward size and the placement of Vajrasattva's pedestal which is precariously balanced on slabs of wood.

The two standing wooden sculptures are *c.* 120 cm high, they are very similar in style and appear to have been sculpted by the same hand or at least workshop. To the left of the apse, Avalokiteśvara (Fig. 58) can be recognized by the seated Buddha in the central piece of the tri-partite crown, and by the large lotus which is held in the left hand in *abhayamudrā*; the right hand is in *varadamudrā*. The round face, full cheeks, pointed nose and pointed chin with small full mouth and large arched eyebrows, also the simple jewelry are typical features of Kashmiri art *c.* 8th-9th centuries (Fig. 59). But the crown, middle part pointed, side parts slightly rounded, placed on a band with side rosettes, the large hips with exaggerated thrust to one side are usually associated with a later period, perhaps the 10th century. Also typical of Kashmiri images — although also found throughout Himachal Pradesh from Chamba to Spiti valley, is the dhoti with one leg much longer than the other, and the long flower *mālā* that falls to the ankles. An unusual feature is the high piled hair that flows out of



Fig. 59 - Ropa, detail of Avalokiteśvara (C. Luczanits).



Fig. 60 - Ropa, wooden Bodhisattva on a peacock (C. Luczanits).

the tall crown and cascades down the back and shoulders in many small thin plaits. This same feature (in an even more exaggerated version) is found in two of the smaller wood statues. The question of the original provenance of these figures needs to be pursued, together with a careful analysis of the style and archaeological context of all the figures which is being prepared by Prof. Maurizio Taddei.

The small wooden sculptures on the altar are also extremely interesting and they deserve a more thorough examination and photodocumentation than we could accomplish in the short time available to us. Stylistically, two of the figures can be related both to metal sculptures attributed to either Kashmir or Himachal Pradesh 10th-11th centuries, or to clay images in Ta pho and Lalung. A Bodhisattva figure seated in *lālītāsana* on a peacock is painted green with a yellow stomach (Fig. 60). It holds a *mālā* in its right hand and the left hand rests on the left leg, palm turned downward, index finger curved and raised; the crown is large and tri-partite set on a band with rosettes over the ears. The hair falls down out of the crown in a rush of thin long plaits. The treatment of the torso, the rather flat profile and the shape of the head remind one of the carved wooden Mañjuśrī above the entrance to the

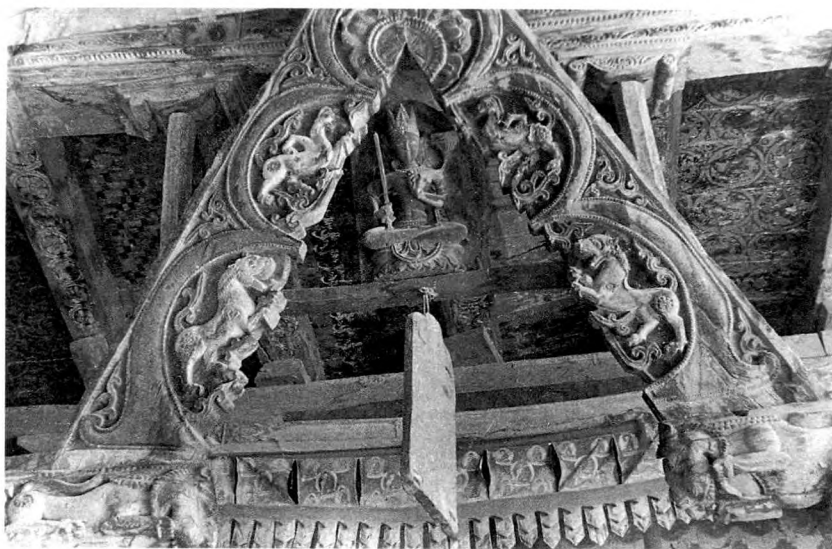


Fig. 61 - Alchi, façade of 'Du *khañ* (IsMEO, Tucci Archives).

Fig. 62 - Alchi, fragment of wooden Bodhisattva (Courtesy of Fogg Museum, acc. no. 1946.28).



Alchi 'Du *khañ*. Fortunately, this beautiful image was photographed by Gherzi when it was still in excellent condition (Fig. 61). Also belonging to this stylistic group is a beautiful wooden fragment preserved in the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, which was bought in Alchi in the 30's (Fig. 62).

Most of the walls have mural paintings of a recent date, some (i.e. behind Avalokiteśvara) are older but none seemed as ancient as the wooden sculptures. The entire wall surface needs to be examined with a good light.

Ropa is important not only for the early dates of the several sculptures, but also because it conclusively demonstrates the intensive inter-regional artistic connections from the 10th-12th century throughout Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Ladakh.



Fig. 63 - Chini, Viṣṇu temple (IsMEO, Tucci Archives, Neg. Dep. 6015/33; E. Gherzi).

Chini

During their 1933 visit Tucci and Gherzi photographed the most interesting Viṣṇu temples in Chini.

As this village lies along the old Tibet-Hindustan road quite high above the modern road which is closer to the Sutlej, we were unable to make the time consuming detour during our 1989 expedition. Today there are in fact three complexes: coming from the main road one arrives first at the modern administrative center Rekong Peo, above this is the old administrative center at Kalpa and next to this is the village of Chini (Fig. 63).

Comparing the 1991 and 1933 photos one can see that the traditional wooden village is much reduced in size. The temples however appear to be all standing, indeed they have been so completely renovated and enlarged that we had difficulty in distinguishing the original structures and decoration in the short time available to us (Fig. 64).

Hopefully the traditional temples here and in the former capital of the Bashar Rajas, Sarahan, will be properly documented before further renovation is carried out.

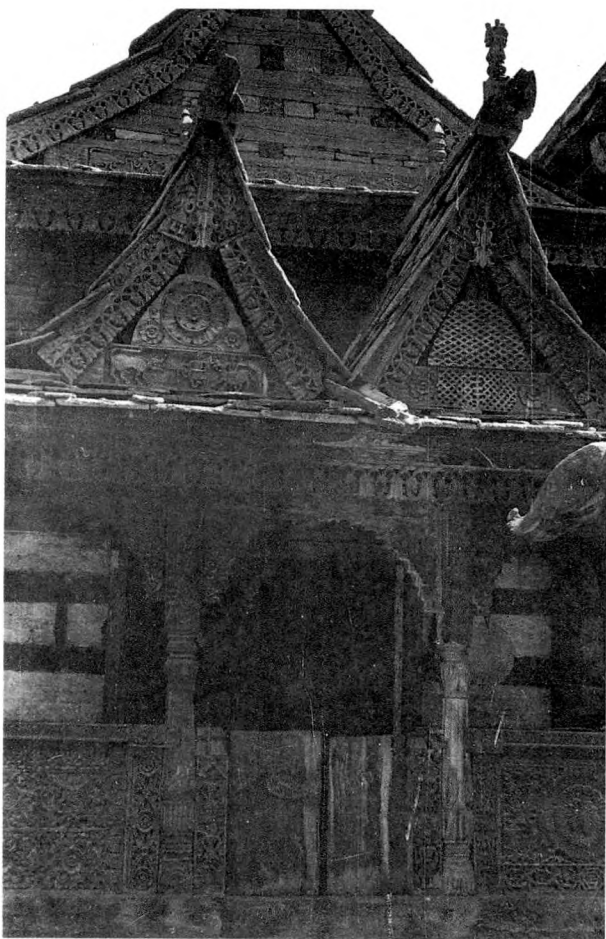


Fig. 64 - Chini, Viṣṇu temple in 1933
(IsMEO, Tucci Archives, Neg. Dep.
6029/24; E. Gherzi).

TA PHO LCAGS MKHAR

Our interest, as often stated above, has been to document the artistic culture of the *phyi dar* the 11th-12th century in Himachal Pradesh. We have also attempted to document the art works of the later periods, up to the 18th century, as much as possible. However, we were also much impressed with the contemporary culture of the region. As we have noted, since the 1960's there has been a steady expansion of Tibetan Buddhist activity in Himachal Pradesh. Practically all the villages we visited had, within the last few years, initiated ambitious programs for religious buildings complete with new mural paintings sometimes, as in Poo, from artists brought from outside, but in Ta pho a modern school of *thangka* painting thrives once again.



Fig. 65 - Ta pho, *lcags mkhar*.

We were fortunate to be able to attend the *lcags mkhar* (iron castle in the form of a *torma*) (Fig. 65) ceremony at Ta pho, which consisted of three days of ritual preparation and two days of public ceremony held on Oct. 5th and 6th. This ceremony is held every four years (Fig. 66). Not only is this an important event in the life of the monastery but for the whole of the Spiti and upper Kunawar valleys. In addition to the important monastic rituals and 'cham dances which are meant to protect the monastery and the general environment, the two-day festival is also an occasion for the celebration of the local culture. Luczanits recorded all the music. He and Dr Kowar have catalogued it for the Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. We keenly felt the continuity between the high level of artistic expression represented in the ancient monasteries and the living culture. Will local people and government officials be capable of safeguarding the local culture, despite the short term profits to be gained, now that the region will be open to tourists? Surely the flourishing painting school at Ta pho monastery conducted by the local painter bSod nams sTobs rgyas and his students, all from local villages, whose only inspiration has been the art remaining on the monastery walls, is proof of the importance and possibility of cultural continuity.

The *lcags mkhar* ceremony and festival will be discussed in more detail in a forthcoming Archive publication.



Fig. 66 - Ta pho, 'cham in 1933 (IsMEO, Tucci Archives, Neg. Dep. 6080/11; E. Gherzi).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the most obvious conclusions to be drawn from our survey is the astonishing richness and diversity of the artistic culture of Himachal Pradesh from the 10th to 12th centuries which was not limited to Buddhism.

Although we are only at the beginning of our study of this material several chronological phases are already apparent although not yet clearly definable. On the other hand, the cultural interrelationships — that is the continuous sharing of a large, but consistent vocabulary of forms, throughout this region and period is also clear. The international and intra-regional trade network as well as shared religious and political institutions were undoubtedly responsible for this intensive cultural exchange. The change in style which seems to occur *c.* late 12th century may be the result of the emergence of Ladakh as the main political power during this period.

As yet, Ta pho is still the only monastery in Himachal Pradesh whose wall paintings can be firmly dated to the 10th and 11th centuries. Sculptures from this period also survive at Gumrang, Udaipur, Lalung, Ropa among other sites. Due to the large amount of paintings and sculptures of often stunning artistic accomplishment as well as contemporaneous inscriptions, which allows us to attribute the arts to the direct patronage of Ye śes 'od and Byañ chub 'od, the Ta pho *gTsug lag khañ* is a priceless historic document which provides a benchmark for the study of the other related arts of the region.

The discovery of numerous painted manuscript folios from Ta pho, Poo and Lahul — and their obvious relationship to the manuscript paintings recovered from mTho glin by Tucci and Gherzi, indicate the existence of prolific manuscript writing, copying, and illuminating centers in the 11th century. Further, these workshops must have been under some central control because of the uniformly high quality of the manuscripts until now discovered. Not only are the styles of the figures similar to each other but, interestingly, the calligraphy is also ⁽²⁶⁾. The evidence for wide ranging teaching, translating and study at Ta pho suggests that Ta pho might have been one of the centers for manuscript production as well.

The manuscript illuminations which we have discussed in this report are considered to have belonged to the 'Kashmiri' phase of painting in western Tibet. What this term 'Kashmiri' means is another question. Every scholar since Tucci has repeated his assertion (based on Rin chen bzañ po's biography) that the mural and manuscript painting of western Tibet reflect the lost school of Kashmiri painting. However, no evidence of painting directly attributable to Kashmir has ever been found. Also there has never been any archaeological trace of a Buddhist monastery in Kashmir proper (i.e. the Srinagar valley) built after the 9th century ⁽²⁷⁾. On the other hand, some painting from Alchi and Ta pho and also sculpture from Ta pho recalls stylistic elements and motifs found in sculpture from both Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. As we have seen, Kashmir was not the only center of artistic activity. We have abundant evidence for active artistic schools in all the neighboring regions as far as Chamba and Ladakh in the 10th century. And although we still have no examples of painting which might be understood as the forerunners of the 11th century western Tibetan style of painting, we do have evidence from the Gilgit manuscript covers for other local schools of painting prior to the 10th century.

We have seen that the 11th century school of western Tibetan painting was far more extensive than previously expected, and this school had an independent character and a complex heritage. It is already clear that the western Tibetan painting in the 10th-12th century had different subdivisions, which point to different antecedents, none of which have as yet been identified.

The contemporaneous artistic production was rich indeed. The sculptural arts also flourished — not only large-size earthen sculptures and metal sculptures, but wood may have been the most commonly used medium. We have already noted a wide variety of functions — from architectural decoration (Udaipur is the most spectacular surviving example), to shrines and votive *stūpas*.

⁽²⁶⁾ Pal's conclusion that the leaves in the mTho glin manuscript belong to one manuscript because the writing is 'identical' is therefore certainly not correct. The slight differences in the size of the pages suggest three or perhaps four different manuscripts.

⁽²⁷⁾ Naudou had confessed that he was unable to identify the location of Kashmiri monasteries listed in Tibetan colophons, but presumed they must have been in Srinagar.

In Ta pho we have already noted that the significance of the different stylistic groups within the second phase of painting and sculpture (early to mid 11th century) is not yet clear. We remain to a large degree in the archaeological phase of our study. That is, we are still attempting to thoroughly document and objectively analyse the artistic remains. Only tentatively have we begun to advance explanatory historical models. A major new aspect is a comparative study of the architecture. We have noted that there is a surprising degree of similarity with regard to the plans of the temples so far studied. We will soon be able to address the question of function.

The question of the ritual function of the *gTsug lag khañ* is paramount. In Ta pho we have the astonishing good fortune of a structure and its decoration, which has altered little, it seems, since the 11th century. One of the immediate goals of our inquiry is to understand how the *gTsug lag khañ* was actually used, and by whom. Thanks to the multidisciplinary efforts of a number of scholars we are able to attempt to approach the evidence for the culture of the *phyi dar* in Himachal Pradesh from a number of methodological perspectives. The largest body of evidence remains the arts — architecture, painting, sculpture. While the evidence is fragmentary in the extreme, it is our hope that from the puzzle of small fragments eventually a complete picture — the arts in their historical context — will emerge.

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Another *Rin chen bzai po* Temple?

by CHRISTIAN LUCZANITS

Various Lahuli traditions and the secondary literature contain references to temples connected with the time of *Rin chen bzai po*: Gemur ⁽¹⁾, Johling ⁽²⁾, Chokhor ⁽³⁾ and Gumrang ⁽⁴⁾. However, several authors doubt these traditions ⁽⁵⁾ and only one of these places, namely Johling (*Jo gliñ*), might be identified with a monastery mentioned in *Rin chen bzai po*'s biography (cf. Klimburg-Salter in this issue) ⁽⁶⁾. Although mentioned several times, none of these temples was described or discussed in detail until now.

Gemur (*Gye mur*) ⁽⁷⁾, in the upper part of the Bhāgā valley, was destroyed by

(*) This paper is the result of a joint IsMEO — University of Vienna field study project of 1991 (see Klimburg-Salter in this issue). The study was carried out on a grant from the Fonds zur Förderung wissenschaftlicher Forschung at the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Universität Wien. I would also like to thank Prof. M. Taddei for his guidance during the preparation of this paper.

The spellings of the place names are given as they are locally pronounced today. Established usages in the secondary literature and on signposts at the different places are taken into consideration. The Tibetan spelling is given in brackets according to the transliteration system used at the University of Vienna.

⁽¹⁾ 'Gamur in Lahaul' is only mentioned once by Singh 1983: 124 in a list of monasteries 'connected with Rin-Chen-Sang-po and his time'.

⁽²⁾ Lauf 1971: 369; 'Juling' Singh 1983: 144; 'Jholing' Handa 1987: 185 and my informant. All of my information about oral traditions in connection with this paper is mediated by or received from *Tsbe riñ rdo rje* of Guskhar. I would like to thank him here for the time he spent with me and for his valuable information and help.

⁽³⁾ Francke 1926: 218 attributes Chokhor to the time of Atiśa. Francke 1929: ii; Lauf 1971: 369 and Tobdan 1984: 85.

⁽⁴⁾ Francke 1929: ii; Lauf 1971: 369; 'Gunrang' Peter 1975: 12; 'Gumrang' Singh 1983: 144, Tobdan 1984: 85, Handa 1987: 185 and my informant, Lauf 1971: 369 also mentions *Bar dgon pa*, a place I do not know.

⁽⁵⁾ Singh 1983: 124, 202, Tobdan 1984: 85 and Handa 1987: 78, 185. They follow, often word for word, Francke 1929: ii who mentions temples other than those discussed here as cases where he doubts the tradition. There he seems to rely on contradicting local traditions. The former authors, however, attribute some of these four temples to 'founders' or 'fathers' of the *bKa' brgyud pa* school without giving any source or reason for their attributions.

⁽⁶⁾ Tucci 1933: 71-74 and Snellgrove & Skorupski 1980: 95, 108.

⁽⁷⁾ Francke 1926: 155, 160; *dGe smur* Lauf 1971: 373, 375 and Peter 1975: 11-12.

an avalanche and rebuilt on a safer spot ⁽⁸⁾. Only a few traces of the walls are left from the old monastery. The surviving sculptures were brought over to the new temple. Johling (*Žo gliñ*) ⁽⁹⁾ is today a ruin but still considered a holy building (see Klimburg-Salter in this issue). Chokhor (*Cbos 'khor*) ⁽¹⁰⁾ is today a hamlet composed of two houses and a very small, newly built temple near Sissu in the Chandrā valley ⁽¹¹⁾. A preliminary description of the small temple at Gumrang, the most interesting and best preserved of them, is the subject of this paper ⁽¹²⁾.

Gumrang (*Gumñ ranñ*) ⁽¹³⁾ is a small hamlet on the north slope of the lower Bhāgā valley (*Gar*) ⁽¹⁴⁾, about half an hour's walk from Kyelong (*Kye lanñ*) ⁽¹⁵⁾. It is found on the mountain slope to the east of Kyelong, divided from it only by a small stream. On this slope there are three hamlets: along the road to Ladakh Guskhar and Yurnath, and higher up Gumrang and the monastery of Bokar which is today in charge of the village temple at Gumrang. A path leads from Guskhar to Gumrang and Bokar. Gumrang is the seat of a Thakur's family ⁽¹⁶⁾ of the same name. During the rule of Rājā Mān Singh of Kullu (1688-1719) ⁽¹⁷⁾ this family originated from the division of the territory of the family of Kolong (*Ko lonñ*) ⁽¹⁸⁾, in the upper Bhāgā valley) between

⁽⁸⁾ According to my informant, this occurred about 1973. Lauf 1971: 375 mentions some sculptures 'in Stucco-Technik', namely Vajradhara and Vajravārāhī, which he attributes to the 12th century. However, a picture of the Vajravārāhī, published by Madanjeet Singh 1968: 109 does not confirm this early attribution.

⁽⁹⁾ Francke 1926: 160; *rDzo gliñ* Lauf 1971: 369, 376

⁽¹⁰⁾ Francke 1929: ii; Francke 1926: 214 '(probably *sTod rgyal mtshan cbos 'khor*)' followed by Peter 1975: 24; '*Cbos skor*' Lauf 1971: 376

⁽¹¹⁾ There is a highly venerated Tārā image, which is said to have fallen from heaven and/or come from Bodhgaya. Besides this image and a few smaller and older bronzes, which are all portable, nothing indicates an early date

⁽¹²⁾ The field work here was carried out in two stages. At first, with the help of *Tsbe ranñ rdo rje*, I visited Gumrang, as I was travelling in the Chandrā and Bhāgā valleys of Lahul. Then, because of the importance of this temple, the archaeological team of the IsMEO — University of Vienna joint expedition visited the temple again during its survey in Lahul.

⁽¹³⁾ Francke 1926: 210, 218, 376; *dGumñ ranñ* Lauf 1971: 369, 376 and Peter 1975: 12

⁽¹⁴⁾ Gar cannot be identical with Garja, Tib. *Gar tsu / dKar tsu*, because this term is used for the whole of Lahul (Francke 1926: 47, 195, 246, 279 and Tobdan 1984: 9; 'the Chandrā and Bhāgā valleys up to Thiroṭ' Peter 1975: 29a). In contrast Gar means only the lower Bhāgā valley up to Stingri and Pyukar, while the upper valley is called *sTod* (Tobdan 1984: 4-5 and my informant). This division is also reflected in the respective dialects (Harcourt 1972: 42; Tobdan 1984: 9 and Bajpai 1987: 35) and cultures. I happened to observe some differences at two burial ceremonies of the same social group (Lohara) at Kardang (Gar) and Shangbar in the upper Bhāgā valley. The form Gara, as used by Bajpai 1987 throughout his book, is a mis-spelling.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Also *Kye gliñ* Francke 1926: 218, 221-23 and Peter 1975: 16.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Thakur is (like Rana) a title of local rulers. Although the territories of the five Lahuli Thakurs are very small, they do have a long history.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Hutchison & Vogel 1919: 166-68.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Francke 1926: 194-210, 222-23

two brothers ⁽¹⁹⁾. This seems to be also the earliest reference to the village's name ⁽²⁰⁾. The hamlet consists today of the Thakur's house (which was being rebuilt at the time of our visit), two big farmhouses, the temple and several smaller buildings. In addition, there is a big *mbhod rten* in the middle of the village and two smaller ones made of stone slabs at its entrance.

The temple ⁽²¹⁾ is situated at the top of the hamlet, at the same height as the roof of the farmhouse just in front of it. Only the Thakur's old house, which cannot be older than the founding of his lineage, is higher. The temple and all the main structures of the village face southwest ⁽²²⁾. The carved wooden door is protected by a veranda (partly used for storing wood and a loom) supported by four square pillars with big asymmetric capitals (Fig. 1). The platform in front of it, a part of which is the roof of another structure, has a building to the left side, which was used at the time of our visit to brew *chari* and to store other things ⁽²³⁾. How these different structures and the temple are connected, and what their respective functions were could not be studied during this short visit.

The temple structure is very simple. It is made of stone walls interspersed with wooden beams, as is common in Lahul ⁽²⁴⁾. It is a nearly square building with four pillars, which make another square in the middle, supporting the ceiling (Fig. 3). The octagonal pillars are each supported by a stone base shaped like a squat pot with a thick round lip resting on a square socle. The capitals are of a simple trapezoid shape with volutes on either side. The pillar and the capital in the eastern corner are new. A rope runs from pillar to pillar to form a square and pieces of coloured cloth, *kata* (*kba btags*) and dry flowers hang there as offerings. Above the door and the roof of the veranda is the only window of the temple. The door is only 90 cm wide and the window above it is a square of 90 cm ⁽²⁵⁾. The roof slopes to the left and touches the Thakur's house to the right (Fig. 1).

Dr Noci informed me that there is a space between the ceiling and the roof about 1.50 m high with no entrance. Similar additions are found in *La lun* ⁽²⁶⁾ and above

⁽¹⁹⁾ Francke 1926: II, 202-3. At that time this family seems to have ruled over the whole Bhāgā valley

⁽²⁰⁾ Peter 1975: 12 mentions a document of 1618, which I have not yet been able to find.

⁽²¹⁾ According to the names preserved, it once must have been a monastery: Francke 1929: ii calls it *sTon pa me me'i dgon pa*. Lauf 1971: 369, 376 calls it *dGung rang ston pa dgon pa* and says: 'dGung-rang ist in seiner urchtümlichen Art am besten erhalten und läßt die Planung des Rin-chen bzang-po vermuten'. He is followed by Peter 1975: 12. Neither of them mentions a source.

⁽²²⁾ Information from Dr Noci who studied the architecture of the building.

⁽²³⁾ It seems that the people had to use all the free space to store the Thakur's possessions as he was just rebuilding his house. A few vessels of *chari* were stored in the *Lba kba* itself.

⁽²⁴⁾ Khosla 1979: 118

⁽²⁵⁾ Information from Dr Noci

⁽²⁶⁾ Since Shuttleworth 1929 in scholarly literature generally written *Lba lun* (cf. Klimburg-Salter in this issue).

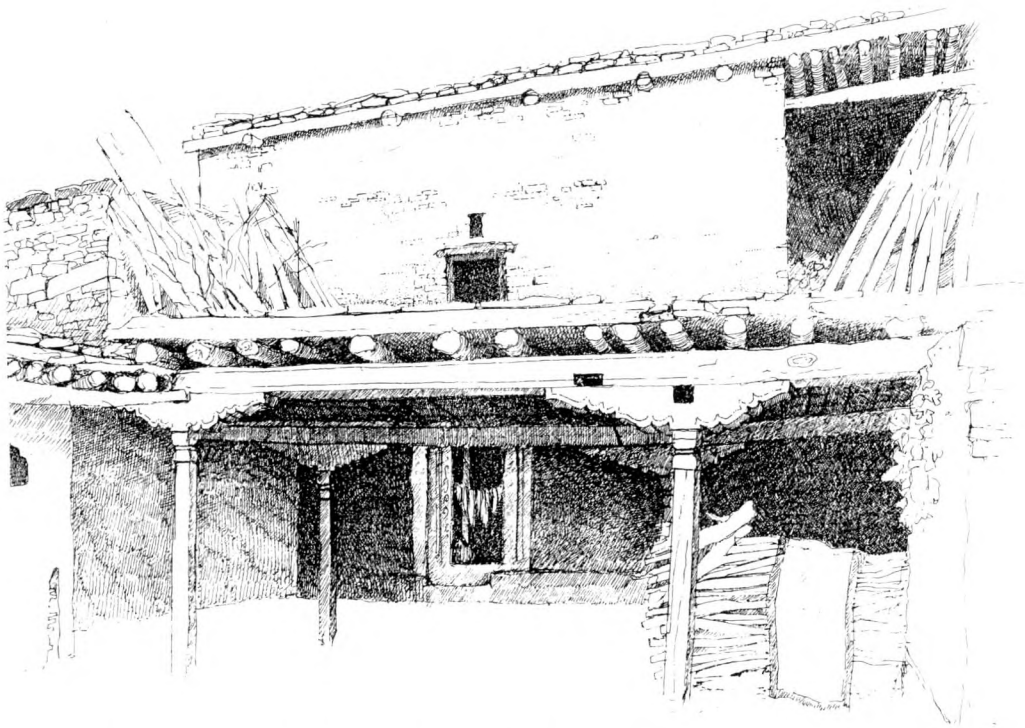


Fig. 1 - Temple at Gumrang, veranda and temple (Drawing by P. Smith).

the *mGon khañ* at *Ta pho*. These superstructures might be for protection. The temple itself is about 5.40 m long, 5.70 m wide, 3.90 m high and the entrance wall is about 70 cm thick. The veranda is 5.50 m deep and 5.20-6 m wide. The sketch of the ground plan including the veranda is drawn on the basis of Dr Noci's measurements (Fig. 2).

At least the rear- and side-walls of the building have suffered considerable damage over the years. As is also indicated by the new pillar and its capital in the eastern corner, the ceiling has been recently repaired ⁽²⁷⁾. Some of the beams used in the ceiling bear traces of rough painting ⁽²⁸⁾. Others, however, must have had painted cloth fixed on them before the renovation, as is testified by one example said to be taken from the temple (see below). Only the front wall, up to the height of the window, is certainly older as it bears the only traces of painting.

On a ledge along the rear-wall are eleven earthen sculptures, i.e. sculptures of unbaked clay, which are in very poor condition. In front of the ledge, in the middle

⁽²⁷⁾ According to my informant, this happened about 60 years ago.

⁽²⁸⁾ Similar to *La luñ*, *gSer khañ* Khosla 1979: pl. VII, facing p. 24.

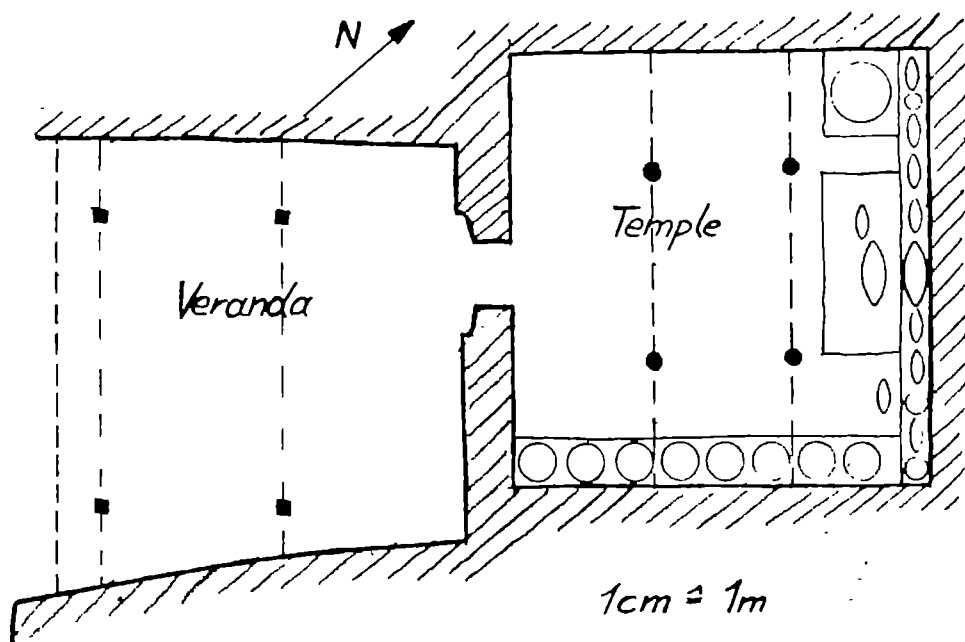


Fig. 2 - Temple at Gumrang, sketch ground plan.

of the wall, is a small platform with an image of Śākyamuni and smaller images completely covered with cloth. To the left, in the northern corner, is a wooden prayer wheel with the *mantra* written on a piece of cloth attached to it. Along the wall to the right of the small platform, are eight *mchod rten* and between the first of them and the platform is another clay sculpture (Figs. 2, 3).

As the temple is still very much venerated and cared for by the people, it was some time before we were allowed to work there. Without *Tshe rin rdo rje*, who had explained the purpose of our work at length, our task would have been impossible. Even then our study was restricted and the following description should be seen in this light. We had to keep some distance from the clay sculptures and it was therefore impossible to examine them more closely, e.g. to observe the colour on the images, to examine breaks and cracks, to identify the technique, or to photograph their profiles (not to mention cleaning off the dust, looking at their backs, etc.).

Below I shall give a careful description of those remains of the temple which I consider to be medieval and to belong to a conceptually uniform state of the *lHa khañ*. These observations are based on comparison with other chapels elsewhere in the western Himālayas which are better preserved, *Ta pho*, *La lun* and Alchi ('*A lci*') being the most famous. This does not mean that all the elements composing this hypothetical state were executed exactly at the same time. Indeed, at this stage of my research I am not able to answer the question of chronology or to propose different

phases of construction ⁽²⁹⁾. The purpose of this paper is rather an attempt to define the historical and cultural setting of the temple as a whole.

The most striking feature of the temple are the twelve badly damaged clay sculptures, mainly placed on the ledge along the rear wall. They can be divided on the basis of their iconography into the following groups:

- the main image of a Sarvavid Vairocana / *Kun rig rNam par snañ mdzad* (height c. 100 cm) (Fig. 4);
- three other *jina*; only one of which still retains its arms and shows the *varadamudrā* (i.e. Ratnasambhava / *Rin chen 'byun ldan*), but its colour could not be ascertained; the others are red (Akṣobhya / *Mi bskyod pa*, Fig. 4) and blue (Amoghasiddhi / *Don yod grub pa*) respectively (height c. 70 cm);
- four goddesses, two of them showing *vitarkamudrā* (height c. 70 cm) (Figs. 5-6);
- two standing Bodhisattvas (height c. 70 cm);
- one Buddha image (height c. 40 cm) (Fig. 7);
- a torso of another image.

As is well known, the appearance of Vairocana as the main image is a major characteristic for temples attributed to *Rin chen bzang po* ⁽³⁰⁾.

Their location is certainly not original. This is indicated not only by the fact that their configuration makes no iconographical sense, but also by the presence of two lion heads (the *vāhana* of Vairocana, Fig. 4, shows one of them), a head of a *makara* and other fragments lying between the sculptures. Furthermore, the very fact that the sculptures are so badly preserved itself suggests that they had been moved. As sculptures of unbaked clay are very fragile, they had to be made on the spot, i.e. constructed around the armature already fixed on the wall. Therefore, even if they are made in the round, they are not painted on the rear ⁽³¹⁾. At some point, a serious disturbance must have forced the people to remove the sculptures from their original places. This must have happened at a time when the people were no longer able to repair them and too poor to replace them with new ones of another material. Furthermore the people's claim that the sculptures were originally fixed to the wall strengthen this hypothesis. The comparatively small size of the images and their respective differences in size suggest an original composition similar to *La lün*, Alchi, etc., on one wall or in an apse ⁽³²⁾.

⁽²⁹⁾ To answer these questions, it would also be necessary to clean some parts of the temple.

⁽³⁰⁾ Already stated by Francke 1929: iii.

⁽³¹⁾ This can be observed in *Ta pbo* as well as in Alchi, cf. also Stein 1921: 1212 describing a fragment of a camel from Ming-oi, Karakoram (pl. CXXXVI, Mi.xii.0025.); 'worked in the round though not painted on R. side'. Yaldiz 1987: 145 points out that none of the clay images of the northern Silk Route are finished on the rear side.

⁽³²⁾ E.g. *La lün*: Tucci 1988: pls. LXIII-LXX; Alchi '*Du khor*': Singh 1968: 42; Snellgrove & Skorupski 1977: figs. 17-18; Khosla 1979: pl. IV, facing p. 9 and Pal 1982: D3; Lamayuru: Snellgrove & Skorupski 1977: pl. II



Fig. 3 - Temple at Gumrang, inside view (Photo F. Noci).



Fig. 4 - Temple at Gumrang, image of a Sarvavid Vairocana (Photo C. Luczanits).



Figs. 5-6 - Temple at Gumrang, a goddess (Photo C. Luczanits).



Fig. 7 - Temple at Gumrang, a Buddha (Photo C. Luczanits).

They may have formed a mandala-like composition, as found in *La lun*, Alchi/'A lci, etc., where the *makara* head would be included in a structure framing the main image, while the lions, shown frontally in this case, would support the throne ⁽³³⁾. The images usually sit on a lotus base of the same material, which might have existed here as well, as many of the legs are seriously damaged. The standing Bodhisattvas are said to have been fixed to the pillars ⁽³⁴⁾.

The style of the images is unusual. The round face with the small pointed nose and the small mouth, the wide, round cheeks and the soft edge forming the eyebrow have no direct terms of comparison in the known art of the region. They recall one of examples of Central Asian clay sculptures of comparable small size as found in Tumšuq ⁽³⁵⁾ and Šorčuq / Karašahr ⁽³⁶⁾. The bodies and limbs are slender, elongated ⁽³⁷⁾ and sometimes a little out of proportion ⁽³⁸⁾. The upper body is clearly divided into three parts: the swelling breast, the straight line of the lower chest and the swelling belly continuing into the hips (Figs. 4, 5) ⁽³⁹⁾. The female images show a slim waist just at the navel, which interrupts the continuity between the chest and the hip. Their breasts are small and the belly swells forth below the navel (Fig. 5).

The images sit on a comparably narrow ledge (only about 35 cm). They have a rather flat body, which is not meant to be seen from the side. They show a *dhyanāsana*, the knees being spread wide apart while the heels of the crossed feet nearly touch each other ⁽⁴⁰⁾. Consequently the *mālā*, which in Kashmiri and Himachal bronzes usually hangs down between the crossed legs ⁽⁴¹⁾, here hangs down in front of them ⁽⁴²⁾.

⁽³³⁾ As in Sumda (*gSum mda'*; Snellgrove & Skorupski 1980: 63, fig. 57), in the throne of some Kashmiri and related bronzes Pal 1975: pls. 21, 23, 41, 73, 75-76, 84.

⁽³⁴⁾ I do not know any other example of a standing image affixed to a pillar; sitting ones are known to me from Nako (Kinnaur) and the *Sroṭa brisān gam po* 'cave' in the Potala, *Lba sa*.

⁽³⁵⁾ Especially the reliefs of temple B in Toqquz Sarai (Hambis 1964: pls. LXVII-LXVIII etc.), which are made of unmixed clay (M. Hallade in Hambis 1964: 142). This material is unique in this area but, as the reliefs were found on the outside of the temple, this kind of clay seems to be more weather-resistant (Yaldiz 1987: 145, 148, fig. 92).

⁽³⁶⁾ Härtel & Yaldiz 1987: pls. 42-43; Stein 1921: pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV.

⁽³⁷⁾ This elongation is brought to an extreme in later clay sculptures of historical Northwest India as, e.g., in Fondukistān or the Nāgas at Tapa Sardār (Rhie 1988: figs. 36, 38, 40, 42-43, 46; Taddei & Verardi 1978: figs. 218-19). The roundness and smooth continuation of the body is missing in West Tibet and Central Asia, where similar, often awkward, forms of elongation can be found.

⁽³⁸⁾ E.g. the heads and hands on the smaller images.

⁽³⁹⁾ Cf. later Kashmiri bronzes: Pal 1975: nos. 48-49, 51, 53 etc.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Cf. paintings from Dunhuang, mainly of the 'Himālayan Style': Klimburg-Salter 1982: 117-18, pls. 55, 61-63, 66-67; and Alchi: Goepper 1982: pls. 10, 15, 17; Pal 1982: nos. D5, D14-D19, D21 etc.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Pal 1975: nos. 30, 43, 49, 57-58, 69-70, 88-90.

⁽⁴²⁾ As found in one bronze only (Schroeder 1981: fig. 26G) in a typical Himachal style and in

The *jinās* and standing Bodhisattvas wear a long *lungī*, a crown without rosettes, large leaf-shaped earrings, a necklace, bracelets on the upper and lower arms, a string of pearls ending in an ornamental knot as girdle and anklets. There is a large knot behind the crown, whose band hangs down to the elbow⁽⁴³⁾, and a painted string of pearls hanging down to the navel (Fig. 4). The Sarvavid Vairocana is further distinguished by a five-pointed crown (instead of the three-pointed crown of the other images), the sacred thread and an additional garland of pearls along the girdle⁽⁴⁴⁾. This might be the only image which was partly repaired, as is indicated by the slightly different style of the heads (Fig. 4).

The female images wear the same costume, but instead of the knot behind the crown, they have a cloth hanging down their back, the wavy edges of which reach the elbow⁽⁴⁵⁾. Both sides display a hairknot with flowers⁽⁴⁶⁾. Instead of the straight locks of the male images, their hair is indicated by a sharp wavy line (Fig. 6)⁽⁴⁷⁾. In addition to the *lungī*, at least one goddess wears a painted corset (Fig. 5)⁽⁴⁸⁾.

The Buddha image, the most curious of the clay figures, wears a red patchwork *saṃghāṭī* clinging to the body in Gupta fashion. It has a sleek undifferentiated hairdress and a large U-shaped *uṣṇīṣa*, both unusual features in the western Himālaya⁽⁴⁹⁾. Its former function in the temple remains a mystery (Fig. 7).

Due to the poor state of preservation of the figures, one can partly see how they were made. The core is a wooden armature, around which coarser clay mixed with some filling material (straw and hair can be recognized) is fixed with a rope or strips

some paintings of Alchi 'Du *kbat* (usually only in the form of a thin line: Pal 1982: D5, D14-18, espec. D24) and the sculptures of Alchi (Singh 1968: 58; Snellgrove & Skorupski 1977: figs. 33-35, 71 and Pal 1982: ML1-ML4).

⁽⁴³⁾ This detail is very similar to the painted Bodhisattvas in the ambulatory and 'Du *kbat* in *Ta pbo* and the related paintings at *Marī nāt*. Here also, the earrings stick out in the same manner (Klimburg-Salter 1982: figs. 58-59; 1985: figs. 2, 4, 9-10). The sculptures in *Ta pbo* are in every respect more delicate and detailed than the ones at Gumrang and thus cannot be used for direct comparison (cf. Tucci 1988: pls. III-XIX, XXII).

⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is interesting to note that there is no special rule for distinguishing the main image. In *Ta pbo* a string of pearls hanging over the breast to the navel, the garland at the girdle and two anklets were used; in *Ropa / Ro pag* (cf. Klimburg-Salter in this issue) a second necklace and the sacred thread is used.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ No direct comparison could be found for this detail.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Hairknots are also found, but without flowers, in mandalas at Alchi (Goepper 1982: pls. 25, 27 and Pal 1982: S53-S60).

⁽⁴⁷⁾ This difference in hair style can be seen in several late Kashmiri bronzes: e.g. Klimburg-Salter 1982: pl. 38 (where the goddess wears also a small veil or cloth at the back) and Pal 1975 nos. 49, 51a.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Cf. Pal 1975: 9, 49, 51, 68-69, a manuscript painting from Tholing / *mTbo glīt* (Klimburg-Salter 1982: pl. 102). Most of these elements are found in slightly different forms or variations in Alchi 'Du *kbat* and *gSum brtsegs* (cf. Goepper 1982 and Pal 1982).

⁽⁴⁹⁾ The sleek hair of Buddha images is common in Central Asia, although the *uṣṇīṣa* is smaller, cf. Yaldiz 1987: 144, figs. 90-91, 98-101; Klimburg-Salter 1982: pl. 55.

of a very flexible plant. Hair also appears, at least once, in bundles wrapped around the wooden armature. The use of hair in clay sculptures is recorded for Central Asia and Fandukistān⁽⁵⁰⁾. Bands of a plant also form the core of the *mālā*. A thick rope is wound around it and plastered with clay⁽⁵¹⁾. This core is covered with other layers of clay, the last of which being very fine⁽⁵²⁾. This final layer is then painted, most probably with a white priming coat, upon which the other colours were applied.

The preserved painting was sometimes crudely executed and the colours are (at least today) dark and dull. Besides the respective colours of the bodies, their *luṅgī* were decorated with stripes or a circular pattern and some additional jewellery (a second necklace and a string of pearls) was applied. The corset of the female image was also painted. In addition, the hairline and all the 'dark' corners of the body and jewellery (e.g. the inside of the ears, the corners of the eye and mouth, the neck etc.) were painted red⁽⁵³⁾. Some of them appear to have been repainted, especially in the heads of the Vairocana.

It is certain, even from the photographs, that moulds were used for the flowers and the jewellery. Fig. 6 shows that the same mould was used for parts of the crown, the earring and the necklace⁽⁵⁴⁾. In Gumrang the number of moulds is very small; in addition to the string of pearls, only two moulds were used for the ornaments and two for the flowers. Since these moulded forms could be used in different combinations and painted differently, even such a limited number offered a great variety⁽⁵⁵⁾. The protruding ears indicate that a mould which included the ears was used for the heads⁽⁵⁶⁾. On the whole, the workmanship of the sculptures is simple but fine⁽⁵⁷⁾.

As mentioned above, there are also fragments of painting preserved on the

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Varma 1970: 147 says about the images of Central Asia: 'the use of animal hair is almost unknown in all the centres but for two or three'. Yaldiz 1987: 143 states that in eastern Central Asia most of the images are made of a 'Lehm-Häcksel-Tierhaar Mischung'. Concerning Fandukistān Klimburg-Salter (1989: 177) notes: 'The statues [...] were made of clay mixed with animal hair and straw [...]'.
⁽⁵¹⁾ Cf. Stein 1921: 1223 (pl. CXXXVII, Mij = Ming-oi, Karašahr).xxvi.008) 'Wreath, made of thin core of four grass stalks tied round with grass of fibre [. . .]. To this are applied flowers in stucco [meaning unbaked clay]'. These flowers were painted and in four shapes i.e. made with four different moulds.

⁽⁵²⁾ This layer can be recognized by the sharp edges at the cracks.

⁽⁵³⁾ The white priming coat, the red painting along the hairline, etc. are found in historical Northwest India and Central Asia (cf. Verardi 1983: 489-90; Härtel & Yaldiz 1987: pls. 31, 48-49).

⁽⁵⁴⁾ A repetition of the same motif in two or more places (e.g. earring, necklace, *luṅgī*) can be seen in bronzes as well (cf. Pal 1975: 5, 9, 18 and Klimburg-Salter 1982: pl. 30).

⁽⁵⁵⁾ This can also be seen in *Ta pho*, *La luṅ*, etc.; although in these places more moulds were used. By comparison, Gumrang was a small commission for the craftsmen.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ 'ears may not stand with the natural angle' (Varma 1970: 155).

⁽⁵⁷⁾ In my view, no chronological information can be gained from the appearance of only a few moulds and their use in places where they appear out of proportion (the earrings, the heads of smaller images). But it indicates that the sculptures are the work of a small group of craftsmen possibly from a distant region. The same moulds could not be found in other places in the western Himālaya.

entrance wall. The paintings too are in poor condition and covered with clay. At least one square meter between the entrance and the *mchod rten* awaits cleaning and documentation. The few visible parts, mainly red and beige on a dark green-blue background, are an insufficient basis for further discussion at present. The *mchod rten* are certainly a later addition since painting is found behind them.

The door frame must be at least as old as the murals on the entrance wall since these continue along the door frame itself. Here a painted border motif (different colored triangles) is recognizable on both sides of the entrance. On the outside, the door frame is carved with ornamental motifs with two images at the bottom. In the middle of the lintel, what was presumably another image was covered at the time of our visit. The relief-carving is flat and simple. Starting from the inside, the ornaments are a running vine with leaves, rows of about 13 parallel lines at opposing angles, a semicircular band covered with flowers and ending at the top in an engaged capital (Fig. 8, from the left to the right). The image at the bottom, to the left of the entrance, is presumably a male donor figure with a one-pointed high hat or crown with rosettes, square earrings and a necklace. The hands are raised in *añjalimudrā* and the figure wears a long coat. On the other side, a female image with the same headdress, a long skirt and a *mālā* is depicted. In her raised right hand she is holding a vase, in the left hand a flower with a long stem (Fig. 8) ⁽⁵⁸⁾.

It is said that paintings on cloth were fixed to the ceiling before renovation ⁽⁵⁹⁾. The one piece I saw, now in private ownership, is so similar to ones at *Ta pho* that it may have been produced by the same painter. These paintings were adjusted to the space between the beams and therefore must have been executed on the spot ⁽⁶⁰⁾.

The key elements for dating the temple lie in the style and construction technique of the sculptures, i.e. in comparison with the sculptural remains in the same material from historical Northwest India (including Afghanistan), Central Asia and other sites in West Tibet. While the round features of the face resemble only Central Asian examples (Tumšuq, Šorčuq etc.), most of the costume details clearly display Kashmiri features. The tendency towards a slender and elongated body can be seen in both regions. Preliminary comparison of technical elements also shows influences from both sides and does not allow us to suppose a direct predecessor. However, according

⁽⁵⁸⁾ This image might derive from one of the river goddesses Gaṅgā or Yamunā, although the vehicle, umbrella and secondary figures are missing. A reduction and simplification of these elements is already recognizable at the temple of Bajaura, Kullu (Viennot 1964: 147-48, pl. 13 B) and is carried further in the wooden temple of Udaipur (Goetz 1955: pl. XII) and a stone slab of Sālhi (Chamba) (Vogel 1911: 216-24, pl. XXXI).

⁽⁵⁹⁾ At that time, only some of them were preserved, as other parts of the ceiling were decorated by painting directly on the wooden boards (see above).

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Cf. Klimburg-Salter in this issue. Other original pieces of the temple might be found in the village, especially in the Thakur's house temple, which we could not visit due to the rebuilding. This chapel is said to be quite large and important (cf. Lauf 1971: 376).



Fig. 8 - Temple at Gumrang, a detail of the door-frame (Photo C. Luczanits).

to the latest dating of the comparable sites ⁽⁶¹⁾, there is a gap of at least 200 years between the Central Asian and Indian examples and the earliest clay sculptures from West Tibet.

Just as one can differentiate the extant clay images of Northwest India and Central Asia by their style, one can as easily distinguish from both of them a West Tibetan group. While the two former groups are characterized by their highly similar features over long distances (e.g. Ushkur-Fondukistān) ⁽⁶²⁾ and periods of time ⁽⁶³⁾, the West Tibetan examples demonstrate a wide range of individuality in style and details of costume. Here the iconography and composition of the sculptures are more constant. In contrast to the paintings, the clay sculptures have not been studied since Tucci and only a few of them are published ⁽⁶⁴⁾.

Although I can not yet suggest a date for the temple due to the numerous unusual features, it is precisely these elements which make it worth publishing, despite the very early stage of research. On the bases of iconography, technical and stylistic features, the temple clearly belongs to the time of the second diffusion (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet. Due to its iconography and the mandala-like composition, one cannot dismiss the tradition that attributes it to *Rin chen bzang po*. Although, for Alchi (and the related temples) this tradition can be reasonably refuted, and even in the case of *Ta pho*, the recent studies call this attribution into question (see Klimburg-Salter in this issue).

Seen in this light, the question in the title appears to be even absurd for the few remains at Gumrang. Nevertheless, it makes one aware, that the Lahul valley might have been more important for the diffusion of Buddhism in Western Tibet than previously thought. This is also indicated by the manuscripts found in Gondhla, the rock engravings (see Klimburg-Salter in this issue) and a few wooden sculptures. Therefore, a careful study of this temple would be an important element for our understanding of the cultural history of Western Tibet ⁽⁶⁵⁾.

⁽⁶¹⁾ For Tumšūq Yaldiz 1987: 111-12 does not give a specific date, but compares several details with sites dated to the 8th century. The sculptures of Šorčuq are not dated in Yaldiz 1987: 113-17, but in Härtel & Yaldiz 1987: 108-13, pls. 42-45 the 7th-8th century is given. Fondukistān is dated to the late 7th and 8th century by Klimburg-Salter 1989: 86, and to 700-720 by Rhie 1988: 36. Rhie 1988: 32-33 dates the related clay sculptures of Tapa Sardār (the Nāgas of chapel 37, fig. 34) and Adžina Tepe to the same period.

⁽⁶²⁾ Cf. Klimburg-Salter 1982: 110-11; 1989: 181, fn 99 and Verardi 1983: 503-4.

⁽⁶³⁾ The form of the heads in Central Asia was handed down for centuries with hardly any changes (Yaldiz 1987: 143-44).

⁽⁶⁴⁾ E.g. Alchi by Snellgrove & Skorupski 1977 and *Ta pho* by Klimburg-Salter 1982 and 1985. In addition, the Inst. für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde and IsMEO have some documentation from their recent study (cf. Klimburg-Salter in this issue).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ I plan to carry out a more thorough study there in the spring of 1993, which will be conducted under the supervision of Prof. M. Taddei

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Observations on the Architecture and on a Carved Wooden Door of the Temple of Mirkulā Devī at Udaipur, Himachal Pradesh

by FRANCESCO NOCI

The temple of Mirkulā Devī at Udaipur ⁽¹⁾ is one of the most important artistic monuments in Himachal Pradesh. The temple takes its name from Mirkulā, the ancient name of the village before it was renamed Udaipur at the time of Rāja Udai Singh (1690-1720) (Vogel 1911: 15; Goetz 1955: 90). A typical example of timber architecture and greatly altered as a result of continual restoration over the centuries, the monument has a richly decorated interior of carved wood that has posed a whole series of interpretive and chronological questions from the iconographic and iconological viewpoints.

The temple was studied by Vogel, who carried out an archaeological reconnaissance of the Ravi valley and surrounding area from 1902 to 1908 (Vogel 1911; Vogel in Goetz 1955: VII-IX), and was subsequently visited in the summer of 1939 by Goetz, who published it in his work on the ancient wooden temples of Chamba (Goetz 1955: 90-100, 107-17, pls. X-XVI) ⁽²⁾. More recently, Maxwell (1980) has discussed the identification of some of the images appearing in the carved wooden decoration with a view to clarifying the temple's original function. In two recent works on the art and architecture of Himachal Pradesh, Singh (1983: 12, 13, 66, pls. VII, XLIX, L, LIII-LIX) and later Bernier (1989: 83-86) give a brief description of the monument, underlining both its importance and its peculiar nature.

There is general agreement among scholars that the temple was originally dedicated to Sūrya (Goetz 1955: 113; 1969: 6; Maxwell 1980: 50) and that its foundation dates back to the 7th-8th century ⁽³⁾. Rebuilding would then have been carried out in the 11th century by Queen Suryamati, wife of Anantadeva the sovereign of Kashmir

⁽¹⁾ Udaipur is a village situated at the confluence of the Maiyar Nala and Chandrabhaga rivers in the region of Lahul. Since 1960 Lahul and Spiti have together formed a district of Himachal Pradesh (Bajpai 1978: 1).

⁽²⁾ In his study, Goetz also made use of material collected by Vogel during his previous reconnaissance trips, including the photographs for the plates (Goetz 1955: XIII).

⁽³⁾ Goetz (1955: 50; 1969: 24) points out that most of the Sun temples and images of Sūrya in northern India date from the late Gupta period and from the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire (6th-10th century).

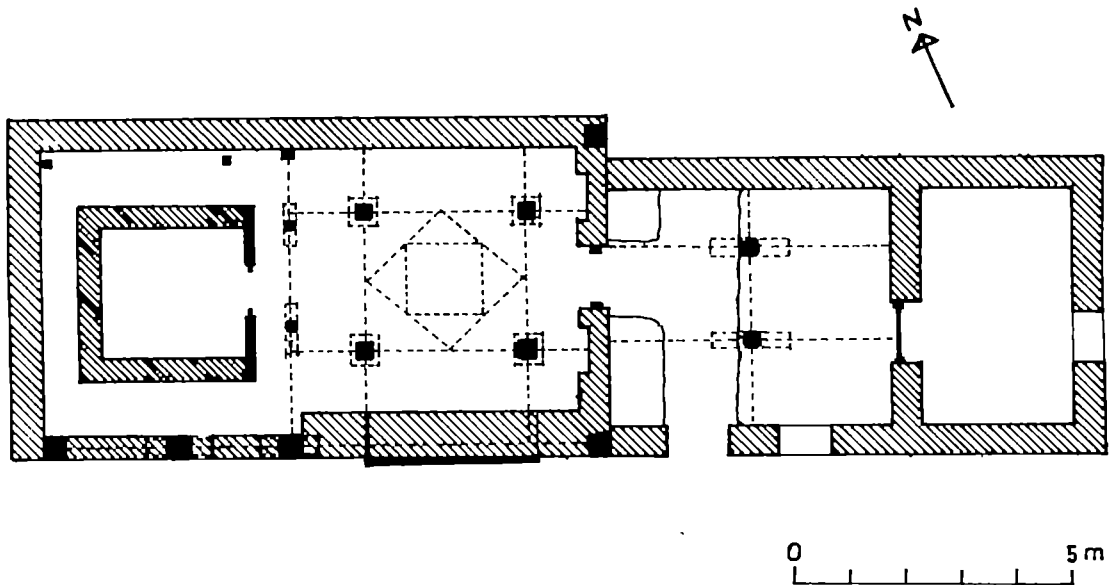


Fig. 1 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, plan (Drawing by F. Nocī).

(1028-1063), a devotee of Śiva and founder of many temples (Goetz 1955: 113; 1969: 137-38; Singh 1983: 174; Bernier 1989: 85). After the invasion of the Kulu region by King Lha-chen Utpala (c. 1080-1110) (Francke 1926: 96; Petech 1939: 110), it is very probable that Lahul also fell under the domination of Ladakh to remain so until the 17th century. When Rāja Pratāp Singh (1558-1582) of Chamba conquered western Lahul, the sanctuary of Udaipur, which had been converted to the worship of rDo-rje pha-gmo (Vajravārāhī) and then formed part of the monastery of Mar-skul (Francke in Vogel 1911: 254, 257; Goetz 1955: 108, fn. 18), again became a Hindu sanctuary. This reconversion is documented by an idol of Kālī as Mahiṣamardīnī, whose pedestal bears and inscription in late *śaradā* script with the date (1569-1570 A.D.) and the dedication by Tshākur Hīmapāla ⁽⁴⁾.

In 1991, a brief visit was made to the site (September 18th) by the joint expedition team from IsMEO and the University of Vienna during reconnaissance of west Lahul.

⁽⁴⁾ Vogel 1911: 249 ff., pls. XXXIXc, XL; Goetz 1955: 100, 108; 1969: 107; Singh 1983: 66; Bernier 1989: 84. While Vogel and Goetz refer to the statue as a 'silver idol', Singh (*loc. cit.*) reports that 'One source says that it is an Ashtadhatu (eight-metal alloy) statue' but fails to give the source. Moreover, in another part of the book (1983: 12) and with reference to the same temple of Mirkulā Devī, Singh writes as follows: 'The image of the goddess, a small brass idol of inferior workmanship, is inscribed in Tankari, which indicates that it belongs to [...] 13th or 14th century'. This statement is rather odd, unless it refers to another statue or is simply due to an error of compilation.

While the limited time available was sufficient solely for preliminary examination, the results achieved include an elementary planimetric survey of the monument (Fig. 1) (hitherto unpublished, to the best of our knowledge) and a substantial amount of photographic documentation, representing a useful updating of the iconographic material published so far ⁽³⁾. The purpose of the following notes is to make some observations and remarks about the architecture of the monument and to draw attention to a wooden door whose decorative motifs display certain rather peculiar characteristics.

The temple of Mirkulā Devī (Figs. 2-3) is situated in the heart of the commercial district of Udaipur. Located immediately north of the road that cuts through the village, it is built on a slope and rests on a substructural platform. This platform, of mainly flat but somewhat irregular stones laid without mortar, reaches a height of roughly 2 m on the south side. The top of the base is reached by a short flight of steps flanked on either side by a lion statue lodged within a roofed tetrapylon. The components of this access route appear to be comparatively recent additions ⁽⁴⁾. Aligned along an E-W axis on top of the platform are two rectangular structures, the western being the temple proper. The eastern, whose walls abut against those of the former without being actually joined to it, is a later addition.

The whole forms part of Himachal Pradesh architectonic tradition as regards both building materials and structural methods. The building technique is based on the erection of a perimetral wall of masonry mixed with timber courses together with vertical members (pillars) to support the framework of beams on which the roofing rests. The timber employed for the woodwork is deodar (*Cedrus deodara*), a very tough and durable wood common in the western Himalaya (Singh 1983: 8, 9, 22; Bernier 1989: 9) ⁽⁵⁾. Elementary joints are used for the timber elements and the force of gravity is relied upon above all for stability, as is typical of Kashmir and the surrounding mountain areas. The masonry consists of stones and largely serves to fill in the timber frame ⁽⁶⁾. Both the internal and the external structures are covered by a coat of plaster.

The eastern structure consists of a rectangular block (external measurements: 8.90 × 5.30 m) divided into two rooms. The walls are about 55 cm thick. The western

⁽³⁾ The negatives of the photographic survey are held at the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde of the University of Vienna and at the IsMEO Centro Scavi in Rome. This material assumes all the more importance in view of Bernier's recent report (1989: 85) that foreign visitors are not allowed to take photographs inside the temple.

⁽⁴⁾ Neither the tetrapylons nor the lion statues appear in the photographs published by Goetz (1955: pl. X) and Singh (1983: pl. 7).

⁽⁵⁾ In addition to the woodwork, the same material is used inside the temple for columns, capitals, architraves and decorated panels.

⁽⁶⁾ Singh (1983: 13) and Bernier (1989: 83) observe that the lack of mortar enables stone masonry to withstand earthquake tremors better. However, my summary examination of the structures, where permitted by gaps in the plaster, revealed what appears to be an earthen mortar. While the limited binding power of this material would in any case ensure an anti-seismic function, this is carried out mainly by the timber elements.



Fig. 2 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, general view from southeast (Dep. CS Neg. 17662/31; F. Noci).



Fig. 3 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, southern side (Dep. CS Neg. 17662/32; F. Noci).

room is a large chamber (5.10 × 4.15 m) acting as a vestibule ⁽⁹⁾ (Fig. 4) to the temple, while the smaller eastern room (approx. 5.10 × 4.15 m) serves an indeterminate function, probably a storeroom or accessory chamber to the sacred building ⁽¹⁰⁾. Two wooden pillars of octagonal section and fairly rough workmanship are topped by capitals in the shape of inverted trapezoids incised with rather schematic volutes. These support two thick beams laid E-W and bearing small, secondary beams at right-angles, upon which a flat roof rests. On entering the vestibule, two raised areas (approx. 30 cm) are seen in the floor located immediately to the left and right of the door. While the right-hand one occupies roughly all the eastern half of the room, its left-hand counterpart breaks off at the temple door.

The temple is a rectangular structure (internal measurements: 9.70 × 5.20 m), whose western portion contains the sanctuary (*garbhagrha*) in the shape of a square cell (external side: 3.20 m) (Fig. 5). The sides and rear part of the cell consist of structures firmly joined by a timber frame ⁽¹¹⁾, and the front of a screen composed of finely carved wooden panels ⁽¹²⁾ (Fig. 10). The space between the sanctuary-cell and the walls delimiting the building is occupied by an ambulatory (*pradakṣiṇā-patha*), the corridor of which is 1 m wide on the N (Fig. 7) and S sides and 60 cm wide on the W side. The eastern part of the temple consists of a hypostyle atrium (*mandapa*) (Fig. 5). The S wall of this contains a large window-balcony (Fig. 6), whose external projection (approx. 20 cm) is supported by a series of brackets. At this point, the wall of the building increases in thickness from the average of 55 cm found in the other parts to approximately 80 cm. A wooden bench has been fitted into the window bay inside the temple. At the sides of this bench, the walls delimiting the window display two panels of carved wood: the eastern panel depicting the Trivikrama *avatāra* of Viṣṇu; the western 'the churning of the Ocean' and the defeat of the *asuras*. Inside the *mandapa*, four pillars arranged in a square and two pillars located a short distance from the front of the sanctuary-cell assist the perimetral walls in bearing the architraves that support the ceiling (h.: approx. 3.9 m), which is composed of richly carved wooden panels. The four main pillars are made of timber and have a parallelepiped plinth (base side measurement: approx. 27 cm). The fluted cylindrical shaft is surmounted by a capital in the shape of a somewhat flattened vase with four elements of foliage emerging from its mouth (Fig. 9): a rather stylized version of a *pūrṇa kulaśa*. The capital is crowned with an abacus, topped in turn by an element in the shape of an

⁽⁹⁾ This is where visitors now remove their shoes before entering the temple.

⁽¹⁰⁾ I was prevented from entering this room as the key was nowhere to be found. The internal measurements are estimated geometrically.

⁽¹¹⁾ The impossibility of gaining access to the cell prevented more thorough analysis of these structures. The thicknesses given on the plan are therefore quite conjectural.

⁽¹²⁾ The present door to the cell consists of two simple frames with iron grilles. At the time when the photograph published by Goetz (1955: pl. XI) was taken, there were two doors of solid wood but devoid of decoration.



Fig. 4 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, the vestibular hall. In the background the entrance to the temple (Dep. CS Neg. 17663/3; F. Noci).



Fig. 5 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, the *mandapa*. In the background the *garbhagriha* (Dep. CS Neg. 17664/3; F. Noci).



Fig. 6 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, the balcony-window on the south side of the *mandapa* (Dep. CS Neg. 17664/15; F. Noci).



Fig. 7 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, the southern corridor of the ambulatory (Dep. CS Neg. 17664/4; F. Noci).

inverted pyramid supporting the entablature. Between the shaft and the plinth is an element which, despite its highly stylized execution, morphologically recalls the capital, its symmetrical counterpart (Fig. 11). The two pillars near the *garbhagṛha* are more slender (the plinth has a square base measuring 18 cm per side), have cylindrical fluted shafts, and are topped by a parallelepiped element surmounted by a capital in the shape of a short beam laid horizontally with the ends carved to give an impression of volutes. Superficial examination suffices to show that these two pillars are of rougher workmanship and more recent than the four central pillars. It should also be noted that, for structural reasons, the two pillars and cubic structure of the cell behind them tilt southward. Two niches of some 20 cm in depth situated on the inner sides of the temple entrance in the E wall of the *mandapa* contain the wooden statues of two *dvārapālas* ⁽¹³⁾ (Fig. 11). Examination of the ceilings reveals that the arrangement of

⁽¹³⁾ Goetz (1955: 91, 108) reports that these two statues were located at the sides of the façade of the sanctuary-cell in 1939, the time of his reconnaissance of the temple.

the elements of the entablature creates a *laternedecke* motif in the central span of the *mandapa* ⁽¹⁴⁾ (Fig. 8). This motif is repeated, albeit with more modest proportions and workmanship, on the ceiling of the *garbhagrha*. The roofing consists of a tall pyramid over the *garbhagrha* and ambulatory with a steep roof formed by two sloping sides over the *mandapa*. Both the pyramidal and the double slope roofs are made up of rectangular wooden tiles overlaid with wooden strips at the points of conjunction (Fig. 3). On the S side, the guttering of the *mandapa* roof projects further over the window-balcony. A *kalāśa* is situated at the top of the pyramid and another at the top of the double slope roof, more or less in the middle. A beam is laid along the ridge of the double slope roof to project on the E side with a decorative element probably derived from the motif of the zoomorphic protoma (Figs. 2-3).

The decoration inside the temple of Mirkulā Devī consists of the wooden panels (of the cell and ceiling and at the sides of the window) and of the skilfully carved architectonic members depicting the Hindu pantheon and interspersed with a rich and varied repertoire of ornamental plant and geometrical motifs. Nor is there any lack of iconographic references to a Buddhist context, e.g. the central panel of the *mandapa* ceiling (Fig. 8) representing a giant lotus flower encircled by a *vajra* frieze, or the northernmost ceiling panel depicting the Buddha withstanding the assaults of Māra and his demons.

We shall not be concerned in this article with the temple's complex iconography and the related problems (the preliminary discussion of the styles and iconographic problems of the early phases are found in Klimburg-Salter in this issue: 50-57). The following chronology is suggested by Goetz (1955: 91, 108) on the basis of iconographic-stylistic examination. The façade of the *garbhagrha*, ceiling panels and four main pillars of the *mandapa* are attributed to an initial phase in the 11th-12th century ⁽¹⁵⁾, and the two pillars in front of the cell, the statues of the *dvārapālas* ⁽¹⁶⁾, the panels at the sides of the window-balcony and the architraves supporting the ceiling to a second phase dated 1569-70 (when a new idol of Kālī was placed in the temple). The second phase is thought to have involved the reconstruction of the entire temple, the material of the original building being reused and supplemented.

Even brief examination of the monument as it now stands reveals a series of alterations. The erection of the eastern structure before the temple has unquestionably spoilt the access area. The entrance is likely to have been fitted with carved wooden

⁽¹⁴⁾ A similar type of roof covering is found in the temples of Lakṣmī Devī at Brahmar and Śakti Devī at Chatrarhi. Cf. Goetz (1955: 78, 95)

⁽¹⁵⁾ I regard the present pillars of the *mandapa* — with capitals and bases decorated in a more schematic and stylized fashion than the surmounting architraves — as belonging to a period subsequent not only to the first but also to the second of the phases proposed by Goetz. Similar considerations apply *a fortiori* to the still rougher and more simplified pillars in front of the cell.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Dr Klimburg-Salter (this issue: 51) regards the two statues as later.

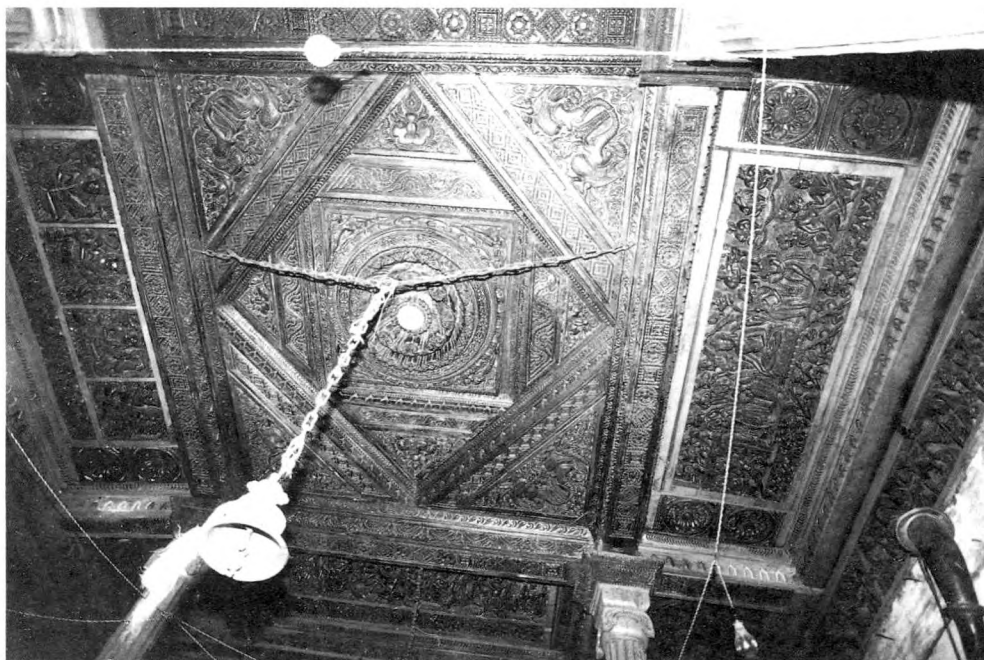


Fig. 8 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* (Dep. CS Neg. 17664/8; F. Noci).



Fig. 9 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, a capital supporting the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* (Dep. CS Neg. 17663/21; F. Noci).

frames increasing gradually in size as they projected outwards. Examples of such 'splayed' portals are not infrequent in Himachal Pradesh, e.g. in the 7th-8th century temples of Lakṣaṇa Devī at Brahmor (Goetz 1955: pl. II) and Śakti Devī at Chatrarhi as well as the 16th century temple of Hibimbā Devī at Manali (Bernier 1983: colour pl. 8, b/w pl. 6) ⁽¹⁷⁾. The entrance may also have been preceded by a porch before the construction of the present vestibule chamber. The eastern pediment of the temple, now screened by a rough, irregular boarding (Fig. 2), must also have displayed a better finish, possibly with decorations of the same standard as those within. On the other hand, the roofing of wooden tiles may well follow the original model, allowance being made for all the restorations and replacements required over the years to repair the damage caused by the severe meteorological conditions prevailing in the region.

With respect to the organization of the inner space, no great changes appear to have taken place on the whole. Restoration work is mostly concerned with the replacement of architraves and pillars and the placing of props near the N wall to reinforce the entablature elements. Conversely, the corridor of the ambulatory presents an evident anomaly, being only 60 cm wide in the western part. While no structural explanation can as yet be given, it should be noted that both the W and the N walls appear to have been restored comparatively recently ⁽¹⁸⁾. Examination of the western portion of the S wall reveals the presence of capitals of somewhat rough workmanship topping the massive pillars that constitute load-bearing elements of the structure. This could suggest that the space was originally unwallled and protected by a wooden screen only in its lower part. Considerations of stability might then have made it necessary to fill in the space between the pillars with a robust structure, retaining only two narrow openings in the upper part ⁽¹⁹⁾ (Fig. 3).

From our observations, the restoration and consolidation carried out on the 16th century temple over the centuries do not appear to have involved substantial modifications to the original structure. The previous temple (9th-12th century) may also have been similar in structure, given that materials from it (the wooden screen of the cell and ceiling panels) fit into the architectonic whole with no obvious signs of adaptation. As regards the original 7th-8th century construction dedicated to Sūrya,

⁽¹⁷⁾ According to local tradition, the temple of Mirkulā Devī was built by the same craftsman who built the temple of Hidimbā Devī at Manali in 1553 (Goetz 1955: 108-9). Singh (1983: 12) regards this tradition as groundless.

⁽¹⁸⁾ These walls appear to have been built with a stronger mortar and display no timber elements to reinforce the structure, at least on the surface.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Confirmation of this somewhat bold conjecture would involve closer examination of the structures. The idea of a more accentuated opening of the area in the vicinity of the cell, serving also to provide more adequate illumination for the *pradakṣiṇā* corridor, should encounter no serious objections based on formal or climatic considerations. In its original form (Goetz 1955: 86), the temple of Śakti Devī at Chatrarhi consisted of a sanctuary surrounded by an open gallery supported by 12 stout timber columns.



Fig. 10 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, the wooden façade of the *garbhagriha* (Dep. CS Neg. 17663/25; F. Noci).



Fig. 11 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, *dvārapāla* statues flanking the entrance inside the temple (Dep. CS Neg. 17664/14. F. Noci).

we can only guess that it may have displayed the same layout in embryo, i.e. a cubic cell surrounded by an ambulatory and preceded by a porch, as in the coeval temples at Brahmor and Chatrarhi.

On the basis of the foregoing observations, the temple of Mirkulā Devī appears from the architectonic viewpoint, as regards both planimetry and superstructure, to follow a model that formed in the Gupta era ⁽²⁰⁾ and, having become canonical, continued to spread with their epigones. The pyramid-like roof over the sanctuary also repeats the classical model developed in the Gupta period of crowning the most sacred part of the temple with tall structures of symbolic significance, including curving towers (*śikhara*) and pyramids. While the classical prototypes were mainly built in stone, timber was often used in the thickly-wooded northwestern areas of India. For technical reasons, the choice of this material must also have influenced the roofing adopted, generally pyramid-shaped or double slope roofs ⁽²¹⁾. Nor can we rule out the possibility that the platform substruction — though dictated by such practical requirements as the need to create a horizontal site on sloping ground — also constituted an imitation of the platform used in the classical temples.

A final judgement of the temple at Udaipur could be that, together with other monuments in Himachal Pradesh, it represents a surviving trace of the late Gupta artistic tradition in northwestern India. After the disappearance of the Gupta empire subsequent to the invasion by the Huns and the successive waves of transmigration of the Gurjaras and other semi-nomadic tribes, this tradition was taken up again and revitalized in the northern areas from the 7th century on by the descendants of those same invaders, especially the Gurjaras, by now completely converted to Hinduism and ethnically mixed with the mountain peoples. While this artistic culture was of course also fed by local sources, it must have been considerably influenced by Kashmir, which went through a period of great splendour above all under the Kārkoṭa dynasty from the beginning of the 8th century. The forms of expression springing from this revival of Gupta art were also influenced — to an extent still in need of clarification and definition — by Tibetan and Central Asian cultures to produce an eclectic, composite style.

I should now like to focus attention on the door to the temple (Figs. 12-13). This consists of one rectangular wooden board (155 × 80 cm) hinged on the right (as you enter) to the frame fitted into the temple's E wall. It is decorated solely on its outer surface, in the centre of which is a metal stud with a ring-shaped handle.

⁽²⁰⁾ See for example the sanctuary of Pārvatī at Nacnā-Kuthārā (Harle 1986: 111-13, fig. 86).

⁽²¹⁾ The Sun temple built by Lalitāditya the sovereign of Kashmir (713-750 A.D.) at Martand was also covered by a pyramid-shaped roof, probably made of timber and sheathed in gilded copper (Kak 1933: 131-35, Goetz 1969: 23-36, Harle 1986: 189-91). Besides the temple at Udaipur, other examples of pyramid-shaped roofs also survive in Himachal Pradesh, especially in the Jubbāl valley (Singh 1983: 16, 17).



Fig. 12 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, the wooden door with carved decoration (Dep. CS Neg. 17663/10; F. Noci).



Fig. 13 - Udaipur: Mirkulā Devī Temple, the upper part of the wooden door (Dep. CS Neg. 17663/12; F. Noci).

This carved surface is divided into four framed rectangles. The upper panels are both divided into two smaller panels by horizontal bands of decoration. As regards the lower panels, the one on the left is again divided in two by a band running crossways, whereas the decoration of the one on the right is unbroken. The slightly undercut carving causes an abstract geometric decoration of disparate elements (no two panels being alike) including plaited patterns, knots, radial and beaded disks to emerge from the background. Though executed with no great care, the principle of symmetry is followed in each composition except for the lower left-hand panel, which displays some incongruities together with some stylized plant elements that are difficult to interpret. Curving lines are used in all the decorative patterns except the lower right-hand panel, which displays a pattern of lines with angular *ductus*. The frames also display rich geometric decoration: spirals, plaited patterns, comb motifs, etc.

From a typological and stylistic viewpoint, the decoration of this door is totally unlike the other wooden elements decorating the temple. At the same time, the way

the door fits perfectly into the frame demonstrates that it must have been specifically made for its present position. Examination of the facing elements framing the entrance inside the temple reveals decoration that is similar, and in some parts absolutely identical, to that of the architraves, which can thus be regarded as coeval. This suggests that the present door was made later to replace an older one (made at the same time as the architraves) ruined by wear and tear or by some accident. At present, there is no evidence to establish when this restoration work was carried out.

The door of the temple of Mirkulā Devī and the unusual nature of its decoration in the context of the carved wood elements produced in Himachal Pradesh are by no means an isolated case. In Udaipur itself, a short distance from the temple, two doors of a house display workmanship and motifs belonging to the same style, with some variations (Fig. 14). In the villages of Ruding and Shansha on the road joining Kyelong and Udaipur, similar decorative motifs were found on the pillars of two small sanctuaries (Fig. 15). Carved knots and plaited patterns strongly resembling those of Udaipur were also found on a door and its frame in the monastery of Guru Ghantal at Tandi (again in the Lahul valley, where the Chandra river meets the Bagha) ⁽²²⁾. Finally, in the Pangi valley, the carved wooden façade of the temple of Chāmupdā Devī at Mindhal displays a few human and animal figures accompanied by a rich and varied geometric decoration stylistically resembling the door of the temple of Mirkulā Devī and the other examples cited (Singh 1983: pl. Va).

It should be pointed out that these decorative motifs, especially the plaited patterns, show similarities to the generally better controlled and more rigorously geometric versions found in the well-known artistic wood-carving culture that developed and is still alive today in the valleys of Nuristan ⁽²³⁾. One possible view is that forms of handicraft in wood — with frequent plaited motifs probably derived from braiding and weaving — were developed in the upper Oxus valley in a type of cultural *koinè* embracing, since the time of the first Kuṣāṇa empire, both central Asian nomads and other barbarian peoples, including the Tokharians from Central Asia but probably with remote European origins. This would also explain the close similarities with the development of similar motifs in the West. The Tokharians may also have been present

⁽²²⁾ Khosla 1979: figs 26, 27, pl. 155. The monastery of Guru Ghantal is reputed to be the earliest Buddhist structure in the Lahul valley. Until the last century, it had a double slope roof just like those used to cover the wooden temples in Chamba. It should be noted that the plaited pattern on the doorframe ends in snakes (*ibid.* 91, 93).

⁽²³⁾ For a brief overview of some of the innumerable examples of architectonic decoration used in the area of the Hindu Kush, see Edelberg 1984: *passim*. Other similar examples, again with a predominance of plaited motifs, are found in mosques and dwellings in the Kalash valleys in Chitral; see e.g. Scerrato 1984: figs. 14, 16, 17, 19. These motifs are used not only in architectural ornamentation but also in a broad range of craftsman's products for various uses (Edelberg 1984: figs. 193-96; Schmitt 1971: pls. XIV, XVIIb; Klimburg 1983: pl. XXIV).



Fig. 14 - Udaipur: a house, a wooden door with carved decoration (Dep. CS Neg. 17665/3; F. Noci).

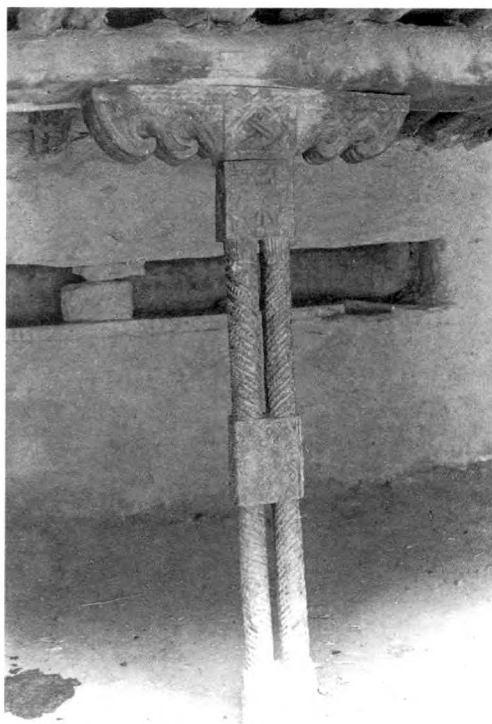


Fig. 15 - Shansha: shrine, wooden double pillar with carved decoration (Dep. CS Neg. 17662/27a; F. Noci).

in the horde of nomads who occupied the Chamba-Lahul region from the 6th century on under the leadership of the Śūlika princes ⁽²⁴⁾. This would account for the introduction of an artistic culture of wood carving similar to that found in the examples cited above, which would then have continued parallel to the more cultured tradition stemming from the late Gupta style. A more thorough examination of western Lahul and of Kashmir aimed at identifying further examples of wooden handicrafts with characteristics similar to those of the door of the temple of Mirkulā Devī could help broaden our understanding of the origins and spreading of this artistic culture.

⁽²⁴⁾ Goetz (1955: 52-55) brilliantly points out the possible role played by the Tokharians in the reworking and handing on barbarian motifs, such as the plaited patterns of probable Celtic origin, in the folk art of the Himalayan Punjab. He does not, however, consider either the door of the temple at Udaipur and the other similar examples or their possible connection with the art of wood carving in Nuristan.

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A Report on the 'Kanjur' of Ta pho

by ERNST STEINKELLNER

The first description of the manuscript collection in Ta pho ⁽¹⁾ was given by A.H. Francke (1914: 37-43) in the report on his visit to Tabo July 29th to 30th 1909. According to Francke's remarks (*ibid.*: 40) he found two piles of manuscripts consisting of 'loose and disarranged leaves'. Francke noticed the high quality of the handwriting and identified the *Prajñāpāramitā* contents. He assigned the 'manuscript' to Rin chen bzañ po's own times on the basis of its orthography ⁽²⁾ and deduced the period of the 'manuscript' from its orthography's relation to that of the inscription which commemorates the renovation under Byañ chub 'od (*ibid.*: 41) ⁽³⁾. Finally, he clearly recognized the great significance of these manuscript materials for the history of textual transmission in Tibet: 'The value of such a manuscript for critical purposes is enormous. Works like the *Prajñā-pāramitā* have up to the present been known only from modern manuscripts or wood-prints. Here, on the other hand, we obtain a text, as it was known in the translator's own days' ⁽⁴⁾.

G. Tucci and E. Gherzi visited Tabo during July 18th to 21st 1933 (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1990: 158 ff.) and a great part of *Indo-Tibetica* III.I (Tucci 1935: 21-115, pls. I-LXII) is devoted to a description of the Ta pho monastery. A whole section, § 22 'La biblioteca di Tabo', is the result of Tucci's experienced investigation of these materials (*ibid.*: 86-89, pls. XLIV-XLV).

In this chapter, Tucci devotes attention to the possible history of the library's devastation and to the difficulty of distinguishing between ancient original manuscripts

⁽¹⁾ The proper old spelling of modern Tabo and the etymology of the name are unclear. Several differently etymologized spellings such as *lta*, *rtu*, *sta* can be found, and the variations *po/pbo/bo* are also attested in inscriptions and manuscripts. For the sake of convenience, I follow the proposal of Klimburg-Salter (1987: fn. 9). For the present village, I keep to the spelling Tabo.

⁽²⁾ The characteristic features underlined by Francke are: the *da drag* after *r*, *l*, *n*, and the *y* subscribed to *n* before *i* and *e*. Strangely, Francke found the inverted *i* to be absent in Ta pho (*ibid.*: 92).

⁽³⁾ This inscription was first published and translated in Tucci 1935: 195-204. A new edition and translation by Steinkellner and Chr. Luczanits will appear in the volume mentioned in fn. 29.

⁽⁴⁾ Francke seems to have taken the 'twelve books of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*' (?) as a single unit. His enthusiastic words must be related, nowadays, to our knowledge of a long tradition of copying in these areas. But, on principle, his feelings of the importance of what he saw, were quite in place and deserve our admiration.

and later copies, and he emphasizes the great importance of these various copies for a critical edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, in its different versions, and of other canonical texts: 'perché esse ne hanno fedelmente e con cura minuziosa tramandato il testo come era uscito dalle mani dei primi traduttori' (*ibid.*: 88), and finally, gives a list of the most noteworthy remains of the library (°).

Since, in fact, he can hardly have had a closer look at more than random samples of these manuscripts and fragments, some of Tucci's remarks can no longer be accepted with regard to the material as a whole, for instance his statement: 'I manoscritti sono tutti in grafia antica' (*ibid.*: 87). In fact, the writing being exemplified with the four specimens of plates XLIV-XLV, is not typical of about half of the collection. And only a few, not many (*ibid.*: 88) of the manuscripts and copies are also covered with interlinear glosses.

Tucci thought that the core of the library consists of manuscripts and copies of West Tibetan origin and contains translations made by Rin chen bzañ po or his collaborators and their schools; that the work of copying was continued in Ta pho for a considerable time and strongly supported by the lay people who would donate the costs of copying; and that this tradition had a lasting effect, producing a sort of conservatism, even after the general cultural assimilation with the main centres of central Tibet had taken place.

As possible times for the devastation of the temple, Tucci proposed the raid by the Dogra general Zorawar Singh's soldiery in connection with his crushing the rebellion in Zañs dkar 1839 or the Dogra expedition against Tibet of 1849 (cf. Petech 1977: 143 ff.; Datta 1973: 116, 131 ff.). After the devastation of the temple and the library 'i pietosi fedeli raccolsero gli sparsi resti dell'antica biblioteca e li deposero senz'ordine nelle scaffalature provvisorie' (*ibid.*: 87).

The most recent mention (°) of the library in Ta pho is found in Klimburg-Salter (1982: 158, pl. 53), based on her visit in 1978 (°).

After their visit to Tabo in 1989, both Klimburg-Salter and Tauscher reported the library to be still extant, and I therefore proposed that the next mission to Tabo should also include a team of philologists to investigate the library in particular.

From August 30th to September 12th 1991, Tabo was again visited by a team of scholars from Italy, Germany, and Austria, this time within the framework of a formal research cooperation between the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO) and the Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, University of

(°) Tucci mentions the following texts: *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, *Vinayaśāstra*, *Pañca[viṃśati]śābha-srikāpraññāpāramitā*, *Satasābasrikāpraññāpāramitā*, *Aṣṭasābasrikāpraññāpāramitā*, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Satyadvaya-vatāra*, and *Saṃkṣiptamāṇḍalasūtreṣṭi*.

(°) D.L. Snellgrove (1957: 183-88), after his journeys to the Himalayan regions in 1953 and 1954 gives a description of Ta pho and its main temples, and does not mention the library at all.

(°) On this occasion I would like to express my gratitude to D. Klimburg-Salter for having first informed me of the library and also for having raised my curiosity and interest in the various inscriptions in Ta pho.

Vienna (ITBS) ⁽⁸⁾. The team, which aimed at investigating the Ta pho library consisted of Dr Elena De Rossi Filibeck (Rome), Dr Jampa Losang Panglung (Munich), Dr Helmut Tauscher (Vienna), and myself. About eight days of work were altogether available for an inspection of the Ta pho library.

We were greatly helped in this work, both physically and in scholarly ways, by the kind and knowledgeable abbot of Ta pho, the Geshe bSod nams dBaṅ 'dus, and a number of monks, among whom should be mentioned in particular Tshe ldan bZaṅ po, Phrin las rDo rje, and bSod nams sTobs rgyas, the painter. Without their interest and help we would not even have been able to achieve as much as we now can report below.

After the first day of work, when we opened fourteen bundles and found their contents to be an unbelievable mixture of numerous manuscripts mainly of *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Sūtra* texts by numerous hands, from very different periods with very different papers and formats, many seemingly rather old, but many also considerably later, we decided first to scan through the whole collection of altogether sixty bundles. It took us four tiring days. The impression was overwhelming. We had seen a veritable treasure ⁽⁹⁾: altogether 38,000 folios, presumably written between the 11th and 17th-18th centuries. Because of the incredible disorder of this treasure, no immediate systematic listing or photography was possible, and only curiosa, such as remains of *gser yig* manuscripts, illustrated inceptive folios, and miniatures, were photographed in passing.

Time being precious, any attempt at arranging the abundant materials in order to define and document individual units was out of the question, so we decided to confine the subsequent work to certain tasks which could help us to form an idea of the collection's character, its shape, and its genesis. Microfilm documentation also had to be limited to one specific manuscript, that of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* which we took out of the bundles (cf. below p. [16]), and to various folios or groups of

⁽⁸⁾ This cooperation was made possible through the intense interest of the president of IsMEO, Prof. Gh. Gnoli, and the strong scholarly assistance of Prof. L. Petech and Prof. M. Taddei.

For previous cooperations between IsMEO and ITBS, cf. Klimburg-Salter 1990: 145-71. And for a report on the whole expedition, the work of only a part of which in terms of time and people is reported here, compare the report of Klimburg-Salter above.

The participation of the Austrian members and Dr Panglung was supported by a grant from the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung in Österreich and that of the Italian members through IsMEO and the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche which is gratefully acknowledged. Tiger Tops Mountain Travel India, New Delhi, contributed to the field expedition expenses.

⁽⁹⁾ This 'Kanjur' consists of manuscript-folios exclusively. A very few random folios of block-prints were occasionally found, only one of which is worth mentioning: six or seven folios of a print of Tsoṅ kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo* were met with in widely separated places stressing the general impression that the presence of printed material in these bundles is purely accidental. These leaves are now collected in bundle V. Cf. the note by D. Jackson on these folios in the appendix.

After photographing, the leaves had to be added to those bundles that were slightly smaller. The bundles are referred to by Roman numerals only.

folios not typical of the collection in general and therefore more easily discernible in their heterogeneous nature, i.e. some folios of Vinaya commentaries ⁽¹⁰⁾ and of various scholastic bsTan 'gyur texts ⁽¹¹⁾. Finally we made a selection of samples of the more ancient writing styles available ⁽¹²⁾ and of the volume and folio signatures ⁽¹³⁾.

The results of this inspection are summarized below. There is no doubt that this is only a first attempt at assessing the collection's great value for the textual history of canonical literature, particularly of the *Prajñāpāramitā* class, and for Tibetan codicology ⁽¹⁴⁾. Only a few remarks are possible at the moment; future work will have to make full use of the materials themselves.

The following report is mainly descriptive, and it regards the general condition of the library and a number of specific features we were able to discern. Some remarks on the possible genesis of the library have been made, based on observations which remain necessarily hypothetical until a more detailed study of the whole collection can be undertaken.

1. *The Library and Its Repository*

The library consists of 60 huge and heavy bundles of c. 70 cm (length) × 20-25 cm (height) × 21-22 cm (width). The bundles are wrapped in bright orange cotton covers (*dpe ras*) which were donated by his Holiness the Dalai Lama after a visit to Tabo in 1976. Each bundle nearly fills the space of one of the bookcase openings.

Before the cotton wrappings were given, the bookcase units contained either one large or two smaller bundles in 1978 (Klimburg-Salter 1982: pl. 53), the older covers giving the impression of being fairly new, too. It may therefore be assumed that these earlier covers were donated together with the construction of the bookcases in the early 1940s (cf. below pp. [5] f.). Before 1933, the folios do not seem to have had any covers — at least not a conspicuous number of them ⁽¹⁵⁾.

The present two bookcases are laterally attached to the central 'altar' which, early in this century (cf. below p. [5]), was constructed as a frame permitting the view from the assembly hall of the fourfold Vairocana located at the hall's west end ⁽¹⁶⁾. Each

⁽¹⁰⁾ Now collected in LII.

⁽¹¹⁾ Now collected in V.

⁽¹²⁾ Now collected in XLVIII.

⁽¹³⁾ Now collected in XLVIII.

⁽¹⁴⁾ This discipline — aside from research in the Dunhuang manuscripts — is hardly existent in Tibetology so far. But it may well become established in the future on the basis of the enormous richness of the Ta pho manuscript treasure.

⁽¹⁵⁾ '[...] sono ammassati senza ordine fogli sparsi [...]' (Tucci 1935: 86). '[...] pile of manuscripts about five feet high [...] many hundreds of loose and disarranged leaves [...]' (Francke 1914: 40).

⁽¹⁶⁾ This Vairocana is not of one body with four heads, but of four complete bodies attached to a pole at their back (cf. Tucci 1935: 68 ff. and pl. XXII).

case is 280 cm high, 150 cm wide, and c. 80 cm deep. The sideboards, shelf fronts, and vertical separations are brightly decorated in carved painted wood and form a kind of grid. Both bookcases are symmetrically structured by six rows of five openings each, 26 × 22 cm in size and of vertically rectangular shape (Figs. 1, 2).

The backside to these elaborately decorated bookcases is a most simple one: the cases are open ⁽¹⁷⁾, and the bundles are not supported by full boards but only by two strong wooden poles to each row (Fig. 3). Klimburg-Salter (1982: fig. 47) shows the relation of the back of the book cases and Vairocana seen from South side.

A comparison of Francke's plate XVa and Tucci's plate XXI shows that the 'altar' facing for the East image of Vairocana must have been created between 1909 and 1933 ⁽¹⁸⁾. The lateral extension of the wooden and richly decorated altar facing into two bookcases on both sides cannot be seen on Tucci's plate XXI, but these cases are clearly present — at least one is — in Klimburg-Salter's figure 53 which was photographed in 1978. Since Tucci speaks only of a 'rozzo scaffale lungo la parete sinistra', i.e. to the left of the entrance, one would assume that the two cases on both sides of the central altar facing did not yet exist in 1933. However, while not given on Tucci's figure 2, the map of the 'Du khañ, in figure 1, the map of the whole monastery, the outline of which now would be represented by the altar facing proportionally including the two bookcases are definitely visible in the sketch of this 'Du khañ (Tucci's gTsug lag khañ). But it may be that this sketch gives only the central 'altar' facing and is not supposed to include any, as yet nonexistent, bookcases. Otherwise it would seem very strange that Tucci did not mention these bookcases at all.

The 'two piles' of manuscripts which Francke saw in 1909, must have been moved onto the roughly made shelf before Tucci's visit. When Klimburg-Salter visited in 1978, a lecture-throne ⁽¹⁹⁾ had been added to the altar facing and bookcases on both sides of the older central facing had been attached (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1982: 158a, fig. 53). This arrangement remains the same today ⁽²⁰⁾.

This review based on the remarks and photographs of earlier visitors matches well with bSod nams sTobs rgyas' recollections, now a man of fifty and the eldest

⁽¹⁷⁾ Should Tabo become open to international tourism in the near future, this treasure will be in immediate danger. Although wrapped in bundles, the lower ones are within reach of anyone passing towards the 'cella', and the mere presence of the monks may well turn out not to be a sufficient protection. It will, therefore, be of utmost importance for the undisturbed existence of this collection in the future, to protect it by adding at least a glass front to the facing and closing the backside of the cases.

⁽¹⁸⁾ On this occasion, the two statues assumed to be of Rin chen bzañ po (Snellgrove 1957: 148) which were still placed in front of Vairocana at the time of Francke's visit, were also integrated into the new structure as well as the other accompanying items (cf. Tucci 1935: pl. XXI).

⁽¹⁹⁾ It may already have been there in 1933, for the dotted lines in front of the Vairocana-circle in Tucci's fig. 1 may well represent such a throne.

⁽²⁰⁾ The gridlike facing of the bookcases is not conspicuous on the latter photograph, but this seems to be due to the protruding position of the bundles.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

local member of the present monastic community. He entered Ta pho monastery at the age of twelve in 1953. According to him, 'in the times of my teacher' the manuscripts were simply piled up, partly with, partly without wrappings. And bSod nams sTobs rgyas thinks that the present bookcases may have been constructed around the time of his birth, i.e. around 1941.

2. *The Folios*

The library consists of a collection of more or less fragmentary remains of manuscripts, it is true. Nevertheless it would be quite inappropriate to speak of 'manuscripts' here and in the present state of the library. To refer to this treasure's 'manuscripts' will not be possible before their remains can actually be reconstituted out of the unbelievably thorough state of disorder which is the most prominent characteristic of the present collection ⁽²¹⁾. Only in a very few cases do we find more than five to ten folios of the same manuscript together, no such unit exceeding a small finger's breadth — and there hardly remains even a correct page sequence within such units. Normally, singles, doubles, and triples are the manuscript-units which are dispersed among the 60 bundles ⁽²²⁾. I therefore have to limit these remarks to a description of the folios as the manuscript unit for the time being.

The number of folios does not vary much in the bundles. Sample counting shows around 640 folios in the average bundle. This means that the Ta pho library contains about 38,000 (!) folios altogether.

These folios survive in a well-preserved state. The climatic conditions of the upper Spiti valley are still very favourable to the preservation of paper and ink ⁽²³⁾: therefore, the difference in age between the folios cannot be inferred well from signs of their aging only. What now is well preserved has, however, not always been treated well. Besides their general state of incompleteness and disorder, there are many leaves stained with dirt, manure, and droppings, revealing a history of improper or disrespectful treatment, and many other leaves show more or less severe marks of burning, revealing a probable history of hostility and violence directed towards the sacred writings ⁽²⁴⁾.

⁽²¹⁾ It must be noted here that the folios are all placed in the proper way, with the verso side upwards and the signatures to the left throughout the collection. This is evidently due to the feeling of propriety on the part of the monks who gathered the surviving folios after each catastrophe.

⁽²²⁾ E.g., the folios from the *Pañcavimsatikā*-manuscript which we extracted from the bundles (cf. below p. [16]) were to be found dispersed in fifty-eight of these bundles.

⁽²³⁾ A general climatic change is said to take place throughout the Himalayan range with a considerable increase of precipitation. In addition, the Government's environmental efforts to stop desertification in the upper Spiti valley seem to be attracting moisture. During our stay, stray monsoon clouds often emptied their load onto the valley, an event considered abnormal by the Tabo people.

⁽²⁴⁾ On the possible conclusions from this state, see below p. [17].

* The folio's variation in size and paper is also great. The largest are 69 × 22 (60.5 × 13) with ten lines, or 68 × 21 (58 × 13) ⁽²⁵⁾ with nine lines, the smallest 43.5 × 10.5 (40 × 8) with eight, or 45.5 × 8.5 (42.5 × 5) with five lines. No less diverse is the quality of the papers of these folios ⁽²⁶⁾. The leaves include thin, finely fibred papers as well as heavy, coarsely mottled ones, supple as well as stiff, granular absorbent as well as smooth papers and even a polished kind; sometimes, moreover, two papers are joined together.

Binding circles, mostly pairs, are frequent. From among thirty folios which we selected as specimens of the writing, only nine had no such circles.

3. The 'Kanjur'

As to its contents, the collection is, with only slight exceptions ⁽²⁷⁾, exactly appropriate to its function as the ritual presence of the Buddha-word in the 'Du khañ. In this function and, moreover, because practically all traditional parts of a real bKa' 'gyur are actually represented in some way — including works of 'Dul ba, Śer phyin, mDo mañ, Phal chen, dKon brtsegs, rGyud — it can truly be called a bKa' 'gyur.

But this bKa' 'gyur is only a functional one, not a literal one. Its components originated in different times and are contained in many different manuscripts. Only after closer inspection will it be possible to discern whether or not smaller original units had been incorporated. My preliminary impression is that most of the older manuscripts contain text of the *yum* kind, i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitā* in its long ('Bum, Śatasāhasrikā), middle (Ñi kbri, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā) and short (brGyad ston pa, Aṣṭasāhasrikā) versions. And I would assume that these *yum* texts are indeed the origin and now historical core of the whole collection, as was already supposed by Francke and Tucci.

Thus these masses of old manuscript remains from many parts of bKa' 'gyur literary sections still function — and must already have been functioning for a long time — ritually as a bKa' 'gyur in the sense of the later canonical collection. This would not exclude the possibility that the origins of this collection consisted perhaps of such texts as the *yum* which were in a very prominent way considered to be the Buddha-

⁽²⁵⁾ The first number gives the length and width of the paper, the second that of the part covered with writing.

⁽²⁶⁾ An experienced specialist will be able to base a study of Tibetan paper and its varieties on this paper board. But I cannot even give a description in appropriate technical words here. Nevertheless I should say that the thin, finely fibred and slightly absorbent papers seem to be the oldest ones. It is they which also display the orthographic and palaeographic features discussed below (cf. pp. [10] f.).

⁽²⁷⁾ The one major deviation consists of around 100 folios from different, mainly scholastic texts of the bśTan 'gyur and some medical texts. The insignificance of these deviations shows the mere fortuitousness of the presence of bśTan 'gyur texts, comparable to the accidental presence of folios from wood prints.

word at a period long before the canonical collections and the establishment of their sectional structures and diversity in the 14th century ⁽²⁸⁾.

4. *Palaeography and Orthography*

Nearly all folios are written in a clear and mostly beautiful *dbu can* script (Figs. 4-7). These leaves, from the oldest manuscripts onwards, testify to very high standards in writing and calligraphic training. Only a few leaves fall below the average high quality.

The folios show hardly any differences of aging relative to one another, and the palaeographic and orthographic differences are the only ones of immediate use for establishing a chronology.

Since we have long inscriptions on the temple's walls with palaeographic and orthographic peculiarities of the same kind as in some manuscript remains, the shape and form of the texts contained in these manuscripts can indeed be attributed to the same time as the wall inscriptions. This gives us an absolute date, for the temple was founded in all probability in 996 A.D. and renovated in 1042 A.D. as traditionally accepted (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1987: 685), or in 1008 A.D. and renovated in 1054 as recently proposed by L. Petech ⁽²⁹⁾. And in terms of these fragments' significance for textual history, it is not crucial whether the presently extant folios remain from the actual originals of the collection's beginnings, or 'only' from faithful copies made in — not too much — later times (cf. Tucci 1935: 87); though naturally this is true only as long as they are faithful copies.

The palaeographic (1. inverted *i*; 2. *s-p*, *s-t*, *s-ts*-ligatures of a horizontal kind) as well as orthographic and phonetic peculiarities (3. putting a *tsheg* before *śad*; 4. haplography in case of the same end- and beginning-consonants; 5. palatalisation of *m* before *i* and *e* by means of subscript *y*; 6. occurrence of *da drag*; 7. exaggerated use of '*a chun*') ⁽³⁰⁾ will finally serve as a clue for the relative chronology of these and other manuscripts of this kind. These features occur all together or in various combinations. It is possible that the occurrence of all peculiarities together means the greatest antiquity, and that later one feature after the other fades away. But persistent conservatism on the one hand and later archaizing mannerisms ⁽³¹⁾ on the

⁽²⁸⁾ For more details on the collection's contents, cf. below, pp. [14] f.

⁽²⁹⁾ In a lecture 'Jüngste Forschungen zur Frühgeschichte des Königreichs Guge (Westtibet)' given at our institute on March 19, 1991. A final version of this paper will be included in a volume published from the Tucci Archives, IsMEO, on the medieval Buddhist remains in Spiti-Kunawar commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Giuseppe Tucci.

⁽³⁰⁾ Cf. Taube 1980: 11 ff.; Eimer 1991: 251. Of course, the peculiarities mentioned are only the most conspicuous cases. A complete survey will most probably reveal additional features.

⁽³¹⁾ There are, e.g., folios with relatively 'modern' writing which show an occasional *da drag*.

other hand do not allow the application of such simple schemes with complete certainty. Additional categories will also have to be found and applied in order to gain a chronology of the writing. The Ta pho library may well be just large enough that something of the sort could be discovered after closer, perhaps even statistical, investigation.

For the time being, however, I'm inclined to take the occurrence of all or of a majority of the above peculiarities, together with the sort of paper, which I think to be the oldest (cf. above, fn. 26), as an indication for a dating to the earliest period of the monastery's, or the area's, writing offices, i.e. from the 11th century A.D.

Miniatures are rather rare, and none have been found in manuscripts assumed to belong to the earliest period. Sometimes the space reserved for a miniature is still empty. All miniatures were photographed.

5. A Note on Volume Signatures

In his remarks on manuscript finds from Guge, H. Eimer notes for the first time a peculiar kind of 'signature' ('Kennsiglum') on the folios besides the pagination (Eimer 1991: 254). This signature consists in most cases of two letters, one atop the other, the lower sometimes slightly shifted to the right. This kind of signature seems to be a characteristic of West Tibetan manuscript writing, for it is used for very many of the folios in the Ta pho library.

Because of the total dispersion of all coherent fragments, it was not possible to identify the meaning of all the letters used in this system. We are able to interpret, however, the most frequent ones on the basis of several sequences of folios counted over the hundred positions.

The following letters were found to occur in the lower position: the three *na*, *na*, *ma* (relatively often), *ña* (only once), *da* (twice), *ya* (once), *wazur* (once) ⁽³²⁾.

Eimer interprets the upper signs as indicating a volume, fascicle or a text within a collection, and thinks that the lower sign indicates, more likely subdivisions of the text rather than hundred units in folio-numeration. But our material clearly shows that only the latter alternative seems to be the case. However, it was possible to determine only the signs for 100, 200 and 300 during the time available.

In some manuscripts (Fig. 5), additional markings by one, two, three vertical strokes or one, two, three small crosses, always made by other hands and mostly in addition to two letter signatures are to be found ⁽³³⁾. These additional markings are

⁽³²⁾ There are also several signatures with three letters in vertical order, the third one being always *na*. In these three letter signatures, we find in addition colour differences: *kba-na-na*, *kba-na-na*, *kba-ma-na* (each once), with the first two letters in red, the last in black; *tba-ma-na* (once) all red and one *kba-ma-yu* (?) in red. The meaning of this kind of signatures is still unclear (see Fig. 4).

⁽³³⁾ Fig. 5 comprises some irregularities. Only the second and third examples from the left are typical for the rest of the collection. The others are still enigmatic. The manuscript of the *Lalitavistara* which was inspected by Klimburg-Salter in Gondhla, Lahul (cf. her report above), shows even a linguistic

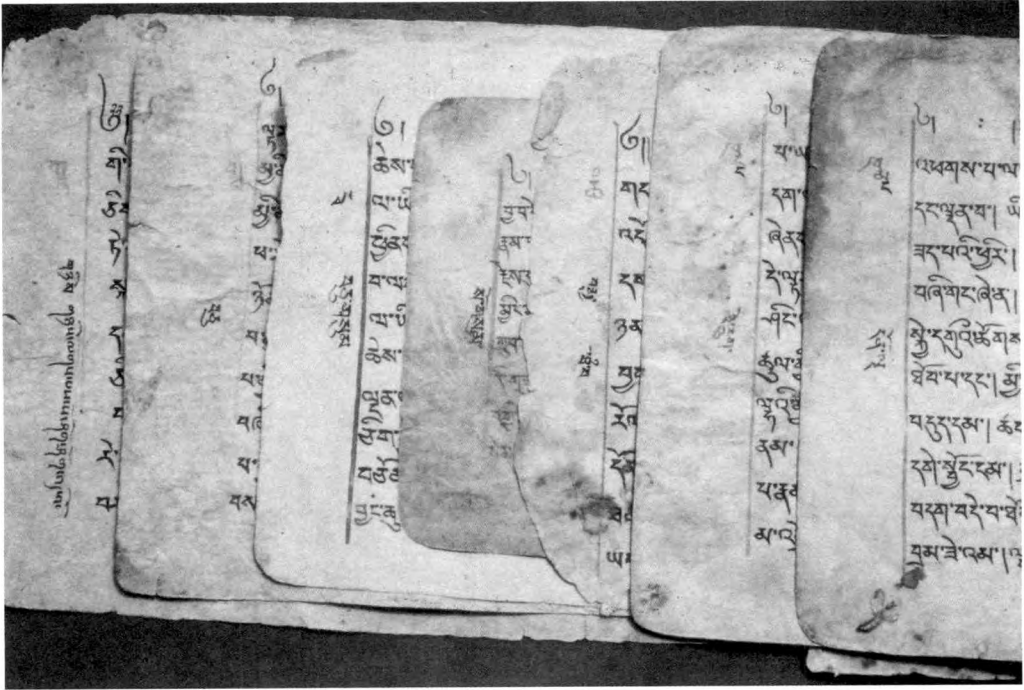


Fig. 4

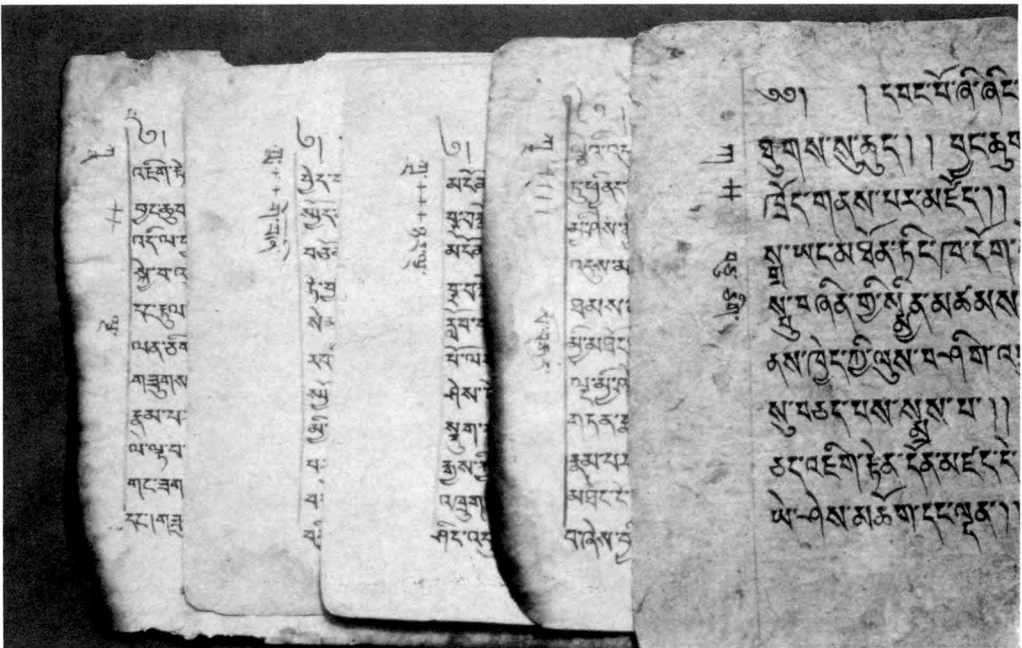


Fig. 5

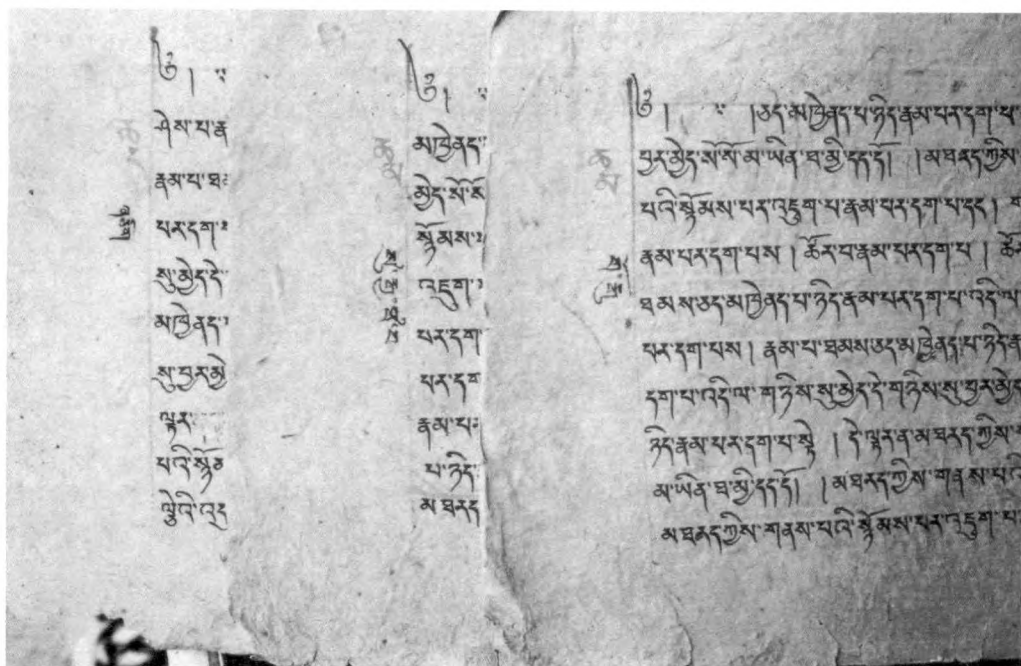


Fig. 6

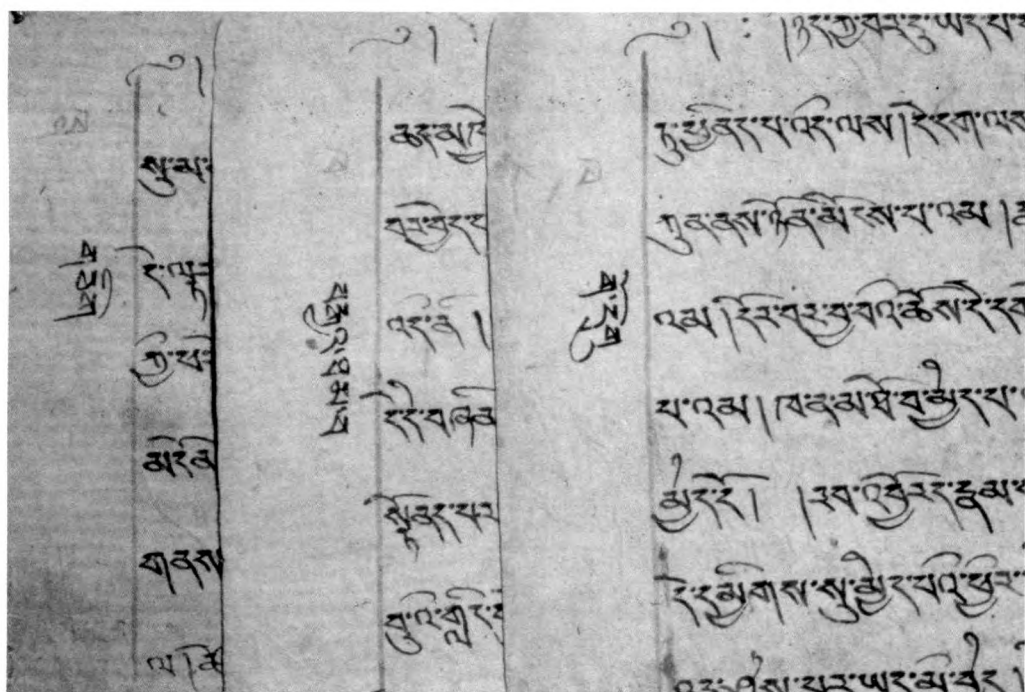


Fig. 7

evidently of interpretational character. That means it was felt necessary to explain by these markings the meaning of these signs, which at a time later than the writing of the original manuscript had already become unusual or obsolete. These simple graphic and explanatory additions reveal the meanings: subscript *na* = 100, subscript *ma* = 200, subscript *na* = 300. But the real proof of these meanings is provided by cases of subsequent folios from the same manuscript which include a folio with a hundred number (³⁴).

The subscripts, therefore, mean different hundreds as stated above, and are used to count the numbers from 'hundred and 1' to the next hundred. And the system observed in the Ta pho fragments seems to be the same as that in the Tsaparang remains (cf. Eimer 1991: fn. 34) (³⁵).

If future investigation of more presumably old West Tibetan manuscripts should strengthen my assumption that these subscripts were no longer understood at a later time and had to be interpreted by additional signs, the presence of this kind of signature in manuscripts may turn out to be an additional characteristic significant for their age.

6. A Note on the Contents of the Ta pho 'Kanjur'

The great diversity and number of manuscripts, the total dispersion and thorough mingling, the conspicuous lacking of manuscript beginnings and ends, the short time for inspection available and the thereby enforced speed of our work render the following notes highly accidental and preliminary. More definite information will become available after the photos of the specimens have been studied closely. A final survey of the manuscripts and texts in this treasure will not be possible before the necessary work of determining, separating, and reuniting the manuscripts has been accomplished.

explanation of the signature *ka-na*. Between the volume signature *ka-na* and the page number *ngu bcu tham pa* another hand added *gya dgu*, evidently to interpret *ka-na*.

(³⁴) 1) In LII we find a preceding folio: '*kba-na* (followed by) one cross (and number) *go rgyu* (= 99)'; middle folio: '*kba-na* (followed by) two crosses (and number) *gñis brgya tham pa* (= 200)'; following folio: '*kba-na* (followed by) two crosses (and number) *gcig* (= 1)'

2) or without additional markings; '*ja-na* 99' is followed by '*ja-na* 200' and '*ja-na* 1', and later '*ja-na* 1'.

Similar from LIV without markings: 3) '*ga-na* 200' is followed by folio '*ga-na* 1', and 4) '*ga-na* 300'.

5) From XLVI we get: '*na-na* 99' is followed by '*na-na* 300' and '*na-na* 1'.

6) Figure 6 shows a preceding folio: '*cha-na* (and number) *go rgyu* (= 99)'; middle folio: '*cha-na* (and number) *sum rgya tham pa* (= 300)'; following folio: '*cha-na* (and number) *gcig* (= 1)'.

7) Figure 7 shows a preceding folio: '*kba* (and number) *go dgu* (= 99)', middle folio: '*kba* (and number) *brgya tham pa* (= 100)'; following folio: '*kba-na* (and number) *gcig* (= 1)'.

(³⁵) The sequence of the letters *na-na-na* in use here for indicating units of hundreds within a volume, has a parallel, at least for the first two letters, in a method of pagination used in some Dunhuang manuscripts. There, the subscribed letters *na* and *ma* are attested to be used as differentiating the single letters of the alphabet to make for second and third series of counting pages in place of the normal pagination by ciphers. Cf. Imaeda 1981: 7 f.

The list of texts given by Tucci ⁽³⁶⁾, now however, can already be somewhat augmented. We noted the following additional Sūtras and Tantras: *Āṅgūlmāṭṛyasūtra*, *Aṣṭamaṇḍalakasūtra*, *Kāśyapaṭṭiparivarta*, *Khar sil gyi mdo*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Guhyasamājatantra*, *Pūrṇapramukhāvadāna*, *Pradīpadānīyasūtra*, *Prasenajidgāthā*, *Phal po che bzun bar 'gyur ba'i gzun*s, *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, *Ratnakūṭa*, *Lalitavistara*, *Śrīmāladeviśimbanāḍasūtra*, *Samādhirāja*, *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, *Suvikrāntadevaputrāparipṛcchā*, *Sūtrasamuccaya*.

In terms of quantity, the texts represented in these manuscripts show a rather uneven distribution. Our general impression is that c. 20-30% of the whole collection consists of old manuscript remains, i.e. material from the earliest period of monastic activities in the area, the 11th and 12th centuries. Nearly all of these remains contain texts of the *yum* kind, i.e. *'Bum*, *Ñi khri* and *brGyad ston pa*. Also in the more modern layers of the collection, the preponderance of *yum* texts is obvious. Roughly about 50-60% of the whole collection consists of manuscripts with *yum* texts. The remaining portion consists mainly of *Sūtra* texts of various kind that could be taken to represent the *mDo man* section of a later-day bKa' 'gyur.

Other kinds of texts are extant only in comparably insignificant numbers, and the impression that they entered the library as remnants to be disposed of is particularly prominent with regard to these remains of manuscripts which normally comprise only one to five folios. Not more than 102 folios could be preliminarily identified as containing *Vinaya* texts ⁽³⁷⁾. A first survey by Dr Panglung resulted in separating 14 different bKa' 'gyur texts and 20 different commentaries from the bsTan 'gyur or of possibly Tibetan provenance. A few leaves of medical texts and a now already identified dictionary ⁽³⁸⁾ corroborate the impression that this sort of material indicates that such texts were not a major part of the original holdings in the library. These folios must have been added to the collection after having been already broken up and rendered useless. This impression is finally strengthened by the extant fragments of manuscripts with texts from the bsTan 'gyur. Again, we have no more than c. 100-110 folios remaining from such manuscripts ⁽³⁹⁾.

⁽³⁶⁾ Tucci 1935: 89 (cf. above, fn. 5) and the *Mahāyānasamgraha* from plate XLIVa. From among these texts, we did not find at this first glance fragments of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, *Satyadoveyāvatāra* and *Samkṣiptamaṇḍalasūtravṛtti*.

⁽³⁷⁾ These *Vinaya* folios are stored now in LII.

⁽³⁸⁾ These folios are examined more closely by Dr Panglung in this volume. In a paper delivered at the 6th Seminar of the Int. Association for Tibetan Studies at Fagnères, 21-28.8.1992, Dr Panglung was able to identify this 'dictionary' as a fragment of a new version of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*.

⁽³⁹⁾ These folios are now stored in V. A first tentative identification yields: an *Abhidharma* commentary, a *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentary, some *Premāṇa* texts, a *Madhyamaka* text, a few leaves of *Śikṣasamuccaya*, *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and *Uttaratantra*. I shall publish a detailed list of these possibly bsTan 'gyur materials in due time. Dr Tauscher presented his investigation of some fragments with the texts of Dharmakīrti's *Sambandhapariṇīṣā*, *-opti* and *-fika* at the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies at Fagnères, 21-28.8.1992.

7. A Fragmentary Manuscript of the *Pañcaviṃśatikā*

This manuscript was chosen for extraction from the bundles because its various characteristics made it easily recognizable: middle weight and soft, absorbent paper of light colour, with binding circles and holes, a rather large format of 66 × 21 cm (60.5 × 16 cm) with 13 lines. There is no beginning and no end, but a number of chapter endings are present.

This manuscript was dispersed among 58 bundles within the whole 60-bundle library, with sometimes no more than one or two folios found in a single bundle. It is now wrapped in a cover and has been added to LII.

The reason for taking out this manuscript was — aside from the ease in identifying its leaves — the need to procure a basis for answering the following questions: is this material, which dates from a period even before the beginning of serious bKa' 'gyur editorial efforts and long before the late available editions proper, really up to our expectations? Is this an example of the *Pañcaviṃśatikā* in Tibetan translation as it was transmitted in the 11th to 12th centuries? And how much and in what ways does it differ from the editions available so far? Answers to these questions and more detailed information will be given after a more thoroughgoing study by E. De Rossi Filibeck (cf. her contribution to this volume).

8. Some Hypothetical Remarks on the Genesis of the Library and the Causes for Its Present Condition

The more or less homogeneous character of the library's oldest parts, i.e. the fact that they mainly contain *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, and the great number of manuscripts with the same content ⁽⁴⁰⁾ both suggest that the two assumptions made by Tucci are very likely correct, namely: firstly that the original nucleus of the library consists of texts, the translations of which had been made in Western Tibet by Rin chen bzañ po and his school (Tucci 1935: 88). In Rin chen bzañ po's biography, the information is conveyed that the teacher had seven copies of *yum* and three copies of *mdo mañ* ⁽⁴¹⁾ given to each temple he founded ⁽⁴²⁾. The nucleus of the library, therefore, consisted

⁽⁴⁰⁾ In bundle I, e.g., there are 30 different manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* with the volume signature 'red ka' and 7 with 'black ka'.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Here to be understood only as a generic term (comparable to the information on the deposit of a complete Tripiṭaka to Raḍ nis, cf. Tucci 1933: 70 and below, fn. 43).

⁽⁴²⁾ In the biography of Rin chen bzañ po by his disciple Guge Khri tañ pa Ye tes dpal which is extant in two versions (*Collected Biographical Materials about Lo chen Rin-chen-bzañ-po and His Subsequent Reembodiments*, ed. Rdo-rje-tahe-brtan, Delhi 1977, texts nos. 3 and 6) it is reported that Rin chen bzañ po provided three sets of Sūtra collections (*mdo mañ cha gsum*) and seven sets of the *Śaṭasāhasrikā* *Prajñāpāramitā* ('bum cha bdun) to the 21 smaller places (*yal cbuñ*) he had founded (*ibid.*: 96, 2-4; 262, 3-6; cf. also *ibid.*, text no. 5: 179, 3-5). I owe these references to Dr H. Tauscher.

Snellgrove's translation of the passage in text no. 3 above (Snellgrove & Skorupski 1980: 92; for the

most probably of the manuscripts with *yum* texts and additional *sūtras* translated at the same time ⁽⁴³⁾. And secondly, that from the very beginning these manuscripts continued to be copied, both for reasons of dispersion and renewal as well as of gaining merit (Tucci 1935: 87). Monks and soon lay people, too, must have joined their different but mutually supportive interests in giving growth to a considerable production of manuscripts with a very good average quality.

This kind of accretion may have continued for centuries. But it was hardly the only kind that took place. It is evident (cf. below, fn. 47) that at least one attempt at burning the manuscripts happened in the monastery itself. But aside from traces of burning, wear, and age, there are a considerable number of folios with substantial quantities of dried dirt, manure, etc. ⁽⁴⁴⁾, which are not to be expected in a monastic library. For even after the devastation of the monastery itself, the library would not have been left lying around outside, but would have been brought back into the temple as soon as possible. Therefore most of these dirty leaves in very bad condition, and possibly also a number of the burned ones, did not originally belong to the Ta pho library. They must have belonged to either other temples in the area ⁽⁴⁵⁾ or private houses. When they were burned, destroyed or became useless in their respective places, they were deposited as sacred waste in the only collection of manuscripts (or later manuscript remains) that seems to have survived the vicissitudes of centuries in the valley ⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Although it is very likely that many of the scorched folios were burned elsewhere, the single fact we can prove, is that the last burning took place in the monastery

text cf. 107, 3 f.) is wrong. What is said, is: 'In these 21 places, he provided after the lapse of one year three sets of the *Sūtra* collection (and) seven sets of the *Śatasābasrikā*' (*yal chubā ſi ſu riſa gcig tu lo gcig 'kbyud 'kbor lo mdo mañ cha gsum 'bum cha dbun[...]*stabs tog mdrad do*. Variants: *lo gcig* no. 6 : *lo* no. 3; *'kbyud* no. 3 : *kbyud* no. 6; *'kbor* no. 3 : *kbor* no. 6; *mañ* no. 3 : *mañ* no. 6; *gsum* no. 6 : *gsum gsum* no. 3; *tog* : *rtog* nos. 3, 6).*

⁽⁴³⁾ Interesting in this connection is the mention in Rin chen bzah po's biography of the equipping of the temple at Rad nis, his birthplace, with a basic library: 'Regarding the number of extant volumes (*poñ*), there was a complete Tripitaka (*sde snod gsum ka*). (And) there were all full and medium-length (versions of the) *Prajñāpāramitā*, (and) in addition to the complete 18 originals (*yum*) and copies (*srus*) (of these) two sets of the *Aṣṭadaśasābasrikā*, five of the *Aṣṭasābasrikā*. In short, in all there were 468 volumes (*poñ*)' (*ibid.*, no. 3, 103, 1-4; in Snellgrove's ed. 107, 31-108, 2 and transl. 94).

Aside from the fact that the note on 'a complete Tripitaka' must be taken as having been made in general terms as referring to a collection of *Vinaya* and *Sūtra* texts, the more detailed indication of *Prajñāpāramitā* holdings are a trustworthy testimony as to the main character of Rad nis' first library. And that the first library at Ta pho was equipped in a very similar way can safely be inferred.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ For reasons of respect, the monks and we removed the grosser dirt while handling the folios, so that now the general picture is much better.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ All other nearby monasteries and temples have been devastated and ruined at one time in their history because of their strategic possibilities. Only Ta pho, situated at the bottom of the valley, was never a threat and therefore not so much in danger either (cf. Tucci 1935: 86 f.).

⁽⁴⁶⁾ According to the abbot bSod nams dBaḥ 'dus, a 'Kanjur' of the Ta pho kind consisting of c. 10 bundles still exists in the Śel mkhar monastery south of Sumdo.

itself ⁽⁴⁷⁾. In X, I found a folio ⁽⁴⁸⁾ of the *Pañcaviṃśatikā* manuscript that we collected from the bundles among a number of other different single folios — and of a much later type, with new orthography, and all possessing exactly matching burned edges. This folio has, therefore, been burned after being already mingled with other folios of quite different origins. And such mingling can only have taken place in the monastery. That this group of auto-da-fé victims consisted of well-mingled very old and very late folios would further indicate that this incident happened at a late stage of the library's history.

For the general and thorough disorder of the manuscript remains in this library, there seems to be only one possible explanation: repeated devastation. Tucci (1935: 86 f.) thought only of the visit of Zorawar Singh's army. But as shown above, the last burning — and that definitely seems to be due to a Dogra invasion ⁽⁴⁹⁾ — was done to a collection already in total disorder. In other words, I think that the thoroughness of the folio mixture in the Ta pho library is the result of several attempts at burning and destroying. The manuscripts and leaves or bundles were probably always thrown out to be burned on the spot ⁽⁵⁰⁾ or outside. When all was over, they were collected and restored as far as possible to the temple and to their ritual functions. And there must have been always remains from other places at such times to add to those from the monastery itself. There was never need, however, even if sufficiently trained monks were available, to put them back in order, for their ritual function was not diminished.

Even in as 'remote' a valley as this lower Spiti area, there is no want of historical occasions for such catastrophes. The hostile Moslem neighbourhood to the South and

⁽⁴⁷⁾ This proof cannot be re-examined, I am afraid. The crucial folio was added to the *Pañcaviṃśatikā* and is now in LII, while the adjacent folios remain in X. And I forgot to mark or separate them, nor did I make any notes. Anyway, because of the inscriptional and archaeological evidence for a fire inside the 'Du khañ (cf. below, fn. 49), this is not the only basis for our conclusions.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ The signature is lost.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ An inscription on paper placed between figures 22 and 23 on the north wall immediately to the side of the book shelf refers to a devastation and restoration of the temple during the period of the Dogra wars. It says that 'after the appearance of [Zorawar] Singh's army (*señ gyi dmag*) on the 16th day of the 9th month of the fire-bird year (i.e. 1837 A.D.) and the subsequent demolishing (*bfig*) of the statues (*sku*) in this temple (*sprul pa'i gtsug lag khañ*) the monks who had escaped (*'byol soñ*) began a restoration (*'byol gsos*?) there on the 5th day of the 4th month of the earth-dog year (i.e. 1838 A.D.)' (*me bya zla ba dgu pa'i tsbes bcu drug la señ gyi dmag thon na's | sprul [: sprul] pa'i gtsug lag khañ 'dū yi sten sku mams bfig [: fig] nas | de la 'byol soñ dge 'dan mams kyis sa kbyi zla ba bfi pa'i tsbes lta 'byol gsos [: sos] kyī 'go btsug pa yin*)).

A fire is not mentioned in this inscription, but the whole wall at this spot is rebuilt and must have been broken down (oral communication from D. Klimburg-Salter) as a result of considerable destructive efforts that may have included an attempt at burning the library too.

The incident may well have taken place during the time of the flight of mTabog sprul to Spiti, when 'he was hotly pursued' and finally reached Bashahr in October 1937 (Petech 1977: 142).

⁽⁵⁰⁾ As in the case of Zorawar Singh's ravaging.

West provided for centuries a sufficient background to explain the destruction particularly of Buddhist statues, temples, and books (²¹).

9. Outlook on Future Work

The photographs taken in 1991 of selected materials will first be examined by the members of the team, and from this study a more concrete assessment of the library's philological value should result. After organizing provisions to be made in order to protect the library by encasing, the original manuscripts have to be reconstituted from the dispersed folios. Only then can a sizeable body of early manuscripts from the period before the canonical collection be catalogued and photographed, and thus become available for future philological studies (²²).

This library's probable — but not yet actually confirmed — usefulness for the prehistory of the bKa' 'gyur collections, for the history of single texts mainly of the *Śer phyin* and *mDo man* classes, for the history of the Tibetan translation idioms, the development of palaeography, orthography, manuscripts writing styles, manuscript organization and paper production and trade in Western Tibet now remains just a hypothetical assumption. But it is a valid one, and justifies the need for further scholarly work and for careful preservation of this valuable treasure.

That an independent textual tradition existed in Western Tibetan areas until the late 17th century (cf. Eimer 1991: 245-47) was recently demonstrated by M. Hahn's investigation of texts from the manuscript Kanjur of Phudrag (Phug brag) in Ladakh (Hahn 1988). And this is again confirmed by Paul Harrison's recent edition of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*, Tokyo 1992 (cf. particularly pp. XXXII-XXXVII). Moreover, manuscripts seemingly belonging to the ancient periods in style and orthography were found in the area since Francke started to look for such materials (²³). More single manuscripts and even collections are still to be identified.

(²¹) Ta pho itself seems to be mentioned only once specifically in the sources as the place near which 1839 the regent dNos grub bstan 'dzin was caught in his flight (cf. Datta 1973: 116; Petech 1977: 143). But Spiti was troubled or possibly troubled, e.g., during the expedition of Sultan Zain ul-Abidin before the middle of the 15th century (Petech 1977: 23), during Mīrzā Haider's expedition to Tibet of 1533 (*ibid.*: 27), during its conquest by bKra ſis rnam rgyal of Ladakh after the middle of the 16th century (*ibid.*: 30), during an invasion by 'armed parties from Kulu' in 1822 (*ibid.*: 131), and finally during the Dogra period (*ibid.*: 138 ff.).

While devastation motivated in addition by religious hostility (cf. the note on Ghulam Khan in Francke 1977: 158) may be primarily connected with Moslem soldiery, there is no doubt that Spiti was also subject to invasions by soldiers, bandits and other violent people from Ladakh, e.g. during the tensions between Ladakh and Guge in the times of Señ ge rnam rgyal (*ibid.*: 41 ff.), when the Ladakhis also seem to have made use of Moslem mercenaries.

(²²) The recent development in Kanjur research has been surveyed by Helmut Eimer in his introductory article (Eimer 1992).

(²³) Cf. e.g., Francke 1914: 78, 119 f., (b) nos. 1, 18, 19.

The Ta pho 'Kanjur' is only a further example testifying to a real basis of our assumptions that there are in West Tibet the remains of a manuscript tradition which merit attention. For in all probability, these remains are to some extent of import as a new textual source, independent of the hitherto known transmissions of Tibetan canonical texts.

Postscript

A succinct version of this report was presented during the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies at Fagernes, 21-28.8.1992, together with the papers by Dr Panglung and Dr Tauscher on specific fragments in the collection (cf. fn. 38 and 39). These papers and Dr De Rossi Filibeck's investigation of the *Pañcaviṃśatika-ms.* are published in this volume.

During the Seminar, Chr. Cüppers, P. Harrison, C. Scherrer-Schaub, and Lobsang Shastri expressed their intention to cooperate in the future. With their help it will be possible to reconstitute the original manuscripts soon.

In a letter of July 17, 1992, the abbot of Ta pho, Geshe Sonam Wangdu, informed me of the fact that the bookcases for the 'Kanjur' are already under construction. The necessary financial support for this work has kindly been offered during the conference at Fagernes by Mr Tenzin N.G. Ronge of the Deutsch-Tibetische Kulturgesellschaft, Königswinter, and is gratefully acknowledged.

APPENDIX

Note on a Leaf from a Xylograph Edition of the *Lam rim chen mo* Recently Located in Spiti

by D. JACKSON

The five or six folia from a xylograph of the *Lam rim chen mo* recently found in Spiti (Ta pho monastery) belong to a previously unidentified and possibly 'early' (pre-17th-century?) gTsañ or mNa' ris edition. In this edition, each side contains seven lines of text, and the size of the printing blocks (excluding the characters indicating foliation, but including the thick lines at the ends) is, for example: fol. 322a: 50.3 × 6.4 cm, and fol. 322b: 50.6 × 6.1 cm. Margin notation: *pa lam rim che ba sum brgya ñer gñis*. Fol. 322a, begins: *rab keyi yul sun 'byin pa'i phyir ro//*. It ends: *de nas blo gñan zig gis ran*. Fol. 322b, begins: *bzin med pa de ñid* and it ends: *gal te tshig ran bzin med pa ñid keyis dños po ran bzin med*.

Though this block-print was at first provisionally identified as an old dGa' lden print (*dga' ldan par mñin*), it would now appear to be another edition. The print of the *Lam rim chen mo* in the old dGa' lden edition which I have inspected indeed has seven lines per side (characteristic of many 15th-century editions), but it has no margin notation, and the blocks (as well as individual characters) are somewhat smaller, being typically in the range: 46 × 5.8 to 47 × 6.0 cm in size.

The edition found in Spiti differs from the better-known and more recent editions in that the latter have six lines per side, whereas it is similar to them in that all of their margins state: '*pa lam rim che ba*', i.e. vol. 13 (*pa*) [of Tson kha pa's collected works], namely the *Lam rim chen mo*. In the bKra śis lhun po (?) edition (see Yoshimizu's Naritasan catalogue, p. 167, no. 1397), the work consists of *pa*, fols. 1-491a. In the Lhasa Źol (?) edition (Yoshimizu, p. 209, no. 1564), the work has the identical margin notation, though it consists of *pa*, fol. 1-523a. I have checked these, as well as the obviously different Peking edition, and found them all to contain a different text on folio 322.

Somebody more deeply involved in the study of the *Lam rim chen mo* should systematically describe all its known editions!

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A Study of a Fragmentary Manuscript of the *Pañcaviṃśatikā* in the Ta pho Library

by ELENA DE ROSSI FILIBECK

The manuscript text of the *Pañcaviṃśatikā* ⁽¹⁾ kept in the Ta pho library consists of numerous and dispersed folios ⁽²⁾. Although the folios lack the beginning and the end of the text, they contain a good deal of the initial and final part of different chapters (*le'u*) ⁽³⁾, allowing a quite easy identification of the excerpts for a critical study of the text.

The present study has been done through a comparison of the Ta pho manuscript with the corresponding passages in the Kanjur of sNar thang, Lhasa, Pekin, sTog and Urga editions ⁽⁴⁾, in order to verify possible concordances or discordances. To

⁽¹⁾ On the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts kept in the Ta pho library see E. Steinkellner, 'A Report on the "Kanjur" of Ta pho', this volume.

On the diffusion, in Western Tibet, of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts in the middle version *Yum 'brin po sTon pbrag ſi su bla pa*, see E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, The Hague 1960, pp. 40-41. On the different editions of the *Pañcaviṃśatisaṃskṛtāprajñāpāramitā* in the Kanjur, see R.O. Meisenzahl, *Tibetische Prajñāpāramitā Texte im Bernischen Historischen Museum*, Munksgaard-Kopenhagen 1964, p. 22.

⁽²⁾ Ten films were used by H. Tauscher to photograph the folios of the manuscript taken from the bundles; seven of them contain the reproduction of 398 folios.

⁽³⁾ Neg. 10-223: Ka 12a8;

Neg. 11-248: Ka 52a4, Ka 52a5; - 252: Ka 56a10; - 265: Ka 70b6, Ka 70b7;

Neg. 12-295: Kha 12b4, Kha 12b5;

Neg. 13-310: Kha 27b8, Kha 27b9;

Neg. 14-346: Ga 3a1, Ga 3a2; - 345 (no margin — line 9 end: *bcu gñis pa le'u*, line 10 beginning: *bcu gsum pa le'u*); - 359: Ga 16b1, Ga 16b2; - 365: Ga 23a14; - 371: Ga 32a8, Ga 32a8,

Neg. 15-380: Ga 42a7, Ga 42a8; - 389 (no margin — line 11 *bcu drug pa*); - ? (no margin — line 9 end *le'u ſi su pa*); - 405: Kha 31a13; - 409: Kha 35a7, Kha 35a8;

Neg. 16-420: Kha 45b1, Kha 45b2; - 425: Kha 50a1, Kha 50a2; - 427: Kha 54a6, Kha 54a7, - 431: 58a8, 58a9; - 437: (no margin — line 1, end *le'u sum cu drug pa'o*, line 2 beginning of *le'u sum cu bdan pa'o*); - 441: Kha 73a8, Kha 73a9.

⁽⁴⁾ The comparison of all the folios mentioned above was made with the corresponding parts in the sNar thang, Lhasa, Pekin, sTog and Urga editions: N.: sNar thang edition kept in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and catalogued by P. Pelliot in 1922; L.: Lhasa edition kept in the Library of IAMEO, Rome, see G. Tucci, 'Tibetan Notes', in *Opera Minora*, II, Roma 1971, p. 474 (pp. 471-88); P.: *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Pekin edition, ed. D.T. Suzuki, *bKa' 'gyur Ser phyin*, VII, vols. 18-19, sections 40-43;

exemplify their kind the whole fourth chapter of volume KA (52a.5-56a.10. See Figs. 1-9) is given in transcription (5).

The textual collation shows that there are not substantial variations. There are merely slight variants due to the absence or inversion of words. This is another confirmation of the fact that the Tibetan version of canonical works maintains a great fidelity to tradition.

By examining the variants in detail, it seems possible to advance the hypothesis that the scribe made the copy from another handwritten text and not from a xilography. This impression is suggested by the following remarks: the *bam po* are not mentioned (6), the *shad* are marked in a way which is independent of the sNar thang, Lhasa, Pekin, sTog and Urga editions; the slight variants sometimes correspond to one of these versions and sometimes are different from all five; the name Kausika is written Ke'usika eliminating the double *na ro* of the printed editions (7).

The Ta pho manuscript is also of a relevant interest from a paleographic and orthographic point of view. The way of writing, characterized by an archaic or archaizing style, can help in dating the copy at the very latest in the 17th century, because it is probable that, in the Ta pho's area, this style was utilized for a long time, but it seems unlikely that it remained in use after the region's annexation to Tibet (8).

Description of the Manuscript

As Prof. Steinkellner already noted, the manuscript's folios were dispersed in 58 of the 60 bundles which constitute the Ta pho library. These folios have a rather large format: 66 × 21 cm (60.5 × 16 cm), with 12, 13 or 14 lines; the paper, of light colour, is of middle weight, soft and absorbent, with binding circles and holes. The margins of several sheets are burned (9). In some of these, there are erasures, drawings

S.: *The Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur*, vol. 41, Leh 1976. On this Kanjur see T. Skorupski, *A Catalogue of sTog Palace Kanjur*, Tokyo 1985 and H. Eimer, 'A Note on the History of the Tibetan Kanjur', in *CAJ*, 32 1988, p. 68 (pp. 64-72); U : *Urga Kanjur*, vol. 26, ed. L. Chandra, Sata-Pitaka Series, vol. 421, New Delhi 1992. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Helga Uebach and Dr Jampa Panglung who kindly sent to me the copies of the corresponding passages in the sTog Palace Kanjur and in the Urga Kanjur, not available to me.

(5) It corresponds to N.: KA, 155b2-166b5; L.: KA, 159a5-171b3; P Ni, 87.2.4.-90.5 6., S.: KA, 155a1-167a3; U.: KA, 116b5-125b7.

(6) No mention of the *bam po dgu pa* (see Fig. 7, Neg. 11-251, KA 55a10) and of the *bam po bti bcu bti pa* (see Fig. 10, Neg. 15-409, KHA 34b8) is found.

(7) See Fig. 11, Neg. 14-346, GA 3a2.

(8) On this historical period of the Spiti valley, see L. Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842*, SOR, LI, Roma 1977, pp. 73-79.

(9) E.g. see Fig. 12, Neg. 11-282.

and scrawls ⁽¹⁰⁾. In all the folios which contain the end of a chapter, some small circles are drawn in varied geometric shapes ⁽¹¹⁾.

The page number and the volume letters KA, KHA, GA are indicated on the margin.

Paleographic and Orthographic Remarks ⁽¹²⁾

1. the *na-ro* and '*greng bu* vowels are written to the left above *pa*, *pha*, *ma* and *sa* ⁽¹³⁾;
 2. the reversed *gi su* is present; the same word is sometimes written with '*i* and sometimes with the reversed *gi gu*. In the transcription it is written as '*i*;
 3. the *sa mgo can* consonant is written with a horizontal ligature;
 4. if the *ta*, *da* and *tsa* consonants have a superadded consonant they are written as in *dbu med* script;
 5. the *ra mgo can* to the *tsa* consonant preserves its full shape ⁽¹⁴⁾;
 6. the use of the *da drag* as second final after *na*, *ra*, *la* is regular;
 7. the compendious writings as *lagso* or *yongsu* is sometimes used;
 8. there is the palatalisation of *ma* in words as *mi* and *med*, always written with the *ya btags*: *myi* and *myed*;
 9. sometimes the word *sogs* is written *stsogs*;
 10. there is a pleonastic use of '*a chun*;
 11. the word *rin chen* is always written *rin cen* and the word *thams cad* always written *thams chad*;
 12. *ji'i* replaces *ci'i*;
 13. the sign of the genitive '*i* does not form a diphthong with the vowel of the noun but is very often written as a distinct syllable;
 14. the interlineary notes are written in *dbu med* script.
- In the transcription the variants: *kyi/gyi*, *ci/ji*, *tu/du*, *pa/ba* are not indicated.

⁽¹⁰⁾ E.g. see Fig. 13, Neg. 14-331, and Fig. 14, Neg. 14-371

⁽¹¹⁾ E.g. see Fig. 15, Neg. 11-265; Fig. 16, Neg. 12-295; Fig. 17, Neg. 13-310. This detail seems to be the same as that noted by M. Lalou, 'Les manuscrits tibétains des grandes Prajñāpāramitā trouvées à Touen-houang', in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku-Kenkyūso*, I, Kyoto 1954, pp. 257-61.

⁽¹²⁾ Most of the following items are already well known; see E. Steinkellner, *op. cit.* For a description of the old Tibetan script I found the followings studies very helpful: B. Laufer, 'Bird Divination among the Tibetans', in *TP*, XV, 1914, pp. 64-110; R.A. Miller, 'Early Evidence for Vowel Harmony in Tibetan', in *Language*, 42, 1966, pp. 252-77; D.S. Ruegg, 'Autour du lTa ba'i khyad par de Ye shes rde', in *JA*, CCLIX, 1981, pp. 207-29.

⁽¹³⁾ Cf. Li Fang Kuei, 'Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-822', *TP*, 44, 1956, p. 24.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The evidence is in the word *brtson*; e.g. Fig. 2, Neg. 11-249, line 12

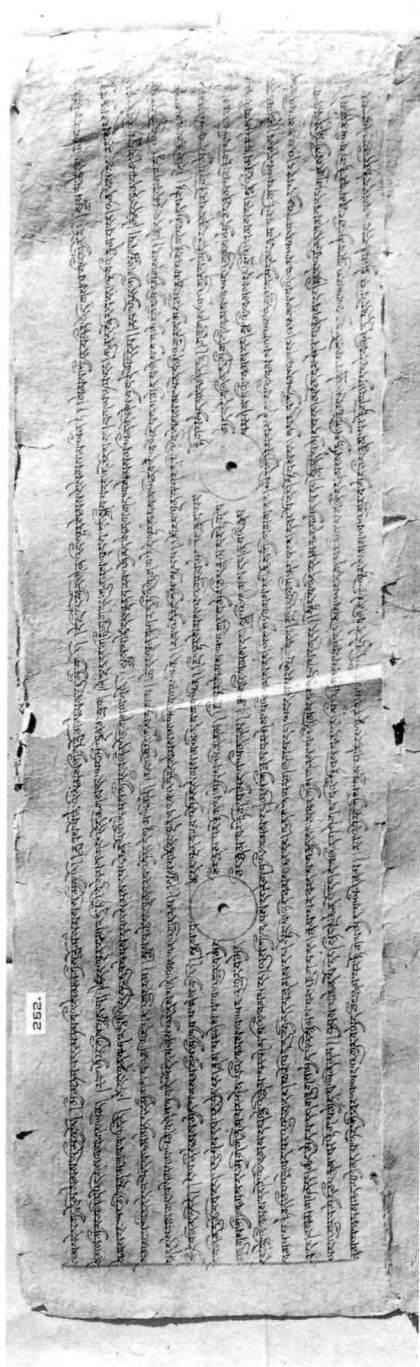
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Figs. 3-4



Figs. 7-8

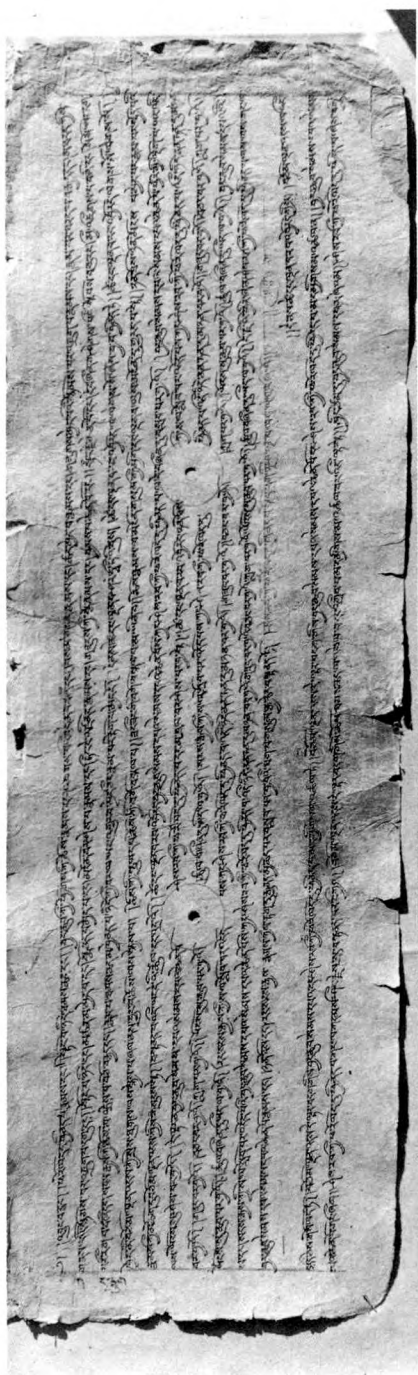


Fig. 9

TEXT

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE FOURTH CHAPTER OF VOLUME KA, 52a-56a

KA, 52a (13 lines), (Fig. 1, Neg. 11-248/2)

5. // de nas tshe dan ldan ba rab 'byord kyis
6. // bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces gzold to // bcom ldan 'das gzugs yons su rtogs par tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // bcom ldan 'das tshor ba dan 'du śes dan 'du byed dan rnam (L.159b1) par
7. śes pa yons su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // bcom ldan 'das myig yons su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold
8. du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // rna ba dan sna dan lce dan lus dan yid yons su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes (U.117a1) rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // bcom ldan 'das gzugs yons su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i
9. byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // sgra dan (P.87.3.1) dri dan ro dan reg dan chos yons su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // ⁽¹⁾ myig gi rnam par śes pa yons
10. su rtogs par 'tshal (N.156a1) ba'i (S.155b1) byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // rna ba'i rnam par śes pa dan / sna'i rnam par śes pa dan / lce'i rnam par śes pa dan / lus kyī rnam par śes pa dan / yid kyī rnam par śes pa yons su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i
11. byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // bcom (L.160a1) ldan 'das myig gi 'dus te reg pa yons su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // rna ba'i 'dus te reg pa dan /
12. sna 'i dus te reg pa dan / lce 'i 'dus te reg pa dan / lus kyī 'dus te reg pa dan / yid kyī 'dus te reg pa yons rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // bcom ldan 'das myig gi 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba
13. yons su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // rna ba'i 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba dan / sna 'i 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba dan / lce 'i 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba dan / lus kyī

KA 52b (12 lines), (Fig. 2, Neg. 11-249/1)

1. 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba dan / (U.117b1) yid kyī 'dus te reg pa rkyend kyis tshor ba yons rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems (N.156b1) (S.156a1) dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi'o // bcom ldan 'das ma rig pa yons

(¹) L.N.P.S.U. insert: *bcom ldan 'das*

su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub (P.87.4.1) sems dpa'

2. sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // 'du byed dañ / rnam par śes pa dañ / myiñ dañ gzugs dañ / skye mched drug dañ / reg (L.160b1) pa dañ / tshor ba dañ / sred pa dañ / lend pa dañ / arīd pa dañ / skye ba dañ / rga ba dañ / (?) 'chī ba dañ / mya ñan dañ / smre sñags (?) 'don pa dañ / sdug bñhal ba dañ /

3. yid myi dbe ba dañ / 'khrug pa yoñs su rtogs par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab pa bgyi' 'o // bcom ldan 'das 'dod chags dañ / ze sdañ dañ / gtī mug yoñs su (?) spañ bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab

4. kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // 'jig tshogs su lta ba spañ bar 'tshal ba dañ / the thsom dañ / tshul khrims dañ / brtul žugs sñems pa spañ bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // 'dod pa'i

5. 'dod chags dañ gnod sems spañ bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // gzugs kyī 'dod chags dañ / (S.156b1) gzugs myed pa'i 'dod chags spañ bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes

6. rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la (N.157a1) bslab par bgyi' 'o // kun du sbyor ba dañ bag la ñal pa dañ kun nas ldan ba spañ bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // zas bzī yoñs (U.118a1) su rtogs par

7. 'tshal (L.161a1) ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // sbyor ba bzī dañ / chu bo bzī dañ / mdud pa bzī dañ / ñe bar lend pa bzī dañ / phyind ci log (P.87.5.1) bzī spañ bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems

8. dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // myi dge' ba bcu 'i las kyī lam spañ bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rol tu phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o / dge ba bcu 'i las kyī lam yoñsu rdzogs par bgyi' par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha roldu phyin pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // bsam gtan

9. bzī yoñsu rdzogs par bgyi' par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rol du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // tshad myed pa bzī yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi' par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' (S.157a1) sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // gzugs myed pa'i sñoms par

10. 'jug pa bzī yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi' bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems (N.157b1) dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // mñon par śes pa lña yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi' par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems (L.161b1) dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du

11. phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // sbyin ba'i pha rold du phyind pa yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi' par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // tshul khrims gyi pha rold du phyind pa dañ / bzod pa'i pha rold du phyind pa dañ

12. brtson 'grus kyī pha rold du phyind pa dañ / bsam gtan kyī pha rold du phyind pa dañ / śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi' par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub (?) (U.118b1) sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi' 'o // nañ stoñ pa ñid yoñsu

(?) L.N.P.S.U. insert: *na ba dañ* (?) U : *ñags* (*) L.N.P.S.U. omit: *yoñs su* (?) U. inserts: *byañ chub*

1. / rdzogs par bgyi par 'tshal ba'i byañ (P.88.1.1) chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // phyi stoñ pa ñid dañ / phyi nañ stoñ sa ⁽⁶⁾ ñid dañ / dños po myed pa'i ño bo ñid stoñ pa ñid gyi bar du ⁽⁷⁾ yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi par 'tshal ba'i
2. byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du (S.157b1) phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // dran pa ñe bar gźag pa ⁽⁸⁾ bźi yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o /
3. yañ dag par spoñ ba bźi dañ / rdzu 'phrul gyi rkañ pa bźi dañ / dbañ po lña dañ / stobs lña dañ / byañ chub kyī yan lag (N.158a1) bdun dañ / 'phags pa'i lam yan lag brgyad pa ⁽⁹⁾ yoñs (L.162a1) su rdzogs par bgyi bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold phyind
4. pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // stoñ pa ñid dañ mtshan ma myed pa dañ smond pa myed pa yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // 'phags pa'i bden ba bźi dañ / rnam par
5. thard pa brgyad dañ // mthard kyis ⁽¹⁰⁾ gnas pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa dgu yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // de bźin gśegs pa'i stobs bcu yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi bar 'tshal ba'i
6. byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // myi 'jigs pa bźi dañ / so so yañ dag par riğ pa bźi dañ / byams pa chen po dañ / sñiñ (U.119a1) rje chen po dañ / sañs rgyas kyī chos ma 'dres pa bco brgyad yoñs su
7. rdzogs par (S.158a1) bgyi bar 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' (P.88.2.1) sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // byañ chub kyī yan lag ⁽¹¹⁾ dañ ldan ba'i tiñ ñe 'dzind la gnas te // bsam gtan dañ po las lañs nas /
8. 'gog pa la mñam bar gźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas bsam gtan gñis pa la mñam (L.162b1) par gźag pa dañ / de las (N.158b1) lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par gźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas bsam gtan gum pa la mñam bar gźag pa dañ / de las lañs nas 'gog
9. pa la mñam par gźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas bsam gtan bźi pa la mñam bar gźag pa dañ / de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par gźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas byams pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind la mñam bar gźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par bźag pa ⁽¹²⁾ dañ
10. de las lañs nas sñiñ rje 'i tiñ ñe 'dzind la mñam par bźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par bźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas dga' ba'i tiñ ñe 'dzind la mñam par bźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par gźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas bteñ sñoms
11. kyī tiñ ñe 'dzind la mñam par gźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par bźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas nam mkha' mtha' yas skye mched la mñam par bźag pa dañ (S.158b1) // de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par bźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas ⁽¹³⁾ cuñ zad myed pa'i
12. skye mched la mñam par bźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par bźag pa dañ // de las lañs nas rnam śes mtha' (U.119b1) yas skye mched la mñam par bźag pa dañ // de

⁽⁶⁾ L.N.P.S.U.: pa ⁽⁷⁾ P.: par du ⁽⁸⁾ N.L. hereafter always: bźag pa ⁽⁹⁾ S.: pas ⁽¹⁰⁾ U. inserts: ma

⁽¹¹⁾ S. inserts: bdun ⁽¹²⁾ P.S.U. hereafter always: gźag pa ⁽¹³⁾ S. inserts: nam śes mtha' yas skye mched la mñam par gźag pa dañ / de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par gźag pa dañ / de las lañs nas

las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam par b'zag pa (L.163a1) dañ // de las lañs nas ⁽¹⁴⁾ 'du śes myed
'du śes myed myin

13. skye mched la mñam par g'zag (P.88.3.1) par 'tshal bas ⁽¹⁵⁾ de las lañs nas 'gog pa
(N.159a1) la mñam bar b'zag par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab
kyi pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // señ ge rnam par bsgyiñs pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind
la mñam par

14. b'zag par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyi pha rold du phyind
pa la bsalab par bgyi 'o // señ ge rnam par rtse ba'i tiñ ñe 'dzind la mñam par b'zag par ⁽¹⁶⁾
'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyi pha rold du phyind pa

KA 53b (13 lines), (Fig. 4, Neg. 11-250/1)

1. la bsalab par bgyi 'o // gzuñs kyi sgo dañ tiñ ñe 'dzind kyi sgo thams chad thob par 'tshal
ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyi pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par
bgyi 'o // dpa' bar ⁽¹⁷⁾ 'gro ba' i tiñ ñe 'dzind la mñam par b'zag par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems
2. dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyi pha rold du phyind pa la bsalab par (S.159a1) bgyi 'o
// rin cen phyag rgya 'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // zla ba ⁽¹⁸⁾ 'od kyi tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // zla ba ⁽¹⁹⁾
rgyal mtshan dpal gyi tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // chos thams chad ⁽²⁰⁾ phyag rgyar gyurd pa'i tiñ
ñe 'dzind dañ // spyar ras gziñs kyi phyag rgya 'i tiñ ñe 'dzind

3. dañ // chos ⁽²¹⁾ kyi dbyiñs su (L.163b1) ñes pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ / ñes pa'i rgyal mtshan
dpal gyi tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // rdo rje lta bu 'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ / chos thams chad la 'jug pa'i
sgo 'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // tiñ ñe 'dzind kyi rgyal po 'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // rgyal po 'i phyag
rgya 'i (N.159b1) tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ / dpuñ rnam par bkod

4. pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // yañ dag par 'phags pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // chos thams chad ⁽²²⁾
ñes pa'i tshig ⁽²³⁾ gdon myi za par 'jug pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // chos thams chad śes par gnas
pa la (U.120a1) 'jug pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // phyogs bcu rnam par blta ba'i tiñ ñe 'dzind
dañ / gzuñs kyi sgo thams (P.88.4.1) chad kyi phyag

5. rgya 'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // chos thams chad mñam ba myed pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // chos
thams chad yañ dag par 'du ba 'i ⁽²⁴⁾ rañ b'zin phyag rgya 'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // nam mkha'i
gnas la gnas pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // 'khor gsum yoñs su dag pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ / mñon
bar śes pa myi

6. ñam ⁽²⁵⁾ ba'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // snod du gyurd pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // rgyal mtshan rtse
mo 'i dpuñ rgyan kyi tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // ñon moñs pa ma lus pa thams chad ⁽²⁶⁾ (S.159b1)
sreg ⁽²⁷⁾ pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // bdud b'zi dpuñ sel pa'i
tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // ye śes sgrond ma'i tiñ ñe 'dzind

7. dañ // stobs bcu 'i stobs kyi 'phags pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ // nam mkha' lta chags pa myed

(14) S. omits: *mam śes mtba' yas skye mched la mñam par g'zag pa dañ / de las lañs nas 'gog pa la mñam
par g'zag pa dañ / de lañs nas* (15) L.N.P.S.U.: *'tshal ba dañ* (16) S. omits: *b'zag par* (17) S.: *dpa' rab*
(18) L.N.P.S.U. insert: *'i* (19) L.N.P.S.U. insert: *'i* (20) L.N.P.U. insert: *kyi* (21) L.N.P.U. insert: *thams*
cad (22) L.N.P.S.U. insert: *kyi* (23) S. inserts: *la* (24) S.: *'du śes* (25) P.S.: *mñams* / L.N.U.: *ñams*
(26) L.N.P.U.: *thams cad ma lus par* (27) L.N.: *bsreg*

- pa rnam par grol ba ⁽²⁸⁾ gos pa myed pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind la mñam bar b'zag par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' (L.164a1) sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyi pha rold
8. du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi 'o // de ltar de dag ⁽²⁹⁾ tiñ ñe 'dzind kyi sgo g'zan dag kyañ ⁽³⁰⁾ thob par 'tshal ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos kyañ śes rab kyi pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi 'o // bcom ldan 'das
9. g'zan yañ sems can thams chad (N.160a1) kyis ⁽³¹⁾ bsam ba yoñs su rdzogs par bgyi par 'tshal ba'i
- byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos śes rab kyi pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi 'o // bcom ldan 'das g'zan yañ dge ba'i rtsa ba gañ yoñs su rdzogs pas
10. ñan soñ rnam su myi ltuñ žiñ rjgs dma' bar myi skye ba dañ // ñan thos kyi sa dañ rañ sañs rgyas kyi sa la myi gnas pa dañ // byañ chub sems dpa'i skyond chen por myi ltuñ ba de lta bu'i dge ba'i rtsa ba yoñs su rdzogs par (U.120b1) bgyi par 'tshal ba'i ⁽³²⁾ byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos
11. śes rab kyi pha rold du phyind pa la bslab par bgyi 'o // de nas tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bus (S.160a1) tshe dañ ldan pa (P.88.5.1) rab 'byord la 'dī skad ces smras so // tshe dañ ldan pa rab 'byord ji ltar na byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po 'i skyond chen por ltuñ pa yin // de skad ces
12. smras pa dañ // tshe dañ ldan pa rab 'byord kyis tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu (da ni ñes par 'byed pa'i rjes mthun nas bskul pa rab tu bstod pa 'jam dpal) ⁽³³⁾ la 'dī skad ces smras so // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu nas byañ chub sems (L.164b1) dpa' sems dpa' chen po thabs myi mkhas pas pha rold du phyind pa drug la spyod ciñ thabs myi mkhas pas stoñ pa fiid dañ
13. mtshan ma myed pa dañ smond pa myed pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzind la brtend te // ñan thos dañ ⁽³⁴⁾ sañs rgyas kyi sar yañ myi ltuñ la // byañ chub sems dpa'i skyond myed par yañ myi 'jug pa de ⁽³⁵⁾ ni byañ chub sems dpa' chen po'i skyond no // smras pa tshe dañ ldan pa rab 'byord ji 'i phyr (N.160b1) na /

KA 54a (13 lines), (Fig. 5, Neg. 11-250/2)

1. de byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po 'i skyond du 'gyur // rab 'byord kyis smras pa // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po 'i skyond žes bya ba ni 'dī lta ste // chos la sred pa 'o // smras pa // tshe dañ ldan pa rab 'byord chos la sred pa gañ yin /
2. rab 'byord kyis smras pa // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu 'di la byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po śes rab kyi pha rold du phyind pa la spyod pa'i tshe // gzugs stoñ žes bya ba mñon par chags žiñ gnas te 'du śes pa dañ // tshor ba dañ 'du śes dañ 'du byed dañ rnam par śes pa (S.160b1) stoñ
3. žes bya bar mñon par chags žiñ gnas te 'du śes pa 'dī ni // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po mthun ⁽³⁶⁾ pa'i chos la sred pa ste // skyond

⁽²⁸⁾ S.: grol ba'i ⁽²⁹⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *dañ* / ⁽³⁰⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *kyañ* ⁽³¹⁾ L.N.P.S.U.: *kyi*
⁽³²⁾ S. omits: 'tshal ba'i ⁽³³⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *interlineary note* (...) ⁽³⁴⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *rañ*
⁽³⁵⁾ L.N.P.S.U.: 'du ⁽³⁶⁾ P.S.U.: *chen po'i 'thun*

- du 'gyur pa 'o // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu gzan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po ⁽³⁷⁾ gzugs myi rtag
4. (U.121a) ces bya bar mñon par chags (L.165a1) śiñ gnas te 'du śes pa dañ // tshor ba dañ / (P.89.1.1) 'dus śes dañ 'du byed dañ / rnam par śes pa myi rtag ces bya bar mñon par chags śiñ gnas te 'du śes pa dañ // gzugs sdug bñal pa'o śes bya ba dañ // tshor ba dañ 'du śes dañ 'du byed dañ rnam par śes pa sdug bñal
5. pa'o śes bya ba dañ // gzugs bdag myed ces bya ba dañ // tshor ba dañ / 'du śes dañ / 'du byed dañ / rnam pa śes pa bdag myed ces bya ba dañ // gzugs ži śes bya ba dañ / tshor ba dañ / 'du śes dañ / 'du byed dañ / rnam (N.161a1) par śes pa ži śes bya ba dañ / gzugs stoñ žes bya ba dañ / tshor ba dañ / 'du śes dañ / 'du byed
6. dañ rnam par śes pa stoñ žes bya ba dañ / 'gzugs mtshan ma myed ces bya ba ⁽³⁸⁾ dañ // tshor ba dañ / 'du śes dañ / 'du byed dañ / rnam par śes pa mtshan ma myed ces bya ba dañ // gzugs smond pa myed ces bya bar chags śiñ gnas te 'du śes pa dañ / tshor ba dañ / 'du śes dañ /
7. 'du byed dañ / rnam par śes pa smond pa myed ces bya bar (S.161a1) mñon par chags śiñ gnas te 'du śes pa 'di ni // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po 'i mthun ⁽³⁹⁾ pa'i chos la sred pa ste skyond du 'gyur pa 'o // gzugs
8. 'di spañ bar bya 'o // 'diś gzugs spañ bar bya 'o // tshor ba dañ / 'du śes dañ / (L.165b1) 'du byed dañ / rnam par śes pa 'di spañ bar bya 'o // 'diś rnam par śes pa spañ bar bya'o // sdug bñal 'di ⁽⁴⁰⁾ yoñs su spañ bar bya 'o // 'diś sdug bñal 'di yoñs su śes par bya 'o /
9. kun 'byuñ 'di spañ bar bya 'o // 'diś kun 'byuñ spañ bar bya 'o // 'gog pa 'di mñon ⁽⁴¹⁾ du bya 'o // 'diś 'gog pa 'di ⁽⁴²⁾ mñon du bya 'o // lam 'di bsgom par bya 'o // 'diś lam 'di ⁽⁴³⁾ bsgom pa bya'o // 'di ni kun nas ñon moñs pa'o // 'di ni rnam par byañ ba 'o // chos 'di dag ni bstend
10. par (U.121b1) bya'o ⁽⁴⁴⁾ // chos 'di dag ni bstend par myi bya ba 'o // 'di la ni byañ chub sems dpa' sems (P.89.2.1) dpa' chen pos spyad par bya 'o // 'di la ni spyad par myi bya 'o // 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po 'i ⁽⁴⁵⁾ lam mo // (N.161b1) 'di ni lam ma yin pa'o ⁽⁴⁶⁾ // 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa'i bañab pa'o /
11. 'di ni bañab pa ma yin no // 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa'i sbyin pa'i pha rold du phyind pa 'o // 'di ni sbyin pa'i pha rold du phyind pa ma yin no / 'di ni tshul khrims kyī pha rold du phyind pa'o // 'di ni tshul khrims kyī pha roldu phyind pa ma yin no // 'di ni bzod pa'i pha rold du phyind pa 'o // 'di ni bzod pa'i pha rold du phyind pa ma
12. yin no // 'di ni brtson (S.161b1) 'grus kyī pha rold du phyind pa'o // 'di ni brtson 'grus kyī pha rold du phyind pa ma yin no // 'di ni bsam gtan kyī pha rold du phyind pa 'o // 'di ni bsam gtan kyī pha rold du phyind pa ma yin no // 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa'i śes rab kyī pha rold du
13. phyind pa'o // 'di ni śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa (L.166a1) ma yin no // 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa'i thabs mkhas pa 'o // 'di ni thabs mkhas pa ma yin no // 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa'i skyond myed pa 'o // 'di ni skyond du 'gyur pa 'o śes bya bar chos de dag la mñon par chags

⁽³⁷⁾ S.: *chen pos* ⁽³⁸⁾ S. omits: *ces bya ba* and inserts: *pa* ⁽³⁹⁾ P.S.U.: *'thun* ⁽⁴⁰⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *'ds* ⁽⁴¹⁾ N.: *sthan* ⁽⁴²⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *'di* ⁽⁴³⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *'ds* ⁽⁴⁴⁾ L.N.P.U.: *bya ba'o* ⁽⁴⁵⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *sems dpa' chen po* ⁽⁴⁶⁾ L.N.P.S.U.: *yin no* //

1. *ñin gnas te 'du śes pa 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po'i 'thun pa'i chos la sred pa ste skyond du 'gyur ba 'o // smras pa tshe dañ ldan pa rab 'byord byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po 'i skyond myed pa gañ yin // rab 'byord kyis smras pa // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu 'di la*
2. *byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la spyod pa'i tshe // nañ stoñ pa ñid la phyi stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ ño ⁽⁴⁷⁾ // phyi stoñ pa ñid la nañ stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ ño // (N.162a1) phyi stoñ pa ñid la phyi nañ stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes*
3. *su myi mthoñ ño // phyi nañ stoñ pa ñid la phyi (U.122a1) stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // phyi nañ stoñ pa ñid la stoñ pa ñid stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // stoñ pa ñid stoñ pa ñid (P.89.3.1) la phyi nañ stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // stoñ pa ñid stoñ pa ñid la chen (S.162a1) po*
4. *stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // chen po stoñ pa ñid la stoñ pa ñid stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // chen po stoñ pa ñid la don dam pa stoñ pa ñid (L.166b1) yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // don dam pa stoñ pa ñid la chen po stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ //*
5. *don dam pa stoñ pa ñid la 'dus byas stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // 'dus byas stoñ pa ñid la don dam pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // 'dus byas stoñ pa ñid la 'dus ma byas stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // 'dus ma byas stoñ pa ñid la*
6. *'dus byas stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // 'dus ma byas stoñ pa ñid la thog ma dañ tha ma myed pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // thog ma dañ tha ma myed pa stoñ pa ñid la 'dus ma byas stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // thog ma dañ*
7. *tha ma myed pa stoñ pa ñid la dor ba myed pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // dor ba myed pa stoñ pa ñid la thog ma dañ tha ma myed pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // dor ba myed pa stoñ pa ñid la mtha' las 'das pa stoñ (N.162b1) pa ñid yañ dag par*
8. *rjes su myi mthoñ // mtha' las ⁽⁴⁸⁾ stoñ pa ñid la dor ba myed pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // mtha' las 'das pa stoñ pa ñid la rañ bñin stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // rañ bñin stoñ pa ñid la mtha' las 'das pa stoñ*
9. *pa ñid (S.162b1) yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // rañ bñin stoñ pa ñid la rañ gi mtshan (U.122b1) ñid stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // rañ gi mtshan ñid stoñ pa ñid la (L.167a1) rañ bñin stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // rañ gi mtshan ñid stoñ pa ñid la chos thams chad stoñ pa ñid*
10. *yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // chos thams chad stoñ pa ñid la rañ gi mtshan ñid stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // chos thams (P.89.4.1) chad stoñ pa ñid la myi dmyigs pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ ño // myi dmigs pa stoñ pa ñid la chos thams chad stoñ pa ñid*
11. *yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // myi dmigs pa stoñ pa ñid la dños po myed pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // dños po myed ⁽⁴⁹⁾ stoñ pa ñid la myi dmigs pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // dños po myed pa stoñ pa ñid la ño bo ñid stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su*

⁽⁴⁷⁾ L.N.P.S.U. hereafter always omit: *no* ⁽⁴⁸⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *'das pa* ⁽⁴⁹⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *pa*

12. myi mthoñ // ño bo ñid stoñ pa ñid la dños po myed pa stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ ño // ño bo ñid stoñ pa ñid la dños po myed pa'i ño bo ñid stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ // dños po myed pa'i ño bo ñid stoñ pa ñid la ño bo ñid stoñ pa ñid yañ dag par rjes su myi mthoñ
13. ste ⁽³⁰⁾ // tshe (N.163a1) dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu byañ chub sems dpa' chen po ⁽³¹⁾ śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la spyod pa na // byañ chub sems dpa'i skyond myed par 'jug go // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu gzan yañ (S.163a) byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po ⁽³²⁾ śes rab kyī pha rold du

KA 55a (13 lines), (Fig. 7, Neg. 11-251/2)

1. phyind pa la spyod pa'i tshe // (L.167b1) rnam pa 'di la ⁽³³⁾ blaḥ par bya ste // alob pa'i tshe ji nas kyañ gzugs śes par bya ste gzugs des rlom sems su myi bya'o // tshor ba dañ / 'du śes dañ / 'du byed dañ / rnam par śes pa śes par bya ste // tshor ba de dañ / 'du byed de dañ / rnam par
2. śes pa des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // myig śes par bya ste myig des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // rna ba dañ sna dañ lce dañ lus dañ yid śes par bya ste (U.123a1) des rlom sems su myi bya'o // gzugs śes par bya ste gzugs ⁽³⁴⁾ des rlom sems su myi bya'o // sgra dañ dri dañ ro dañ reg dañ chos śes par bya ste
3. des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // myi gi rnam par śes pa śes par bya ste des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // rna ba'i rnam par śes pa dañ / sna'i rnam par śes pa dañ / lce 'i rnam par śes pa dañ / lus (P.89.5.1) kyī rnam par śes pa dañ / yid kyī rnam par śes pa śes par bya ste des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // myig gi 'dus te
4. reg pa śes par bya ste des rlom sems, su myi bya 'o // rna ba'i 'dus te reg pa dañ / sna 'i 'dus te reg pa dañ / lce 'i 'dus te reg pa dañ / lus kyī 'dus te reg pa dañ / yid kyī 'dus te reg pa śes par (N.163a) bya ste des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // myig gi 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba śes par bya ste des
5. rlom (S. 163b1) sems su myi bya 'o // rna ba'i 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba dañ // sna 'i 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis (L.168a1) tshor ba dañ / lce 'i 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba dañ lus kyī 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba dañ / yid kyī 'dus te reg pa'i rkyend kyis tshor ba śes par bya ste des rlom sems su myi bya 'o /
6. sa 'i khamś śes par bya ste des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // chu'i khamś śes par bya ste des rlom sems myi bya 'o ⁽³⁵⁾ // mye 'i khamś dañ / rluñ gi khamś dañ / nam mkha'i khamś dañ / rnam par śes pa'i khamś śes par bya ste des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // ma riḡ pa
7. śes par bya ste des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // 'du byed dañ rnam śes pa dañ / myiñ dañ gzugs dañ / skye mched drug dañ / reg pa dañ / tshor ba dañ / sred pa dañ / lend pa dañ // sriḍ pa dañ / skye ba dañ / rga śi śes par bya ste des rlom sems su myi bya 'o // sbyin pa'i
8. pha rold du phyind pa śes par bya ste des rlom sems su (U.123b1) myi bya 'o // tshul khrims gyi pha rold du phyind pa dañ / bzod pa'i pha rold du phyind pa dañ / brtson 'grus kyī pha

⁽³⁰⁾ S. omits: *ste* ⁽³¹⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *de ltar* ⁽³²⁾ L.N.P.S.U.: *chen pos* ⁽³³⁾ S. inserts: *dag* and omits: *la* / N.L.P.U. insert: *ltar* and omit: *la* ⁽³⁴⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *gzugs* ⁽³⁵⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *śes par bya ste des rlom sems mi bya 'o* // and insert: *dañ*

rold du phyind pa dañ / bsam gtan kyī pha rold du phyind pa dañ / śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa śes par

9. bya ste śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa des rlom sems su myī bya'o // nañ stoñ pa ñid śes par bya ste nañ stoñ pa ñid des rlom sems su myī bya 'o // dños po myed pa'i ño bo ñid stoñ pa ñid ⁽²⁶⁾ śes par bya ste dños po myed pa'i ño bo ñid (P.90.1.1) stoñ pa ñid (S.164a1) kyī bar du ⁽²⁷⁾ des rlom sems su myī bya 'o // (L.168b1) bsam

10. gtan dañ / tshad myed pa (N.164a1) dañ / gzugs myed pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa śes par bya ste de dag gis rlom sems su myī bya'o // mñon par śes pa rnams śes par bya ste de dag gis rlom sems su myī bya 'o ⁽²⁸⁾ // myig lña śes par bya ste de dag gis rlom sems su myī bya 'o // dran ba ñe bar gñag pa rnams śes par

11. bya ste de dag gis rlom sems su myī bya 'o // yañ dag par spoñ ba dañ // rdzu 'phrul kyī rkañ pa dañ / dbañ po dañ / stobs dañ / byañ chub kyī yan lag dañ 'phags pa'i lam yan lag brgyad pa śes par bya ste de dag gis rlom sems su myī bya 'o // 'phags pa'i bden pa rnams dañ / ⁽²⁹⁾ rnam par thard pa brgyad dañ / mthard kyis

12. gnas pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa dgu dañ // stoñ pa ñid dañ / mtshan ma myed pa dañ / smond pa myed pa dañ / tiñ ñe 'dzind rnams dañ / gzuñs kyī sgo rnams śes par bya ste de dag gis rlom sems su myī bya 'o // de bñin gñegs pa'i stobs bcu dañ / myī 'jigs pa bñi dañ / so so yañ dag par rig

13. pa bñi dañ / byams pa chen po dañ / sñiñ rje chen po dañ / (S.164b1) sañs rgyas kyī chos ma 'dres pa bco brgyad śes par bya ste de dag gis rlom sems su myī bya 'o // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu byañ chub sems (U.124a1) dpa' sems dpa' chen po de ltar śes (L.169a1) rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la spyod pa'i tshe / byañ chub kyī

KA 55b (13 lines), (Fig. 8, Neg. 11-252/2)

1. sems des kyañ rlom sems su myī (N.164b1) bya 'o // myī mñam ba dañ mñam ba'i sems kyis rlom sems su myī bya 'o // rlabs po che 'i sems kyis rlom sems myī bya 'o / de ji 'i phyir ze na 'di ltar sems de sems ma yin te // sems kyī rañ bñin 'od gsal ba'i phyir ro // smras pa tshe dañ ldan pa rab 'byord

2. sems kyī rañ bñin 'od gsal ba gañ yin // (P.90.2.1) rab 'byord kyis smras pa // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu sems gañ 'dod chags dañ yañ myī ldan ma bral // ze sdañ dañ gti mug dañ kun nas ldañ ba dañ sgrib pa dañ gcod pa dañ bag la ñal dañ / kun du sbyor ba dañ / lta ba'i rnam pa dañ / ñan thos dañ / rañ sañs ryas kyī

3. sems dañ yañ myī ldan ma bral ba 'di ni // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po 'i sems kyī rañ bñin 'od gsal ba'o // smras pa tshe dañ ldan pa rab 'byord sems gañ la sems ma yin no zes bya ba de yod dam // rab 'byord kyis smras pa // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu de ltar

4. sems ma yin ba de la yod pa 'am myed pa dmyigs pa 'am yod pa 'gyur ram // smras pa tshe dañ ldan ba rab 'byord de lta ma yin no // rab byord kyis (S.165a1) smras pa // tshe dañ

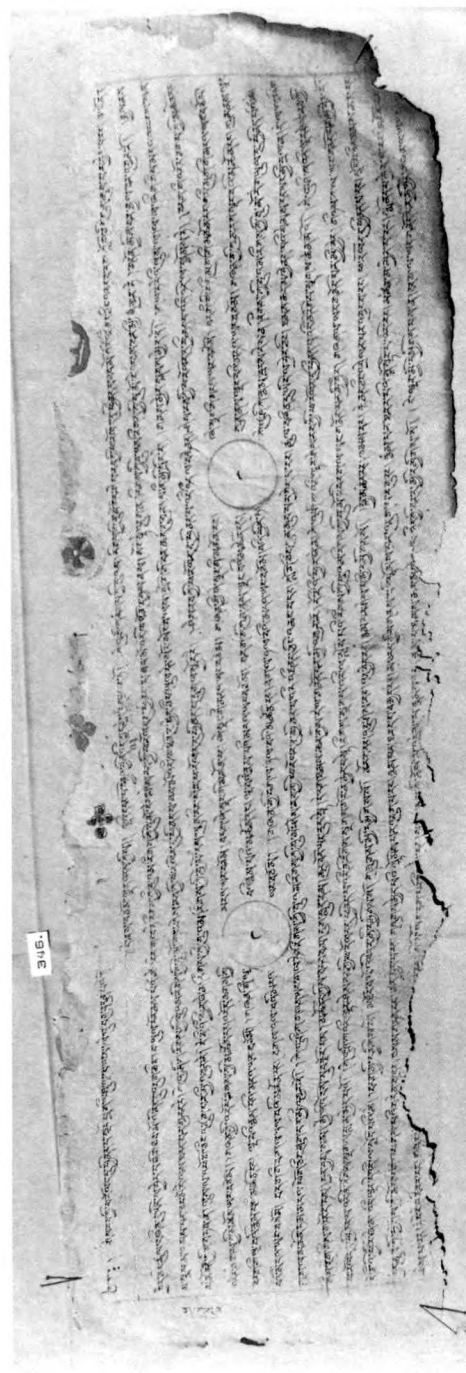
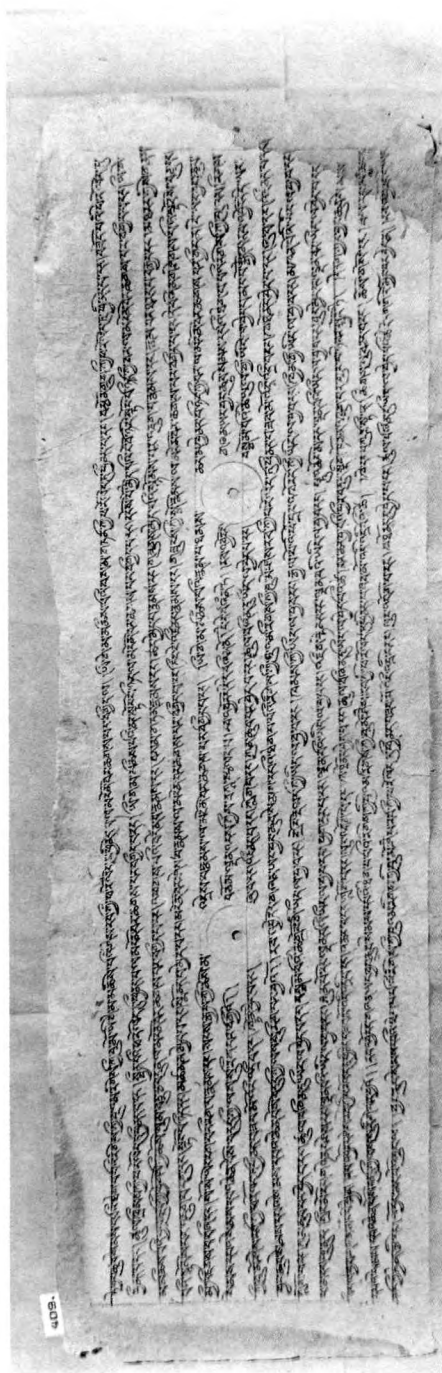
⁽²⁶⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *kyī bar du* ⁽²⁷⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *kyī bar du* ⁽²⁸⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *bam po dgu pa* ⁽²⁹⁾ S. inserts: *bsam gtan rnams dañ / tshad med pa rnams dañ / gzugs med pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa rnams dañ /*

- ldan ba śa ra dva ti'i bu gal te de ltar sems (L.169b1) yin ba de la yod pa 'am myed pa źes bya ba myed ciñ myi dmyigs na // tshe dañ ldan ba śa ra dva ti'i bu khyod kyis de
5. skad du sems gañ la sems yin ba źes bya ba de yod dam źes phyir dris pa de 'thad par 'gyur ram // smras pa tshe dañ ldan ba rab 'byord sems ma yin ba gañ yin // rab 'byord kyis smras pa // tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva (N.165a1) ti'i bu sems ma yin ba ni 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed pa ste // de ni chos thams chad
6. kyī de bźin ñid de // de la ni sems myed pa bsam gyis myi khyab pa źes bya 'o // (U.124b1) smras pa tshe dañ ldan pa rab 'byord ⁽⁶⁰⁾ sems ma yin ba gañ yin ⁽⁶¹⁾ // ji ltar sems la 'gyur pa myed ciñ rnam par / rtog pa myed par bźin du // gzugs la ⁽⁶²⁾ 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed pa yin nam /
7. de bźin du tshor ba dañ / 'du śes dañ 'du byed dañ / rnam par śes pa la ⁽⁶³⁾ 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed pa yin nam // ji ltar sems la 'gyur ba myed (P.90.3.1) ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed pa de bźin du myig gi khamś la yañ ⁽⁶⁴⁾ 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa yin nam /
8. gzugs kyī khamś dañ myig gi rnam par śes pa'i khamś la yañ ⁽⁶⁵⁾ 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed pa yin nam // rna ba'i khamś dañ sgra 'i khamś dañ / rna ba'i rnam par śes pa'i khamś dañ / sna 'i khamś dañ / dri 'i khamś dañ / sna 'i rnam par śes pa'i khamś
9. dañ / lce 'i khamś dañ (S.165b1) / ro 'i (L.170a1) khamś dañ / lce 'i rnam par śes pa 'i khamś dañ / lus kyī khamś dañ / reg bya 'i khamś dañ / lus kyī rnam par śes pa'i khamś dañ / yid khyi khamś dañ / chos kyī khamś dañ / yid kyī rnam par śes pa'i khamś la yañ ⁽⁶⁶⁾ 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa ⁽⁶⁷⁾ yin nam // skye mched dañ ⁽⁶⁸⁾
10. khamś dañ rtend ciñ 'breld par 'byuñ ba dañ / pha rold du phyind pa rnams dañ / stoñ pa ñid thams (N.165b1) chad dañ / dran ba ñe bar gźag pa dañ / yañ dag par spoñ ba dañ / rdzu 'phrul kyī rkañ pa dañ / dbañ po dañ / stobs dañ / byañ chub kyī yan lag dañ / 'phags pa'i lam yan lag brgyad pa dañ / 'phags pa'i bden
11. ba dañ / bsam gtan dañ / tshad myed pa dañ / gzugs myed pa 'i sñoms par 'jug pa dañ / rnam par thard pa brgyad dañ mthar kyis gnas pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa dgu dañ // stoñ pa ñid dañ / mtshan ma myed pa dañ / smond pa myed pa dañ / mñon par śes pa rnams dañ / tiñ ñe 'dzind rnams dañ / gzuñś kyī sgo rnams la
12. yañ ⁽⁶⁹⁾ 'gyur ba myed (U.125a1) ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed pa yin nam // byams pa chen po dañ / sñiñ rje chen po dañ / de bźin gśegs pa 'i stobs bcu dañ / myi 'jigs pa bzī dañ so so yañ dag par rig pa bzī dañ / sañś rgyas kyī chos ma 'dres pa bco brgyad la yañ 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa yin nam /
13. rnam pa (L.170b1) thams chad (S.166a1) mkhyend pa ñid kyī bar la yañ 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed pa yin nam // (P.90.4.1) rab 'byord kyis smras pa tshe dañ ldan pa śa ra dva ti'i bu de de bźin te ji ltar sems la 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed pa de bźin du phuñ po dañ skye mched dañ khamś ⁽⁷⁰⁾ dañ rtend ciñ 'breld par

⁽⁶⁰⁾ L.N.P.U. insert: *ci* / ⁽⁶¹⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *sems ma yin ba gañ yin* // ⁽⁶²⁾ L.N. insert: *'añ* / P.S.U. insert: *yañ* ⁽⁶³⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *yañ* ⁽⁶⁴⁾ L.N.U.: *'añ* ⁽⁶⁵⁾ L.N.S.: *'añ* ⁽⁶⁶⁾ L.N.S.: *'añ* ⁽⁶⁷⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *med pa* ⁽⁶⁸⁾ L.N.P.U. insert: *pbuñ po* ⁽⁶⁹⁾ L.N.: *'añ* ⁽⁷⁰⁾ L.N.P.U.: *khamś dañ / skye mched drug dañ* /

1. // 'byuñ ba dañ // pha rold du phyind pa rnams dañ // stoñ pa ñid thams chad dañ // byañ chub kyī phyogs kyī chos rnams dañ 'phags pa'i bden pa bñi dañ // bsam gtan rnams dañ / tshad myed pa dañ / gzugs myed pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa rnams dañ / rnam par thard pa brgyad dañ / mthard khyis
2. gnas pa'i sñoms (N.166a1) par 'jug pa dgu dañ // stoñ pa ñid dañ / mtshan ma myed pa dañ / smond pa myed pa dañ / mñon bar śes pa rnams dañ / tñiñ ñe 'dzind rnams dañ / gzuñs kyī sgo rnams dañ / byams pa chen po dañ // sñiñ rje chen po dañ / de bñin gśegs pa'i stobs bcu dañ / myi 'jigs pa bñi dañ / so so yañ dag
3. par rig pa bñi dañ / sañs rgyas kyī chos ma 'dres pa bco brgyad dañ // rnam pa thams chad mkhyend pa ñid kyī bar la yañ 'gyur ba myed ciñ rnam par rtog pa myed do // de nas tshe dañ ldan ba śa ri dva ti'i bus // tshe dañ ldan ba rab 'byord la legs so žes bya ba byind te // tshe dañ ldan ba rab 'byord legs so legs so /
4. khyod ni bcom ldan 'das kyī sras thugs (S.166b1) las skyes pa (L.171a1) žal nas byuñ ba chos las skyes pa // chos kyī spruld pa chos kyī bgo bskal pa // zañ žiñ gi bgo bskal pa ma yin ba // chos (U.125b1) rnams la mñon gsum gyī myig dañ ldan ba lus mñon du gyurd pa ste // ñan thos ñon moñs pa myed pa rnam par spyod pa'i ⁽⁷¹⁾
5. rnams kyī mchog du bcom ldan 'das kyis gsuñs ste // bstand pa 'di yañ de 'i tshul dañ dra 'o // tshe dañ ldan ba rab 'byord byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos kyañ śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa la de bñin du bsalab par bya 'o // byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po phyir myi ldog pa yañ 'di
6. las yonś su śes par bya 'o // de ltar na byañ (P.90.5.1) chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po śes rab kyī pha rold phyind pa dañ ma bral bar śes par bya ste // tshe dañ ldan ba rab 'byord ñan thos kyī sa la slob par 'dod pas kyañ śes rab (N.166b1) kyī pha rold du phyind pa 'di ñid nan tan du mñan
7. bar bya 'o // gzuñ bar bya 'o / bcañ bar bya 'o / klag ⁽⁷²⁾ par bya 'o // yonś su chub par bya 'o // tshul bñin du yid la bya 'o // ⁽⁷³⁾ sañs rgyas kyī sa la slob par 'dod pas kyañ śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa 'di ñid nan tan du mñan bar bya 'o // gzuñ bar bya 'o / bcañ bar bya 'o / klag par bya 'o /
8. yonś su chub par bya 'o // tshul bñin du yid la bya 'o // rañ sañs rgyas kyī sa la slob par 'dod pas kyañ śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa 'di ñid nan tan du mñan bar bya 'o // gzuñ bar bya 'o // bcañ bar bya 'o // klag par bya 'o // yonś su chub par bya 'o // tshul bñin du yid la bya 'o // ⁽⁷⁴⁾ byañ chub sems dpa' 'i
9. sa dañ / sañs rgyas kyī sa la slob (L.171b1) par 'dod pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos kyañ (S.167a1) śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa 'di ñid nan tan du mñan bar bya 'o gzuñ bar bya 'o bcañ bar bya 'o klag par bya 'o yonś su chub par bya 'o // tshul bñin du yid la bya 'o // de ji 'i phyir že na śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa las ⁽⁷⁵⁾ las gañ la
10. byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnams dañ // ñan thos dañ / rañ sañs rgyas rnam kyis rtag du rgyund myi chad ⁽⁷⁶⁾ par bsalab par bya ba'i theg pa gsum rgya cher bstand to // śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa stoñ phrag ñi šu lña pa las le 'u bñi 'o ⁽⁷⁷⁾ //

⁽⁷¹⁾ L.N.P.S.U.: *spyod pa* ⁽⁷²⁾ L.S.: *bklag* ⁽⁷³⁾ L.N.P.S.U. insert: *rañ* ⁽⁷⁴⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit: *rañ sañs rgyas kyī sa la slob par 'dod pas kyañ śes rab kyī pha rold du phyind pa 'di ñid nan tan du mñan bar bya 'o // gzuñ bar bya 'o // bcañ bar bya 'o // klag par bya 'o // yonś su chub par bya 'o // tshul bñin du yid la bya 'o* // ⁽⁷⁵⁾ L.N.P.S.U. omit. *las* and insert: *'di* ⁽⁷⁶⁾ P.S.: *'chad* ⁽⁷⁷⁾ L.N.P.S.U.: *bñi pa 'o*

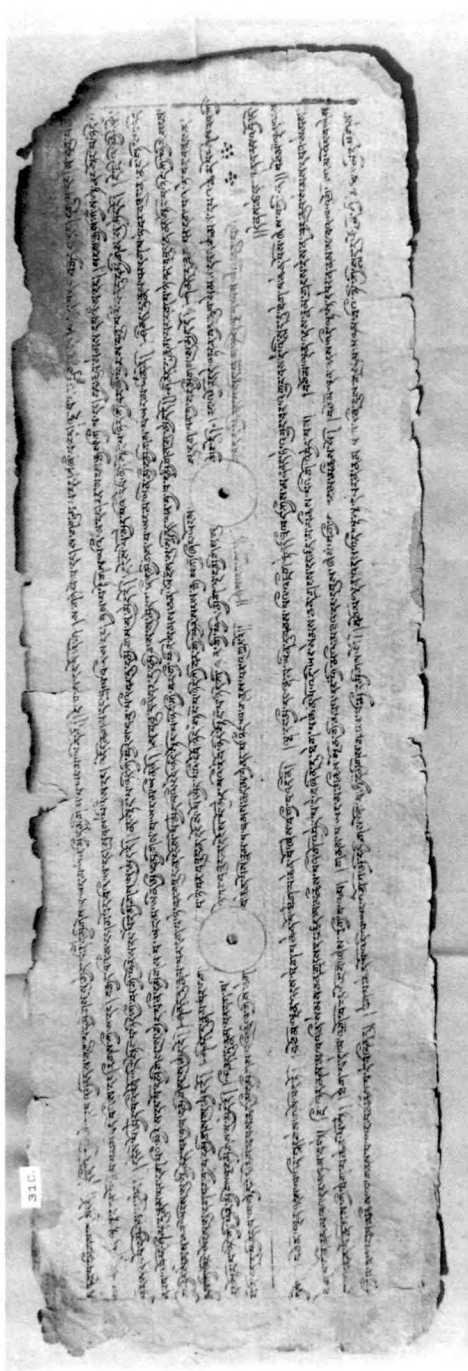
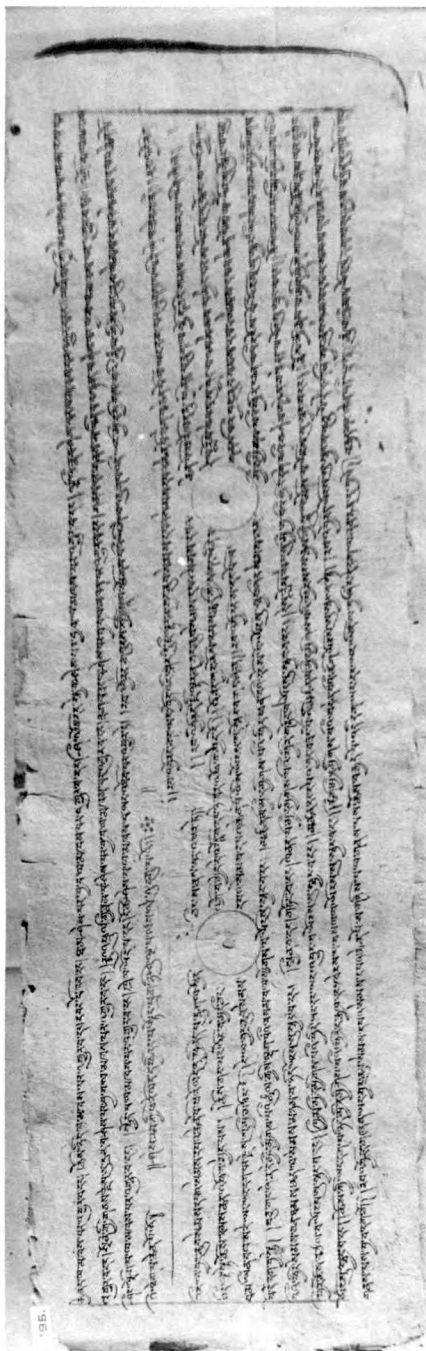


Figs. 10-11. See fn. 6-7.

[illegible]

265.

Figs. 14-15. See fn. 10-11.



Figs. 16-17. See fn. 11.

New Fragments of the *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa*

by JAMPA L. PANGLUNG

The *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa*, a fundamental text for the study of the methods of translating Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Tibetan, has first become known to Western scholars by a publication of Alfonsa Ferrari ⁽¹⁾ and by the pioneer study of Nils Simonsson ⁽²⁾ in 1957. Later on some important articles have been dedicated to the text and its date by Japanese scholars ⁽³⁾. Recently G. Uray had published a study not only on the date of the *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* — which now unanimously is taken to be 814 A.D. — but on the *Vyutpatti*-treatises as a whole ⁽⁴⁾ and R.A. Stein has frequently referred to terms of the text in his 'Tibetica Antiqua I' ⁽⁵⁾. However, it was only in 1990 that a critical edition of the *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa*, preserved in the *bsTan-'gyur* and in some Tun-huang fragments, had been undertaken by Mie Ishikawa ⁽⁶⁾. On the occasion of the 5th IATS-Seminar in Narita, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub presented a paper on this text with special reference to the Tun-huang fragments ⁽⁷⁾ and announced the project of translating the whole text.

⁽¹⁾ *Arthaviniscaya*, Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia, Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali e Storiche, Vol. IV, Roma 1944, pp. 535-625. A. Ferrari took the introduction of the *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* for the colophon of the *Mabāvyutpatti*, cf. pp. 538-41. See also G. Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, SOR, I, Roma 1950, pp. 14-15.

⁽²⁾ *Indo-tibetische Studien. Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie*, I, Uppsala 1957.

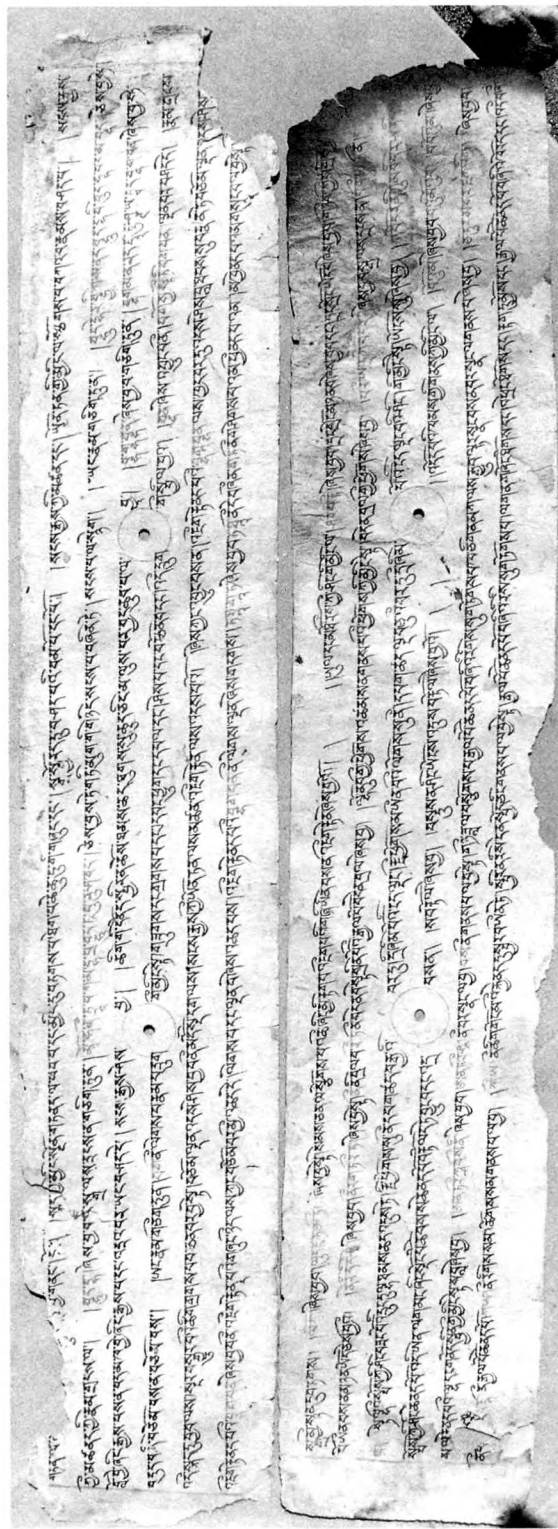
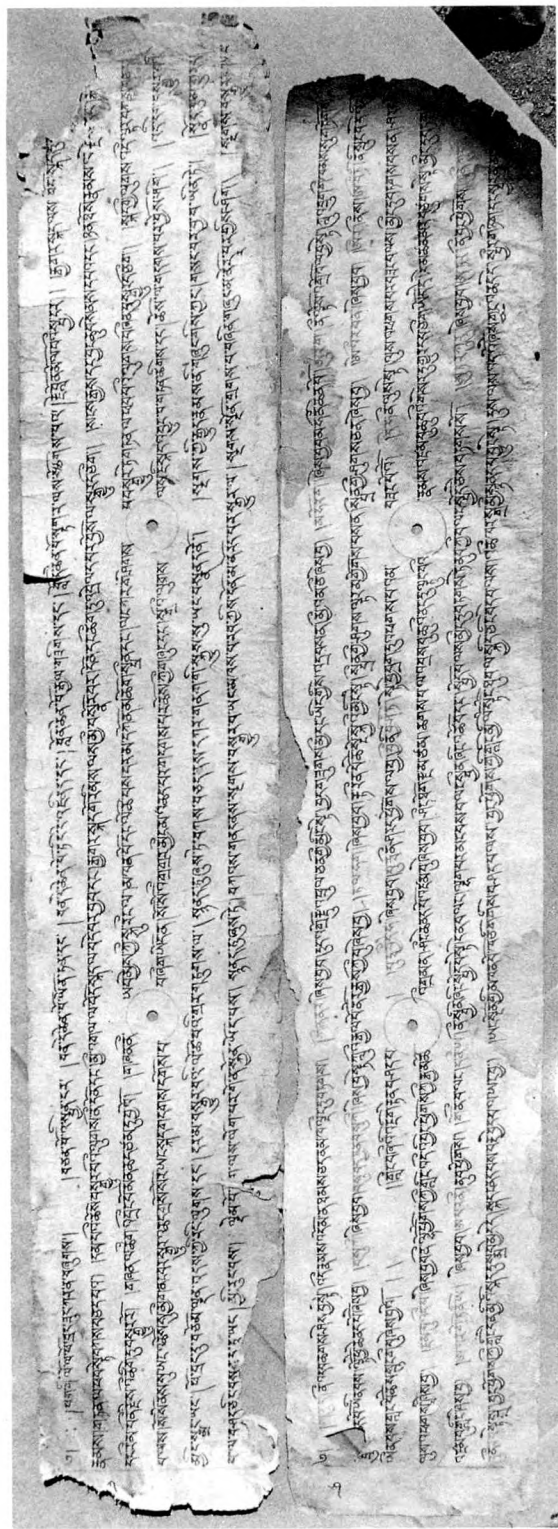
⁽³⁾ Harada Satoru, "'sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa'-gō' (A study of 'sGra-sbyor bam po gñis pa') (in Japanese), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*), XXVII 2, [54] 1979, pp. 912-909 = 50-53. Yamaguchi Zuihō, "'Nikan-hon yakugo shaku" kenkyū', *Naritasen Bukkyō Kenkyūjo Kiyō* (*Journal of the Naritasen Institute for Buddhist Studies*), 4, pp. 1-24, Narita 1979. The content of both articles is only known to me through quotations.

⁽⁴⁾ 'Contributions to the date of the *Vyutpatti*-Treatises', *AAH*, XLIII 1, 1989, pp. 3-21. In this article a general review of the studies on the subject is given.

⁽⁵⁾ R.A. Stein, 'Tibetica Antiqua I. Les deux vocabulaires des traductions indo-tibétaine et sino-tibétaine dans les manuscrits de Touen-houang', *BEFEO*, LXXII, 1983, pp. 149-236.

⁽⁶⁾ *A Critical Edition of the sGra sbyor bam po gñis-pa. An Old and Basic Commentary on the Mabāvyutpatti*, *Studia Tibetica*, 18, Materials for Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionaries, vol. 2, The Toyo Bunko 1990.

⁽⁷⁾ Now published: 'Ša cu: "Qu'y-a-t-il au programme de la classe de philologie bouddhique?"', in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Narita



The Ta pho Fragments

In 1991 I had been invited to join the Austro-Italian research group visiting the ancient monastery of Ta pho, in Spiti ⁽⁸⁾. In the so-called library of the Ta pho monastery, among other texts, two manuscript folios of the *sGra-sbyor-bam-po gñis-pa* came to light.

The two folios are of light yellowish thick paper with two holes for strings and measure about 50.8 × 9 cm (Figs. 1-2). Each folio has six lines of *dbu-ñan* script, which is doubtless from the same hand. Antiquated orthographical characteristics like the reversed *gi-gu*, *da-drag* and affixed *-ya* are frequently to be observed. The headwords as well as the Sanskrit terms and syllables are written in red ink. Both folios are numbered according to the Tibetan alphabet, *ka* = 1 and *ṣa* = 27. Folio *ka* is damaged on the right upper side, where a part of the sheet is torn off, causing a loss of text at the end of the first two lines. Folio *ṣa* on the right side shows traces of burning and there also part of the text is lost.

It must be emphasised here that these newly found fragments still cannot be dated and may not have the same source value as the Tun-huang fragments. The Ta pho fragments of the *sGra-sbyor-bam-po gñis-pa* which have come down to us may well be the result of repeated copying.

The *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa*, it is well-known, consists of two parts or *bam-po* of different length ⁽⁹⁾. The first part is an introduction, preceded by an annalistic entry. It furnishes the guidelines for fixing the terms and for translating from Sanskrit according to royal order. The second part, by examples starting with the entry *buddha*, comments the translation of more than 400 Sanskrit terms, and thus constitutes the *sGra-sbyor* in the proper sense.

Fortunately, in the find at Ta pho monastery both parts of the *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* are represented. The greater part, almost three pages, belong to the second part, the *bam-po gñis-pa*. It starts on folio *ka*, verso, second half of the first line, with the names of the Buddha and goes on to line 6 with the explanation of *tathāgata*, corresponding to nos. 1-3 in the critical edition of M. Ishikawa. The corresponding passage is also preserved in Pelliot Tibétain 845, *kha*, recto, line 5, to *kha*, verso 3.

The second folio, numbered *ṣa*, begins in the middle of the commentary of the entry on *garuḍa*. Then it deals with mythical animals, the *dvīpas* and ends within the

1989, Monograph Series of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies, Occasional Papers, 2, vol. 1: *Buddhist Philosophy and Literature*, ed. Ihara Shōren & Yamaguchi Zuihō, Naritasan Shinshoji 1992, pp. 209-20. I am grateful to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub for kindly making her paper available while it was still in the press.

⁽⁸⁾ I should like to thank Prof. Dr Ernst Steinkellner, Vienna, very much for having arranged my participation in this research visit.

⁽⁹⁾ On the problem of the length of a *bam-po*, see Scherrer-Schaub, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-20.

commentary on the *caturmahārājakāyika*. This coincides with the entries nos. 351-367 in M. Ishikawa's critical edition. In the Tun-huang fragments the text corresponding to folio *ša* is not preserved. Therefore the Ta pho fragment with its occasional different orthography and wording is an important hitherto unknown supplement.

The Ta pho fragments — as far as the *bam-po gñis-pa* is concerned — in my view have the same base as the known Tun-huang and *bsTan-'gyur* version. I do not go into details here, because different readings will be taken into account by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub and Paul Verhagen in the translation in progress but I shall concentrate on the *bam-po dan-po*.

New Information in the Ta pho Fragments

In the Ta pho fragment folio *ka*, recto up to verso line one, for the first time a different version of the complete introductory part — or *bam-po dan-po* — of the *sGra-sbyor* has been found.

This version is by far shorter than the hitherto known one, comprising only six and a half lines. It presents itself in the form of an edict: after a dating formula which, as Géza Uray had demonstrated ⁽¹⁰⁾, was common in certain official documents of that period, follows the *dispositio* and the closing formula. The *dispositio* consists of five main points in strict imperative form. The language is concise and sometimes difficult to interpret. The structure of the edict will be shown in the following tentative translation ⁽¹¹⁾:

A. Dating formula and *narratio*:

In the pig-year [the *bcan-po*] stayed in the residence of Zuh-kar. In the presence of the *bcan-po*, the Great Monk Yon-tan, the Great Monk Tiñ-ñe-'jin, the Great Councillor rGyal-gzigs, the Great Councillor sTag-ra etc. [came together]. On the occasion of the deliberation of the ruler and the councillors the terms for translating from the Indian language into the Tibetan had been [fixed and] codified and it was prescribed by order:

B. *dispositio*

1. Concerning the translation of the holy doctrine of the Buddha, translate it into good Tibetan language and in accordance with the meaning and without changing the order of the Sanskrit words, unify [in harmony] the meaning and the word!

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 4, fn. 5.

⁽¹¹⁾ For the Tibetan text see below under 'Textual comparison', bold letters. The translation of the *bsTan-'gyur* and Tun-huang version see Simonsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-62.

2. Translate Buddha, Bodhisattva and Śrāvaka concerning the respect, rk[o ...] ⁽¹²⁾ and order into respectful words! For others use terms from medium downwards!
3. As for the rest translate in the same way as *Dar-ma-dkon-mčhog-sprin* and *Lañ-kar-gšegs-pa* had been done by the *mikhan-po* and the *lochaba* in the time of the ancestors! ⁽¹³⁾
4. As the way of translating had been prescribed by order, it is not allowed to anybody to make any changes. However, in case that in the Dharma- and Explanation-Colleges there is a need to create a [Tibetan] term, the individual colleges may do it, without fixing the term ⁽¹⁴⁾, in accordance with the texts of the Dharma ⁽¹⁵⁾ and the rules of Sanskrit grammar and shall make it conform ⁽¹⁶⁾ to the guidelines. However, though such terms of translation had been created ⁽¹⁷⁾, they must be submitted to the Commissioners of the Bhagavat in the residence and the Board of Lochabas who translate the Dharma and permission [of the *bcan-po*] must be asked for. After [the assent] is given by order, include the term into the general register! ⁽¹⁸⁾
5. As to the Tantras it is said by the texts themselves that they are to be kept secret. Therefore it is not allowed to teach and explain them to unfit people, because it causes harm if encoded terms are misunderstood. Therefore permission must be asked for and after it has been granted by order, the translation of the Tantra must be done by an excellent scholar not falsifying the meaning and not falsifying the text but just as the Tantra had been known formerly! Concerning the translation of Tantras ... codified ... not allowed.

C. Closing formula:

This is the first *bam-po* of the so-called *sGra-sbyor* in which the terms for translating the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna texts formerly had been fixed and codified.

⁽¹²⁾ Only *rk[e?]o?* can be deciphered. Anyway its meaning in this context is not clear to me. The *bsTan-'gyur* version reads *sko-loñ*, the usual meaning 'annoyance, hatred, jealousy etc.', does not fit here.

⁽¹³⁾ It is doubtful whether the versions of the *Ratnameghasūtra* (or *Mahāmeghasūtra*?) and the *Lañkāvatārasūtra* incorporated into the *bKa'-'gyur* or preserved in Tun-huang manuscripts or named in the *Catalogue of Iñan-kar* are the texts referred to here (see Simonsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59; Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53 and *passim* concerning especially the studies of Ueyama Daishun on the *Lañkāvatārasūtra*). Concerning the date of the translation of both texts, the *bsTan-'gyur* version of the *sGra-sbyor* instead of *yab-myes* reads *lha-sras yab* = Khri-sroñ lde-bcan. However it is worth noting that traditionally Tibetan historiographers like mKhas-pa lDe'u, Bu-ston and others mention that the translation of the *Ratnameghasūtra* had been made during the reign of Sroñ-bcan agam-po.

⁽¹⁴⁾ This sentence is difficult to interpret because of *čhad-pa*. Here I take *čhad-pa* for 'decision', 'agreement', 'fixing', and in the negative sense for 'without fixing', 'preliminary'.

⁽¹⁵⁾ This refers to the contents of the texts. On the meaning of *čbos kyi gžur* see Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-83, esp. p. 182.

⁽¹⁶⁾ This passage is difficult to interpret. In my view *čbos* should be taken as imperative of '*čbos-pa* = 'to improve, to correct' etc.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Literally 'pronounced', *miñ smrañ-ba*.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *dkar-gnag* literally means 'black-and-white'. Here it appears as synonym for *dKar-čbag* and refers most probably to the collection of terms, the *Mahāvinyūtpatti*.

The new information of the Ta pho version concerning the date (I) and the relation of the first *bam-po* to the known version by textual comparison (II) will be discussed in the following.

I. THE DATING OF THE *sGRA-SBYOR BAM-PO GNIS-PA* IN THE TA PHO VERSION

The annalistic style dating formula (A) of the Ta pho fragments provides the following new facts for dating:

- a) The *bCan-po* (no name) *vs.* Khri lDe-sroñ-bcan
- b) The year of the pig *vs.* horse
- c) The residence of the unnamed *bcan-po*, Zuñ-kar *vs.* 'On-čañ-rdo
- d) The names of the Great Councillors rGyal-gzigs and sTag-ra *vs.* Žaň Khri-zur-ram-šag and Maň-Je lha-lod

It is hard to fix the corresponding year of the pig, however the names of the Great Councillors can be of help at least in delimiting the date. For the Great Councillors rGyal-gzigs and sTag-ra only the *mkhan* form of the name is provided. The *mkhan* rGyal-gzigs and sTag-ra are frequent and might refer to many persons. The fact that here we are concerned with two Great Councillors facilitates the identification. In the list of Great Councillors in the *Tun-buang Chronicle* ⁽¹⁹⁾ there are only two Great Councillors in succession bearing this *mkhan*, namely mČhims Žaň rGyal-zigs šu-teñ and Nan-lam sTag-sgra klu-goñ.

Both Great Councillors had held office earlier than ['Bro] Žaň Khri-zur ram-šag and [dBa'] Maň-rje lha-lod who are mentioned in the annalistic entry of the *bsTan-gyur* version of the *sGra-sbyor*, which refers to the year 814. Both Councillors named in the Ta pho fragment are among the witnesses of the so-called first edict of Khri-

⁽¹⁹⁾ Cf. PT 1287, l. 114, facsimile in A. Spanien & Y. Imaeda, eds., *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum*, II, Paris 1979, pl. 561, also in J. Bacot, F.W. Thomas & Ch. Toussaint, eds. and transl., *Documents de Touen-bouang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes, LI, Paris 1940-1946, p. 102, ll. 15-16 and p. 132, ll. 13-14.

Both names also appear in the same order in the Žol inscription, South, ll. 57-58, see Li Fang Kuei & W. South Coblin, *A Study of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions*, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special Publication, 91, Nankang, Taipei 1987, p. 145 and H. Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, James G. Forlong Series, XXIX, London 1985, p. 12.

sroñ lde-bcan transmitted by dPa'-bo gCug-lag-phreñ-ba ⁽²⁰⁾. There *žan* rGyal-gzigs šu-theñ is ranking *blon-čben* while the following sTag-sgra klu-goñ still figures as simple *blon*. H. Richardson ⁽²¹⁾, with a question mark, dates sTag-sgra klu-goñ's becoming Great Councillor in about 783. Both Great Councillors had held office in the time of Khri-sroñ lde-bcan and do no longer occur in the inscriptions dating from the time of his son Khri lDe-sroñ-bcan, who ascended the throne in 800/801 ⁽²²⁾.

Therefore the year in the dating formula may refer to the last pig year, 795, within the reign of Khri-sroñ lde-bcan or else to the earlier year 783. However, pig years prior to the foundation of the monastery of bSam-yas can be excluded because then there could not have been two Great Tibetan Monks, Yon-tan and Tiñ-ñe-'jin. The reference to the residence Zuñ-kar which in historiographical literature traditionally is the place where Khri-sroñ lde-bcan lived in his old days (or had retired to) and where he died would be in favour of the year 795.

Thus it can be stated that the edict transmitted in the Ta pho fragments had been issued during the reign of Khri-sroñ lde-bcan in 795 or 783 while the Tun-huang and *bsTan-'gyur* version doubtless dates from the year 814, the time of his son Khri-lde sroñ-bcan.

Further investigation in the *bam-po dan-po* is necessary to find out whether the version of the Ta pho fragments and the known version are related. In his article on the *Vyutpatti*-treatises, Géza Uray ⁽²³⁾ had remarked that 'A diplomatic analysis of the introduction is still to be performed'. Such an analysis has been difficult, but — as we shall see — the structure of the introductory part will become more transparent, now that the Ta pho fragments have come to light.

II. TEXTUAL COMPARISON OF THE *BAM-PO DAN-PO* OF THE TA PHO VERSION AND THE KNOWN VERSION

The textual comparison follows the critical edition of Mie Ishikawa ⁽²⁴⁾ to which the text of the *bam-po dan-po* of the Ta pho version has been added interlinearly in bold ⁽²⁵⁾.

⁽²⁰⁾ Cf. *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, Śāstra-Piṭaka Series, 9 (4), Ja, New Delhi 1962, 109b4-5 and Tucci, *op. cit.*, p. 97, ll. 13-14.

⁽²¹⁾ 'Ministers of the Tibetan Kingdom', *The Tibet Journal*, 2, 1, 1977, p. 18

⁽²²⁾ Cf. Uray, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and fn 37 for further references.

⁽²³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 4, fn 5.

⁽²⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, pp 1-4.

⁽²⁵⁾ See also the text in *facsimile*, Figs 1-2. The text between braces is restored.

[*invocatio*]

namo buddhāya//
bam po dañ po/

[*A. Annalistic style dating formula*]

rta'i lo la bcan po khri lde sroñ bcan pho brañ skyi'i 'on čañ rdo na bžugs/ stod smad
kyi dmag rñiñ rjed dañ rkun čhen btul/ gar log gi pho ñas phyag bcal/ blon čhen po žaň
khri zur ram žag dañ/ maň rje lha lod la sogs pas rgya las gnañs maň po bčad de/ rña
rta daň laň phal mo čhe phyag tu phul/ žaň blom maň čhad so sor bya dga' scal ba'i lan
la/

[*narratio*]

ñi 'og gi mkhan po *ācārya jīnamitra* dañ/ *surendrabodbi* dañ/ *śīlendrabodbi* dañ/ *dānaśīla*
dañ/ *bodbimitra* dañ/ dod kyi mkhan po *ratnarakṣita* dañ/ *dharmmatāśīla* dañ/ lo cā ba
mkhas par čhud pa *jñānasena* dañ/ *jayarakṣita* dañ/ *mañjuśrīvarma* dañ/ *ratmendrasīla*
la sogs pas theg pa čhe čhuñ las 'byuñ ba'i rgya gar gyi skad las bod kyi skad du bsgyur
čiñ miñ du btags pa rnams dkar čhag tu bris te/ nam du yaň gžuñ lugs de las mi bsgyur
žiñ kun gyis bsleb tu ruñ bar gyis žig čes bka' scal nas/
sñon lha sras yab kyi riñ la/ *ācāryabodhisatva* dañ/ ye šes dbaň po dañ/ žaň rgyal ñen
ña bzaň dañ/ blon khri bžer saň ši dañ/ lo cā ba *jñānadevakoṣa* dañ/ lče khyi 'brug
dañ/ bram ze *ānanda* la sogs pas čhos kyi skad bod la ma grags pa las miñ du btags pa
maň dag žig mčhis pa'i naň nas kha žig čhos kyi gžuñ dañ/ *vyākaraṇa*'i lugs dañ mi
mthun te/ mi bčos su mi ruñ ba rnams kyaň bčos/ skad kyi miñ gčes so 'chal gyis kyaň
bsnan nas theg pa čhe čhuñ gi gžuñ las ži ltar 'byuñ ba dañ/ gna'i mkhan po čhen po
nāgārjuna dañ/ vasubandhu la sogs pas ži ltar bšad pa dañ/ *vyākaraṇa*'i sgra'i lugs las ži
skad du 'dren pa daň yaň bstun te/ mjal dka' ba rnams kyaň chig so sor phral nas gtan
chigs kyi bšad de gžuñ du bris/ skad rkyañ pa bšad mi 'chal ba sgra bžin du bsgyur bar
rigs pa rnams kyaň sgra bcan par bgyis te miñ du btags/ skad kha žig don bžin du gdags
par rigs pa rnams kyaň don bcan par bgyis te miñ du btags nas/

[1] phag gi lo la pho brañ zuñ kar na bžugs//

[*transition narratio-dispositio*]

bcan po'i spyan sñar/ bande čhen po dpal gyi yon tan daň/ bande čhen po tiñ ñe 'jin
bcan po'i spyan ñar/ ban de čhen po yon tan daň/ ban de čhen po tiñ ñe 'jin daň/

blon čhen po rgyal gžigs daň/ blon čhen po stag ra

la sogs pa yaň 'chogs te/ rje blon gdan 'jom pa la žus nas
las scogs pa'/ rje blon mol ba'i spyar ñar

dharmma bsgyur ba'i thabs daň/

rgya gar gyi skad las bod kyi skad du miñ btags pa rnams gtan la phab ste/ bkas bčad pa/
rgya gar skad las bod skad du { miñ btags pa } [2] rnams/ gtan la phab ste bkas bčad pa'

[B. *dispositio* (1)]

dam pa'i čhos bsgyur ba'i lugs ni don dañ yañ mi 'gal la bod skad la yañ gar bde bar
 dam pa'i čhos bsgyur ba'i lugs ni don dañ/ myi 'gal la bod skad la bde bar bya ba dañ/
 gyis žig/ dharma bsgyur ba la
 rgya gar gyi skad kyi go rims las mi bsnor bar bod ski skad du bsgyur na
 rgya gar skad go rims las myi bsnor bar/
 don dañ chig tu 'brel žin bde na ma bsnor bar sgyur žig/
 don dañ chig tu 'breld bar byos la sgyur žig/

[B. 1. a]

bsnor na bde žin go ba bskyed pa žig yod na/ chigs bčad la ni rca ba bži pa'am/ drug
 pa'añ ruñ ste/ chigs su bčad pa gčig gi nañ na gañ bde ba bsnor žin sgyur žig/ rkyañ pa
 la ni don gañ sñegs pa yañ čhad kyi chig dañ don gñis ka la gar bde bar bsnor žin sgyur
 žig/ skad gčig la miñ du mar 'dren pa ni ltag 'og dañ bstun la gar sñegs pa bžin du miñ
 thogs žig/ *gautama* lta bu *gau*'i sgra las chig dañ/ phyogs dañ/ sa dañ/ 'od dañ/ rdo rje
 dañ/ ba lañ dañ/ mtho ris la sogs pa rnams pa du mar sñegs pa dañ/ *kaufika* lta bu rcva
 ku ša thogs pa dañ/ mkhas pa dañ/ *padma* la dga' ba dañ/ 'ug pa dañ/ mjod lden la
 sogs pa'i sgra'i lugs las drañs žin bsgyur na sna grañs mañ po žig tu sñegs la bsgyur ba
 rnams gčig gi nañ du ni sna grañs de kun 'dur yañ mi btub ste/ gčig tu čhad par bya yañ
 gtan chigs čhen po med pa rnams ni mi bsgyur bar rgya gar skad so na žog žig/ gar yañ
 drañ du ruñ ba'i chig žig byuñ na/ phyogs gčig tu čhad par mi bsgyur bar spyir sñegs su
 ruñ bar gyis žig/
 yul dañ/ sems čan dañ/ me tog dañ/ rci žin la sogs pa'i miñ bsgyur na yid gol žin chig
 mi bde ba dañ/ 'ol spyir bsgyur du ruñ yañ don du de ltar yin nam ma yin gtol med pa
 rnams la/ mgo la yul že'am/ me tog čes pa la sogs pa gañ la bya ba'i miñ gčig bla thabs
 su snon la rgya gar skad so na žog žig/ grañs la rgya gar skad bžin du bsgyur na dge sloñ
 brgya phrag phyed dañ bču gsum žes 'byuñ ba la sogs pa ni stoñ fiis brgya lña bču žes
 tha mal par bod kyi skad kyi lugs bžin bsgyur na don dañ yañ mi 'gal la bod kyi skad la
 yañ bde bas/ grañs bsdom du ruñ ba rnams bod skad kyi lugs bžin du thogs žig/ *pari*
 dañ/ *sam* dañ/ *upa* lta bu la sogs te/ chig gi phrad dañ rgyan lta bur 'byuñ ba rnams
 bsgyur na don dañ mthun žin 'byor pa'i thabs ni/ yonś su že'am/ yañ dag pa že'am/ ñe
 ba žes sgra bžin du sgyur žig/ don lhag par sñegs pa med pa rnams ni chig gi lhad kyis
 bsnan mi dgos kyis don bžin du thogs žig/ rnam grañs su gtogs pa'i chig rnams ni ma
 'dom na miñ gañ bod skad du spyir grags žin chig tu gar bde bar gdags so/ 'dom na so
 sor btags pa bžin du thogs žig/

[B. *dispositio* (2)]

sañs rgyas dañ byañ čhub sems dpa' dañ ñan thos la sogs pa žes dañ sko loñ gi chig gi
 sañs rgyas dañ byañ čhub sems dpa' dañ/ ñan thos rnams la [rje sa dañ] rk[o ...] [3] dañ
 rim pa ni sañs rgyas la že sa'i chig tu bsgyur
 rjm pa ni rje sa'i chig tu bsgyur ro/
 gžan la chig 'briñ po man čhad cam du byas te/
 gžan la chig 'briñ po man čhad cam du bya'o/

[B. *dispositio* (3)]

sñon lha sras yab kyi spyen sñar
gñan ni yab myes kyi sku riñ la/

mkhan po dañ lo cā ba mkhas pa 'chogs pas *dbarmma* dkon mčhog sprin dañ
mkhan po dañ lo cha bas/ dar ma dkon mčhog sprin dañ

lañ kar gšegs pa bsgyur te/ gtan la phab pa'i lugs bžin du sgyur čig/
lañ kar gšegs pa bsgyur te gtan la phab pa'i lugs bžin du sgyurd čig/

[B. *dispositio* (4)]

skad kyi lugs 'di ltar bkas bčad pa las so so nas su yañ 'čhos žiñ 'og tu miñ gsar du 'dogs su
skad gyi lugs 'di ltar bkas bčad [4] pa las/ so so nas su yañ 'čhos su

mi gnañ gis/ bsgyur pa dañ 'čhad pa'i grva so so nas skad gsar du miñ gdags
myi gnañ bar sgyur 'čhad gra so sor yañ skad gdags

gdos pa žig yod na yañ/ so so'i grva grvar miñ čhad par ma gdags par čhos kyi gžun dañ
gdos pa ba žig yod na/ so so'i gra grar myiñ ma čhad par gdags par čhos kyi gžun dañ/

sgra'i lugs las ji skad du 'byuñ ba'i gtan chigs dañ/ čhos la ji skad du gdags pa dpyad de/
sgra'i lugs las ji skad 'byuñ ba gtan chigs dañ/ čhos la gdags par byos žig/

'di dag bsgyur ba'i [5] myiñ amrañ yañ

pho brañ du bčom ldam 'das kyi riñ lugs kyi mdun sa dañ/ *dbarmma* žu čhen 'chal ba'i
pho brañ du bčom ldam 'das kyi riñ lugs dañ/ dar ma bsgyur ba'i lo cha pa'i

grvar phul la/ sñan du žus te bkas bčad nas skad kyi dkar čhag gi dkyus su bsan no/
grar gtugs la/ sñand tu žus te bkas bčad nas dkar gnag gi skyus su yañ banand no/

[B. *dispositio* (5)]

gsañ sñags kyi rgyud rnams ni gžun gis gsañ bar bya ba yin te/ snod du ma gyur pa rnams
sñags kyi rgyud rnams ni gžun gis kyañ/ gsañ bar bya ba yin te/ snod du ma gyurd [6] pa

la bčad čin bstan du yañ mi ruñ la/ bar du bsgyur žiñ spyod du gnañ gis kyañ
la bčad čin bs[t]and t[u] yañ/ myi ruñ bas/

ldem po dag tu bčad pa ma khrol nas sgra ji bžin du 'jin čin log par spyod pa dag kyañ byuñ/
sñags kyi rgyud kyi nañ nas thu žiñ bod skad du bsgyur ba dag kyañ byuñ žes gdags
kyi/ phyin čhad gzuñs dañ rgyud bla nas bka' scal te/ sgyur du bčug pa ma gtogs
pa/ sñags kyi rgyud dañ/ sñags kyi chig thu žiñ bsgyur du mi gnañ ŋo/
ldem po [da]g las log par go na skyon yod pas / sñand tu žus te/ bka's gnañ nas sñags
bsgyur ba yañ mkhas pa rab kyi don ma nord par sgyur la/ sñags sñon grags pa bžin gžun
ma nord par gyis žig/ sñags bgyur ba/ yañ [b 1] gtan la [...] [myi] gnañ/ ŋo/

[C. Closing formula]

skad kyi miñ sñon gtan la ma phab pa dañ miñ du ma thogs pa las theg pa che čhuñ gi gžuiñ
skad kyi myiñ sñon gtand la phab pa dañ myiñ du btags pa theg pa che čhuñ gi gžuiñ

dañ sgra'i gžuiñ las 'byuñ ba dañ sbyar te bšad pa'i dañ po'o//
dañ/ sgra sbyord du bšad pa'i bam po dañ po/

From this comparison it becomes apparent that the complete edict which constitutes the first *bam-po* of the Ta pho version can be traced in the introduction of the *bsTan-'gyur* version; however, the names of the residence, the Great Councillors and the year of the pig are omitted.

The *bsTan-'gyur* version is more elaborate than the Ta pho version. It begins with the *invocatio* 'namo buddhāya'. The annalistic style dating formula common in documents of that time is very detailed. The *narratio* provides the names of the contemporary Indian and Tibetan masters involved in the translations. Further on it recalls the activities in the time of Khri-sroñ lde-bcan, the father (*lba sras yab*) of Khri-lde-sroñ-bcan, and displays the reasons for improving the earlier translations.

At the end of this passage, I inserted the dating formula of the Ta pho version, absent in the other versions. After this formula, the correspondence with the *bsTan-'gyur* version is demonstrated. This passage constitutes, as G. Uray ⁽²⁶⁾ has noted, the transition from the *narratio* to the *dispositio*.

Generally in the *dispositio* the guidelines or methods for translating are described almost literally in the same way and order as in the Ta pho version.

In the passage B.1.a we notice that the *bsTan-'gyur* version has a large interpolation. There exceptions to B.1 of the *dispositio* are given permitting under certain circumstances changes of the order of the words for the sake of easier understanding and better Tibetan language in verses and in prose. Sanskrit names and proper names may be left untranslated; however, to avoid misunderstanding they should be preceded by the generic name *yul*, *me-tog* etc. Numerals may be translated according to Tibetan way of counting. Further on this passage provides guidelines how to translate Sanskrit prefixes.

The points B.2-B.4 of the Ta pho version are literally present, while B.5 differs in the wording, but not in content. The closing formula C shows direct correspondence.

Summing up this comparison it can be stated, that the *bsTan-'gyur* version of the first *bam-po* must be taken as a confirmation by Khri lDe-sroñ-bcan of the earlier edict of his father as transmitted in the Ta pho version. The second part of the *narratio* explains the reasons for the enlargement of the guidelines in the edict. The details furnished in B.1.a doubtless are a consequence of increasing experience in translating.

⁽²⁶⁾ *Op cit.*, p. 16.

As a consequence also the annalistic entry including the names of the Great Councillors of the earlier edict had to be replaced by an actual one. However, the names of the Great monks Yon-tan and Tiñ-ñe-'jin who were still in office had been kept. But it is noteworthy that the *bsTan-'gyur* version shows a promotion in rank of the Great monk Yon-tan whose name is preceded by the honorific *dPal*.

It is worth pointing out, that the Ta pho version does not include the title *ñu-chen* but simply reads *lochaba*. In the comparison of the passages which almost literally correspond, it can be observed that the *bsTan-'gyur* version by inserting particles of the genitive case, or *dan*, *du*, or repeating a verb etc. contributes to clarify the meaning of the sentences and to render the concise style of the Ta pho version more smoothly.

Finally, I should like to add some reflections on what the second *bam-po* of the *sGra-sbyor* in the Ta pho version had been alike.

In the one and a half folios of the Ta pho version and the corresponding Tun-huang and *bsTan-'gyur* version, I cannot make out essential differences. Estimating roughly the number of the folios in the Ta pho fragment especially the lacking parts between folio one (*ka*) and twenty-seven (*ša*) there seems to be no difference as to the total textual amount of the *bsTan-'gyur* version either. However, we cannot be sure about the content. Apart from that, in my view, the second *bam-po*, the *sGra-sbyor* proper, had never been subject to any change by royal order. The correction and revision mentioned in the *narratio* of the first *bam-po* in the *bsTan-'gyur* version does not refer to the second *bam-po* of the *sGra-sbyor*, but to the other *Vyutpatti* treatises (viz. should directly be applied in the translations). From the *narratio* it is obvious that they were still open registers when the confirmation edict of Khri lDe-sroñ-bcan was issued in 814 A.D. and therefore there had been no possibility to place the confirmation and enlargement of the edict there. Instead the new edict has replaced the earlier one of Khri-sroñ lde-bcan.

Apparently the two versions of the *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* had circulated in the following centuries. The inclusion of the second version into the *bsTan-'gyur* in the 13th-14th centuries, from which the Tibetan historiographers used to quote, seems to have consigned the earlier edict to oblivion. There is however, a faint memory of an earlier edict (and a third one) in the explanations of the term *bkas-bčad mam-pa gsum*, for instance in the *Li-ši gur-khañ* ⁽²⁷⁾.

It is significant that the earlier edict of Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan issued to standardize the terms and the translations has survived in the ancient monastery of Ta pho, where Rin-chen bzai-po, the great translator of the second period of the spread of Buddhism was active in the 10th-11th century.

⁽²⁷⁾ Cf. Simonsson, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-52 for further references. But see also Uray, *op. cit.*, p. 3

Tanjur Fragments from the Manuscript Collection at Ta pho Monastery *Sambandhaparīkṣā* with Its Commentaries *Vṛtti* and *Ṭikā*

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The history of the Tibetan Kanjur has been extensively studied during the past years, in particular by H. Eimer ⁽¹⁾, and the existence of an independent West Tibetan text tradition was shown by M. Hahn's study on the Phudrag-Kanjur ⁽²⁾, but no comparable studies of the Tanjur are available. It could, however, be expected that the situation of the Tanjur and its individual texts is similar to that of the Kanjur. Taking into consideration the extensive activities of the translators Rin chen bzañ po, Legs pa'i śes rab and their pupils, and the religious and cultural importance of the West Tibetan monastic centers, we can by no means exclude the possibility that there existed various writing and copying offices that handed down texts from the Kanjur as well as from the Tanjur for a considerable period of time independently from the Central Tibetan centers. Previously the necessary materials were not available for raising the question of a West Tibetan Tanjur text tradition with any hope of an answer. It is, however, to be hoped that the Ta pho manuscripts, photographed within the framework of the joint research program of IsMEO, Rome, and the Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, University of Vienna, during a field expedition in 1991 ⁽³⁾ can provide us with the textual basis for studies in the West Tibetan tradition of Tanjur texts.

⁽¹⁾ H. Eimer, *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des Tibetischen Kanjur*, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 28, Wien 1992; Id., 'Einige Bemerkungen zu Handschriftenfunden aus Guge/Westtibet', ZAS, 22, 1989-1991, pp. 244-55. See also P. Harrison, *Druma-kinnara-Rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series, 7, Tokyo 1992.

⁽²⁾ M. Hahn, 'Bemerkungen zu zwei Texten aus dem Phudrag-Kanjur', *Indology and Indo-Tibetology*, ed. H. Eimer, Bonn 1988, pp. 53-80.

⁽³⁾ For a report on this field expedition and a general description of the manuscript remains kept at the 'Du khañ of Ta pho monastery, see E. Steinkellner, 'A Report on the "Kanjur" of Ta pho', this volume.

As the relevant material to be found is comparatively scanty, and the fragments are obviously not part of a canonical collection, but rather represent individual texts that may or may not have been taken from such a collection, nothing can be concluded with regard to the history and development of the Tanjur as a whole; for the present, this particular question will have to be left hanging.

The aim of the present, more modest study will therefore be twofold:

- a) to investigate whether new insights can be gained as to an 'original' Tibetan translation of a particular text;
- b) to contribute, on a more general level, to the evaluation of the Ta pho manuscripts as a whole.

For this purpose I have chosen at random a fragment of Dharmakīrti's *Sambandhaparīkṣā* [SP] together with the autocommentary *Sambandhaparīkṣāvṛtti* [SPV or V] and Vinitadeva's *Sambandhaparīkṣāṭīkā* [SPT or T]. It is a small fragment consisting of only 3 leaves. Unfortunately we failed to take its measurements on the spot; from the photographs I calculate a total size of 58.5 × 12.5 cm, and 53.5 × 10 cm writing area, with 10 lines (9 on fol. 3r) per page. Each leaf displays two holes for binding, surrounded by two or three red and blue circles. The latter is a unique feature among the Ta pho manuscripts. Like the majority of the Ta pho manuscripts, this one too is written in beautiful *dbu can* script with the *pratīkas* in red ink. The general condition is fairly good; only small portions are missing along the edges or illegible due to ageing or external influences.

One folio, bearing the pagination 3, contains the text of the SPV on k. 16-23. The other two, being fols. 15 and 16, were found next to each other, but in a different bundle to the first one. They contain the end of the SPT, beginning with the last sentences on k. 22 (fols. 15 and 16r1-9) and SP k. 1-23a. They do not display a volume signature, so they have to be taken as a separate text and not as part of any bigger collection. Despite some slight paleographic differences which I will discuss later, I take these three folios as belonging to one set. On the basis of the space they cover in the editions of Peking and Derge, the missing portions of the texts could very well fit within the missing folios. Moreover, it is the resemblance in their striking outward appearance that suggests this assumption. There is, however, no possibility for a full 'title-page'; the equivalent of at least six ordinary lines must have been written on fol. 1r. From this we can assume the following arrangement with a rather unusual sequence of texts: SPV 1-4r5, SPT 4r6-16r9, SP 16r10-17r2; whether any other text followed we cannot know.

This material was approached with two different questions in mind:

- a) What can be said about the age of the actual manuscript? Lacking the possibility of paper and ink analysis no absolute dating is possible. So paleographic and orthographic peculiarities are the only means for establishing a relative chronology among the Ta pho manuscripts.
- b) What state of textual development does it represent? In order to answer this question the Ta pho manuscript [T] was compared with the canonical editions

of Narthang [N] (for which Frauwallner's edition [F] ⁽⁴⁾ was used as well as his handwritten copy kept among his estate at the Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, University of Vienna), Peking [P], Derge [D] and Cone [C]. In the case of SP, in addition to its canonical editions the *pratikas* in SPV and SPT were also used, the latter two, however, only in the editions of N, P and D. Śāṅkaranandana's *Sambandhapariṣānusāra* [A], as it contains a completely different Tibetan translation of Dharmakīrti's text, was used only in Frauwallner's edition, and only in cases where it supports the reading of Ta pho against the four canonical versions.

Paleography and Orthography

Many of the Ta pho manuscripts show a number of paleographic and orthographic peculiarities that can be taken as indicating old age, shared to various degrees also by the long inscriptions on the temple walls:

frequent use of the inverted *gi gu*,
horizontal ligatures *s-pa*, *s-ta*, *s-tsa*, with *ta* and *tsa* sometimes taking its *dbu med* form,
superscribed *ra* occasionally in *dbu med* style,
ra subscribed to *da* occasionally in *dbu med* style,
pa and *ba* often not to be distinguished,
palatalisation of *ma* before *e* and *i* by using a subscribed *ya*,
genitive '*i*' and final '*o*' after vowels written as a distinct syllable,
haplography in the case of the same end and beginning consonants,
occurrence of the *da drag* ^(?),

(⁴) 'Dharmakīrtis Sambandhapariṣā. Text und Übersetzung', WZKM, 41, 1934, pp. 261-300
(= E. Frauwallner, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. G. Oberhammer & E. Steinkellner, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 490-529).

([?]) The *da drag* is used in the following cases in this manuscript:

<i>gyurd</i>	SPV 3r7, 3r9; SPT 15v1, 16r8, 16r10
<i>bsgyurd</i>	SPT 16r9
<i>(-c)end</i>	SPT Glosses
<i>bstand</i>	SPV 3r4; SPT 15r6
<i>dond</i>	SPV 3r1; SPT 15v2, 15v4
<i>pba rold po</i>	SPT 15r2, 15r5, 15r8, Glosses
<i>'brel'd</i>	SPV 3r3-3v1, 3v4, 3v5; SPT 15r3, 15r7, 15r9, 15v2, 15v3, 15v8-16r1, 16r5, 16r7-9, Glosses; SP 16r10-16v5, 16v8-16v10
<i>zind</i>	SPV 3v8
<i>'ond</i>	SPT Glosses
<i>yind</i>	SPT 15v5
<i>land</i>	SPV 3v5
<i>find tu</i>	SPV 3v4
<i>stend</i>	SPT Glosses
<i>stond</i>	SPV 3r3; SPT 15v5, 16v6, 16v8

pleonastic use of 'a,
las stsogs instead of *la sogs*,
ji ste instead of *ci ste*,
 putting a *tsheg* before the *śad*, etc.

These features may occur all together or in various combinations. Hypothetically it could be assumed that the occurrence of all or the majority of them reflects the greatest antiquity, and that step by step one feature after the other fell out of use during the course of time. Of course the possibility of a faithful copy of an older manuscript has to be taken into consideration and of later deliberate imitation of the older writing style. The first case is probably of no great significance in terms of textual history. In the latter case, the occasional occurrence of 'mistakes' can be expected, e.g. the writer's falling back into his 'usual' writing style or even an overemphasizing of the archaic features.

In the manuscript under consideration most of the peculiarities mentioned above are to be found. There is, however, no case of haplography, and the pleonastic 'a occurs only once (SP 16r10). While the ligatures *s-ta* and *s-tsa* are of the horizontal type, *s-pa* is not; the *sa mgo* is, just as in the ligature *s-ma*, only moved slightly to the left. (In the same way it is also to be seen in canonical blockprints). SPT contains a number of interlinear glosses that are generally in *dbu med*. Some *akṣaras*, however, are written in *dbu can* style, viz. *i*, *bra*, *ma*, *śa* and sometimes *ra*. Otherwise they show the same peculiarities as the rest of the fragment. This peculiarity is shared by some other manuscripts at Ta pho ⁽⁶⁾.

A few inconsistencies also occur that perhaps represent instances of what I have called 'mistakes' in imitating an archaic writing style. Most significant is the combination *s-ta* written in a vertical ligature. This occurs only once (SP 16v6, k. 13d), but in this case one instance is certainly enough to show that this manuscript was written at a time when the new style was already in use or at least known. Besides, the subscribed *ya* in the word *min* is omitted once (SP 16v8, k. 18b), and the *da drag* in words that usually have it, is omitted twice in SP ⁽⁷⁾ and perhaps once in SPT ⁽⁸⁾.

On the other hand, the *da drag* is sometimes used in quite unusual places, e.g. with the word *don*, *lan* and *yin*, a usage which I did not see among the other manuscripts or wall inscriptions at Ta pho that I inspected. This is not a significant argument, as the majority of the Ta pho manuscripts have not yet been investigated. The form *yind* does occur several times in a Tun-huang manuscript of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* (Pelliot Tibétain 845) ⁽⁹⁾, *dond* and *land* I have not seen elsewhere. Despite

⁽⁶⁾ E.g. photos 219/24, 28.

⁽⁷⁾ 16v1 (k. 2a) and 16v9 (k. 18c): 'brel instead of the usual 'brelḍ.

⁽⁸⁾ 16r4. The illegible spot after *gyur* seemingly leaves place only for the required *pa*; in the case of compact writing, however, *gyurḍ pa* could be possible.

⁽⁹⁾ I owe this information to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. See C.A. Scherrer-Schaub & P.C. Verhagen, *The Lexicological Treatise in two volumes (sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa) being a commentary on the Great Comprehensive Treatise of Learning (Mahāvūyutpatti)*, Part III: Glossaries. [Work in progress]

of the occurrence of *yind* in PT 845, this particular usage of the *da drag* might be an indication of a manneristic use of an archaic feature without being quite familiar with its correct application.

As already mentioned, fol. 3 shows slight differences from the other two: The inverted *gi gu*, which is used in more than half of the cases in fols. 15 and 16, occurs only four times in fol. 3. Genitive 'i or final 'o as separate syllables are used only three times. The ligature *dr-* with *ra* written in *dbu med* style, which is used consistently (with one exception in SP) in fols. 15 and 16, appears only once (however, out of a total of only three occurrences of the ligature *dr-*). The 'correct' form *ci ste* appears twice instead of the usual *ji ste. la stsogs*, which represents something like an intermediate form between the usual *las stsogs* and the classical *la sogs*, occurs very rarely on fols. 15 and 16, but it is used in more than half of the cases in fol. 3.

From all this it can be concluded that this particular manuscript does not belong to the oldest period, which might date back to the 11th or 12th century ⁽¹⁰⁾, but obviously dates from a period when the old writing style was already more or less out of use.

I would not dare to give more precise specification of these features at the present stage. Additional criteria and a closer study of a larger body of material will certainly be necessary if a more reliable chronology of these texts is to be established.

Textual History

Comparing the three old texts with only the four major canonical editions mentioned above may not be sufficient to reconstruct the history of the text in detail. Nevertheless it can be of some significance, in particular if a sufficient number of variant readings can be found that are different from all four canonical editions. And this SP-manuscript does actually provide us with a considerable number of such instances, most of them even offering a better reading than the canonical version.

As no common history of the three texts can be assumed prior to the actual execution of this particular manuscript, they have to be treated separately.

SPV (fol. 3): On a formal level this text, just as SPT does, shows a striking divergency in the usage of the *śad*. In this one folio, which corresponds to about two folios in P, there are 72 such cases, 48 (= $\frac{2}{3}$) of which are at variance with all four editions. From the remaining $\frac{1}{3}$ again $\frac{2}{3}$ correspond to N, and the fewest cases of agreement are to be found with P.

⁽¹⁰⁾ It could be assumed that the wall inscriptions actually represent the writing style of the time of the renovation of the monastery in 1042 or 1054, and that the manuscripts corresponding to the inscriptions thus date from about the same period. Unfortunately, however, the inscriptions contain inconsistencies within themselves. The inscription of the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra*, e.g., does not show a single inverted *gi gu*, and, unlike most of the older texts, it consistently gives the word *rol* without *da drag*.

Among the other variants, I disregarded those due to the peculiarities of the manuscript as well as merely orthographic variants. There remain 68 divergences, 31 of which are at variance with all editions, another 22 against N and P. From the remaining 37 that correspond to any edition, the majority agree with C (31) and D (30).

SPT (fol. 15, 16r1-9) contains 70 variants regarding the usage of the *śad*, the version of Ta pho being unique in 52 cases (= almost $\frac{3}{4}$). Among the few cases of correspondence, those with N and P dominate.

Regarding other variant readings, there are 95; 50 of them against all editions, another 22 against N and P, and still another 11 against N alone, most cases of correspondence thus being with D and C.

SP (fol. 16r10, 16v), being a verse text, naturally does not show any divergences in the usage of the *śad*. It contains 42 cases of variant readings. 30 (= more than 71%) of them are not shared by any of the canonical editions; 10 of the remaining 12 agree with N, only four with P.

To summarize: the predominant majority of all the variant readings differ from all four canonical editions. Among the remaining minority most cases of correspondence are to D and C in SPV and SPT, and to N in SP. With regard to the usage of the *śad*, however, it is to N in SPV and to N and P in SPT. But, as these cases of correspondence are generally very few, they may not have any real statistical significance.

Discussing these variant readings in detail, I shall mainly restrict myself to some of the more essential instances in the verse text of SP. This text is almost complete in the Ta pho manuscript: only three verses are missing. It contains a number of rather significant variants, and there is a Sanskrit version⁽¹⁾ available that provides us with a significant criteria for evaluating the variants. SPT I shall not discuss at all, and from SPV only two significant cases.

Title: Unlike the canonical editions that give it as *Sambandhaparīkṣāprakarana*, T has *Sambandhaparīkṣākārikā*.

k. 4c: *thug pa 'aṇi* (T), *thug pa* (NPDC). The reading of T must be preferred, as the Skt. reads: *anavastā ca*. In fact this pāda has eight syllables in T; some instances in various verse texts from Ta pho of apparently the same age, however, show that the writing of one or two syllables in such cases is not strictly distinguished. The reading of T is approved by V_{NP} *pa'aṇi*, V_D has *pa'am*.

A similar case is to be seen in k. 14c (below) and, with the preference to be given to the canonical version, in k. 22d: *gnas par byed pa* (T), ... *pa'aṇi* (NPDCVT) - *sthitīś ca*.

k. 6: pādas a and b appear in reversed order. With regard to the meaning, it

⁽¹⁾ *Vādanyāyaprakarana ... and Sambandhaparīkṣā with the commentary of Acarya Prabbachandra*, ed. Dwarikada Shastri, Varanasi 1972. See also F (fn. 4).

does not make any difference; formally the version of T may be closer to the Skt.:

tām eva cānurundhānaih kriyākārakavācīnaih /
bhāvabhedapratītyartham saṃyojante 'bhīdhāyākāḥ //
[de yi] rjes su 'brel pa yis // dños po tha dad rtogs bya phyir //
bya dañ byed pa pa'i tshig // smra ba po dag 'god par byed // (T)
dños po tha dad rtogs bya'i phyir // de yi rjes su 'brañ ba yis //
bya dañ byed pa po yi tshig // smra ba po dag 'god par byed // (NPDC)

k. 7a: *rgyu dañ 'bras bu'i dños po yañ* (T), ... *'brel ba* ... (NPDC). T is supported by Skt. *kāryakāraṇabhāva* 'pi. As V reads ... *rgyu dañ 'bras bu'i dños po'i brel pa yañ* ..., it can be suspected that in establishing the text that formed the basis for the canonical editions, V was used but misunderstood. T makes it clear again: ... *rgyu dañ 'bras bu'i dños po yañ zes bya ba 'di'i bsad pa ni 'brel pa ji ltar grub ces bya ba'o*.

k. 14cd: *'di la 'bras bu sgra las stogs sgra 'aṅ // sla bar bya phyir nam par bkod* (T), *'di la 'bras bu la sogs sgra // tha sñad sla ba'i phyir bkod do* (NPDC). Being a translation of *kāryādiśrutir api atra*, pāda c does not, in its T version, make any sense. However, I do not think that we have — apart from the 'aṅ at the end of the pāda, which is testified by the Skt. *api* — a real variant reading, but rather the case of a severe scribal error. *'di la* at the beginning, being inserted later, has obviously been forgotten. Instead the word *sgra* might have been duplicated and not erased later on. With pāda d the situation is quite different. Here, again, the canonical version seems to be influenced by a gloss from V, taken as *pratīka*. The version of T, on the other hand, is a faithful translation of Skt. *lāghavārtham niveśitā*.

k. 20d: *śin tu tha phyir de la(-) =* (T), ... *de gñis min* (NPDC). Frauwallner in his edition has corrected the end of this pāda in accordance with V and T to *de las min*, which is a correct translation of Skt. *na tato 'tiprasaṅgataḥ*. In T *la* is the last *akṣara* in the line; there is room enough for an additional *sa*, but no traces of it are to be seen. The beginning of the following line is missing. In any case, a reading *de la/las min* is possible, which is certainly to be preferred to the canonical version.

k. 22a gives a good example of how mistakes can be generated within the tradition of a text. In T it starts with *las stogs*, in the canonical editions with *la sogs*. Frauwallner in his edition has corrected this to *las sogs*, as it is a translation of *karmādi* and V and T gloss it by *las la sogs pa*. The canonical editions give evidence for a somewhat automatic 'correcting' of the text when changing from the old orthography to the new. A similar case can be observed twice in T.

The most tricky verse is k. 17cd ⁽¹²⁾: *nam par rtog pas stond pa ni // don log 'brel*

⁽¹²⁾ nam par rtog pas stond pa ni // don log 'brel pa'i bñin stond (T)
nam par rtog pas ston pa ni // don log pa yi don bñin ston (NPDC)
nam par rtog pas ston pa ni // don 'brel pa yi don bñin ston (F)
vikalpā darśayanty arthān mithyārthā ghaṭitān iva

pa'i bzin ston, pāda d consisting of only six syllables in T. The canonical editions read ... // *don log pa yi don bzin ston*, F has, perhaps according to V, ... // *don 'brel pa yi don bzin ston*. He does, however — just as V_T does — seemingly take *log pa'i don* in V as a *pratīka*. According to the Skt. none of these versions is correct. 17cd read: *vikalpā darśayanty arthān mithyārthā ghaṭitān iva* ('imagination, which have [per se] wrong objects, show things as if related'). If we add *don* as a seventh syllable to T, we get a hypothetical *don log 'brel pa'i don bzin ston*, which would certainly be the best of these versions, as it contains an equivalent for *mithyā* as well as for *ghaṭita*. Still it would not be a correct translation of the Skt., as it actually translates ... *arthān mithyārthaghaṭitān* (as compound) *iva* ('... show things as if related to wrong things.') Besides, *ston pa ni* from the end of pāda c is without equivalent in the Skt., and *don log* at the beginning of pāda d must be taken as meaning the same as *log don*, the form that would actually be expected.

Now, the dropping of *don* in T would raise no problem if the same did not also appear in V_{PN}. It is, however, not to be found in V_{DCT} or in T. Assuming that it is very unlikely for a mistake of that kind to appear twice independently, we have to assume that the T version is influenced by some V_X that is somehow connected with N and P. The variant readings that I have discussed above certainly show that the T manuscript of SP represents a pre-canonical version (which in this case means predating the common source of these four canonical editions). Thus this particular V_X must also be pre-canonical. It is, however, not the same version that forms the basis for V_T, which must also be considered as pre-canonical, as the examples given below will show. For the time being I shall have to leave a question mark next to this problem.

Just as above, V_T does not support any of the substantial variants in the *kārikās*. Nevertheless, it contains a number of variants that testify to its independence from the canonical versions. Two cases may suffice to illustrate this, for which the Skt. equivalents are extant in passages of the Jaina authors Prabhācandra (980-1065) and (Vādi)devasūri (~ 1080-1170) ⁽¹³⁾, identified as quotations by Frauwallner.

3r7 (commenting on k. 19b [underlined]) reads: *bsad ma thag pa spyir 'brel pa 'gog pa'i gzuñ des kyan thams cad dpyad pa yin te*. NPDC have: *bsad ma thag pa'i phyir* ... Frauwallner states in a note (p. 295, fn. 1) that *pa'i phyir* ('because of') of the Tibetan tradition is wrong and should be *spyir* ('general') according to Prabhācandra (147,10): *sarvam etenānantaroktena sāmānyasambandhapratīṣedhena cintitam*. ('All this has been discussed herewith, i.e. by the general refutation of relationship just explained'). — T proves Frauwallner right.

3v2 (on k. 20ab): *des na phan pa myi byed pa'i phyir 'brel pa myed pa ni ma yin no ze na*. In the canonical editions the negation of *byed pa* is missing. Of course,

⁽¹³⁾ *Syādvādaratnākara* by Vālideva Sūri, 2 vols., Dillī 1988; for Prabhācandra see fn. 11. Dates according to Frauwallner's estimate.

it makes good sense without: 'Opponent: Therefore, as they induce influence, it is not correct that they are without relationship'. T's reading, however, is in total agreement with Devasūri's (p. 817, f. 25) quotation: *ato nānupakārād sambandhiteti / tan na* ('Opponent: Therefore it is not correct that, because of not inducing influence, they are without relationship'). In the given context, this version is certainly to be preferred ⁽¹⁴⁾.

In conclusion, I would like to revert to the two questions with which I approached this manuscript, and to the twofold aim of this study that I formulated at the beginning. As to the age of the actual manuscript no precise answer can be given. Obviously it does not belong to Ta pho's oldest manuscripts, which might date back to the 11th or early 12th century. As a *terminus ante quem* for the particular archaic writing style in the Tabo area, De Rossi Filibeck suggests the annexation of mŅa' ris by Tibet at the end of the 17th century ⁽¹⁵⁾. This sounds reasonable, but beyond that nothing can be said at the moment.

With regard to the state of textual development represented by the Ta pho manuscript, however, it can be shown that it is independent of the four major canonical editions and thus reflects a version of the texts prior to the oldest common source of these editions. This might very well mean that it is prior to the compilation of the canon in the early 14th century. Moreover, in many cases the T readings are better than the canonical ones, and from this I conclude that they are also closer to the original Tibetan translation.

Finally, with regard to evaluating the manuscripts of Ta pho as a whole, a few observations in connection with a single manuscript are certainly not very significant. Provided that I did not, by chance, pick the only manuscript of interest from among the roughly 40,000 leaves, it can nevertheless serve as evidence for the fact that much more can be expected. The Ta pho manuscripts, together with similar collections possibly surviving in other monasteries of Western Tibet, might give access to a new, hitherto unknown text tradition. However, this remains for further studies to show.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Cf. Frauwallner, *op. cit.*, p. 296, fn. 1.

⁽¹⁵⁾ 'A Study of a Fragmentary Manuscript of the *Pañcaviṃśatikā* in the Ta pho Library', this volume.

SAMBANDHAPARĪKṢĀ

fol. 16r10/16v (k. 1-23a)

(P 5713, 357r3-358r4; D 4214, 255r2-v6)

(C Ce 252r1-v5; N Ce 375v6-377r2)

< >	empty space	ḡ	inverted <i>gi gu</i>
{ }	deleted in the manuscript	ḡ	inverted <i>gi gu</i> + subscribed 'a <i>chut</i>
()	uncertain reading	-	illegible <i>aksara</i> with or without vowel sign, including the <i>śad</i>
[]	illegible, restored		
○	circles surrounding the hole for binding	<u> </u>	underlined: horizontal ligature, <i>dr. ru</i> in <i>dbu med</i> style
*	beginning of the line	 	bold: passages that show variant readings
		xxx	amendments below the line xxx

rgya gar skad du | **sam ban dha pa rḡ kśa kḡ rḡ ka** | < > bod skad du | 'brelḡ pa brtag ba'i
rab tu byed **pa'o** | 'phags **pa'** 'jam dpal gzon nur gyurd pa la phyag 'tshal lo ||

- 16v1 gzan dbaḡ kho **na** 'brelḡ **par** nḡ || grub na gzan dbaḡ cḡ zig yin || [1]
de phyir dḡos = = = = = | 'brel = * yaḡ dag ḡḡḡ du myed ||
- ḡo bo 'dres pa 'brel yin = [] gḡḡḡs ḡḡḡ yin **na** jḡ ltar 'gyur || [2]
de **bas** raḡ bzin tha dād pa || 'brelḡ pa yaḡ dag ḡḡḡ du myed ||
- gzan ltoḡ pa nḡ 'brelḡ par yaḡ || myed na de nḡ jḡ ltar (l)toḡ || [3]
yod **na** 'aḡ kun la rag ma las || dḡos po ji ltar ltoḡ = = =
- 16v2 (gḡḡs) nḡ 'brelḡ = * gcig pu yis || jḡ ste 'brelḡ na de daḡ gḡḡs || [4]
'brelḡ pa gaḡ yin thug **pa** 'aḡ myed || de bzin 'brelḡ myed śes par bya ||
- dḡos po de gḡḡs de las gzan || de dag thams cad bdag ḡḡḡ gnas || [5]
de **bas** raḡ dḡos ma 'dres la || de dag rtog pas ('dres par [b]y[ed] []
- 16v3 (= =) (rjes su 'brelḡ) * **pa** yis || dḡos po tha dād rtogs **bya** phyir || [6]
bya daḡ byed **pa pa'** tshig || smra ba po dag 'god **par** byed ||
- rgyu daḡ 'bras bu'i dḡos po yaḡ || de gḡḡs lhan cḡ myḡ gnas pas || [7]
gḡḡs la gnas pa jḡ ltar 'grub || gḡḡs la myḡ gnas jḡ ltar 'brelḡ ||
- 16v4 rim las dḡos po gci(g) = (=) gnas || gzan la re * ba myed pa yin || [8]
de myed par yaḡ yod pa'i phyir || gcig la 'dug **pa** 'brelḡ **pa** myed ||
- <○> 'dḡ nḡ gzan du 'dug pa **na** || jḡ ste de gḡḡs gcig la ltoḡ || [9]
ltoḡ pa phan ba byed par 'gyur || myed na jḡ ltar phan **pa** byed ||
- jḡ ste don gcig 'brelḡ pa'i phyir || de gḡḡs rgyu = = s { = } ḡḡḡ yin (na) || [10]
16v5 gḡḡs * ḡḡḡ las stsogs 'brelḡ pa'i phyir || g.yas g.yos rwa yaḡ de gḡḡs 'thob ||

'ga' žig <○> gñis gnas 'breld pa yin || de mtshan de las gzan du myin ||
yod dañ myed pa 'i <○> bye brag can || sbyor ba ji ste rgyu 'bras na || [11]

16v6 sbyor ba'i bye brag = = de ñid || 'dir ni rgyu 'bras * ci ph[y]ir myin ||
tha dad ces byar sgra 'di ni || smra byed rten pa ma yin nam || [12]

'ga' žig mthoñ <○> na ma mthoñ mthoñ || de ma mthoñ na ma mthoñ ba ||
'bras bu yin ba ñid du ni || stond pa'i (16) <○> skye bo myed par śes || [13]

16v7 mthoñ dañ ma mthoñ ma g[t]o(gs) = = = | 'bras bu'i (bl)o ni myi sri(d) * = = =
'di la (')bras bu sgra las stsogs sgra 'añ || ala bar bya phyir rnam par bkod || [14]

de yod yod phyir <○> de 'bras rtogs || gañ yañ rjes su smra ba'i ||
brda'i yul du de brjod de || kog šal las <○> stsogs glañ rtogs bzñ || [15]

16v8 yod 'gyur yo(d na) = = = ci[ñ] || yo[d] pa (ñ)i(d) na 'añ * = = = ['gyur ba ||
mñon sum myi dmigs pa dag las || rgyu dañ 'bras bur rab tu grub || [16]

re žig de tsam yañ dag don || rgyu dañ 'bras bu'i spyod yul rnam ||
rnam par rtog pas stond pa ni || don log 'breld pa'i bzñ stond || [17]

16v9 tha dad yin na ci žg 'breld | = = = min na rgyu 'bras gañ ||
gzan * = = = d (na) ma 'brel gñis || de gñis 'breld par ji ltar byed || [18]

sbyor dañ 'du ba las stsogs pa || thams cad des kyañ dpyad pa yin ||
phan tshun phan pa myi byed phyir || de 'dra ba la 'breld pa myed || [19]

'du ba can ni 'ga' žig gis || 'bras bu skyed par byed na yañ ||
16v10 de'i tshe = = = can 'di my(ed) || ś[i]n tu thal phyir de la(=?) * = = = [20]

= = = is dañ ni 'du ba 'am || gzan yañ phan pa myi byed par ||
ji ste 'breld na mtha' dag kyañ || phan tshun 'breld pa can du 'gyur || [21]

las stsogs sbyor ba can {du} grub phy(i)r || sbyor (s)kye(d) kyañ de gñis des ||
sbyor ba can du myi 'dod de || gnas par byed pa rab (d)u br(j)od || [22]

sbyor ba las stsogs pa'i gnas | = = = (?)

(16) 'a ~~chus~~ subscribed to pa.

VARIANT READINGS

V and Ṭ without specification (NPDCṬ) indicate that all versions agree.

- Title:** sam ban dha pa rī kṣa kā ri ka : sam bam dha pa rī kṣa pra ka ra na (NP), sam bandha pa rī kṣa (C: ra kṣi ?) pra ka ra na (DC);
pa'o || 'phags pa' : pa | (NPDC)
- 1a: na (ṬA) : nar (NPDCV); par : pa (NPDC) 1b: yin : yod (NPDCVṬ)
2b: yin na : la de'añ (NP) 2c: bas : phyir (NPDCVṬ)
3a: ltos : bltos (NP) 3b: ni (VṬ) : ñid (NP); ltos : blta'o (P), bltos (N)
3c: na 'añ : na'añ (NPDC) 3d: ltos : bltos (NP)
4a: gcig pu : gcig du (P)
4c: pa 'añ : pa (NPDC), pa'añ (V_{NP}), pa'am (V_D) 4d: 'brelḍ : 'bres (C)
5c: bas : las (P); 5d: rtog (V_{NPṬ}NP) : rtogs (NPDCV_{DṬ}D); 'dres (VṬ) : 'brel (NP)
6ab: 6ba (NPDCV), T = A
6a: 'brelḍ pa : 'brañ ba (NPDCV_{NPṬ}), 'bral (V_D?)
6b: bya : bya'i (PDCV_{PDṬ}PD), pa'i (NV_{NṬ}N)
6c: pa pa'i : pa po yi (NPDCV), pa'i (Ṭ); 6d: 'god par : 'gog bar (P)
7a: dños po (A) : 'brel ba (NPDC); 7c: 'grub (V) : grub (NPDC)
8d: 'dug : gnas (NPDCVṬ)
9a: 'di ni gzan du : gzan du 'di ni (NPDC); na (VṬ) : dañ (NP)
9b: gñis (VṬ) : ni (DC) 9d: pa (VṬ_D) : par (NPDCṬ_{NP})
10d: g.yos : g.yon (NPDCVṬ); gñis : ñid (DC); 'thob (V_{ND}) : thob (NV_{PṬ})
11c: pa 'i : pa'i (NPDC)
12c: byar : bya'i (NPDC) 12d: byed rten pa : byed la brten (NPDC);
13a: 'ga' zig : gañ zig (NPDC), 'ba' zig (V)
14c: sgra las stsogs sgra 'añ : la sogs sgra (NPDCV), la sogs sgra 'añ (P sgra'añ) (Ṭ)
14d: sla bar bya phyir rnam par bkod : tha sñad sla ba'i phyir bkod do (NPDCV),
15b: ba'i : ba yi (NPDC) 15c: brda'i : brda yi (NPDC)
15d: kog : lkog (NPDCVṬ)
16b: na 'añ : na'añ (NPDC) 16d: dañ 'bras bur : 'bras kho nar (NPDC), ... na (V)
17d: don log 'brelḍ pa'i : don log pa yi don (NPDC), don 'brel pa yi don (F)
VṬ: rgyu dañ 'bras bu'i spyod yul rnam [Ṭ+...] ston pa de yañ 'brel pa'i
(V_{DCTṬ}+don) bzin ston te | ... || de ltar byed pas (Ṭ+na) log pa'i don yin no
18d: par : pa (DC)
20b: na yañ : pa na (NPDC) 20c: de'i (VṬ) : de (NPDC)
20d: la(=)/la[s] (FVṬ las) : gñis (NPDC)
21a: 'am : dañ (NPDCVṬ)
22a: las stsogs : la sogs (NPDC), las sogs (F), VṬ: las la sogs pa
22b: sbyor skyed kyañ de gñis des : sbyor ba bskyed (DCV_{DṬ}PD skyed, Ṭ_N skyes) kyañ des
de gñis (NPDCVṬ)
22d: byed pa : byed pa'añ (NPDCVṬ)
23a: pa'i : pa yi (NPDC)

Pictures from the Roof of the World

Reorganization of the Giuseppe Tucci Photographic Archives

by OSCAR NALESINI

Photography was possibly the most emblematic communication tool the industrial age produced before the advent of information technology, and the only one to permeate every level of society for uses ranging from art and scientific research to the private, tender world of family records (1). The sensibility recently developed by scholars on this medium now requires private and public institutions define the right criteria for conservation and cataloguing (2). Although the organization of a photograph library is a potentially vast subject we must limit our considerations to the more general problems; in fact, the particular problems the library staff themselves have to tackle when giving users access to material or archives does not normally find a place in the literature. However, in some cases the user may have to ascertain the accuracy of the information supplied with the photographs, and I consider the 'Fondo Tucci' just such a case. In fact, the photographs in the 'Fondo Tucci' owe much of their importance to the identification of the subjects and places they show. Most have now been identified and may be consulted, but the work was done by people with no direct knowledge of the places documented and, very often, no pictures for comparison since the Himalayan regions have undergone great changes in the last forty years. The reorganization work illustrated below became necessary when the 'Fondo Tucci' was transferred to the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale (henceforth referred to as MNAO) in precarious conditions. Moreover, it is clearly necessary to give users the opportunity to verify identification and criticize methods or their application where the need is felt.

(*) Apart from the people cited below, I also wish to thank General Eugenio Gherzi, an inexhaustible mine of information, Prof. Maurizio Tozzi, who gave ample access to the computer infrastructures he has co-ordinated, and Mr Giovanni Silvestrini, *nom d'art* Giannetto, for his apt and entertaining observations.

(1) P. Bourdieu, *Un art moyen. Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie*, Paris 1965.

(2) Recently, Soprintendenza per i Beni Librari e Documentari della Regione Emilia-Romagna, *La fotografia*. I: *Manuale di conservazione*, Bologna 1989; Id., *La fotografia*. II: *Manuale di catalogazione*, Bologna 1991.

Material and State of Conservation

The 'Fondo Tucci' contains a great variety of film and printed material accumulated in over twenty years of the scholar's work. Almost all the photographs were taken in the region of the Himalayas and Tibet from 1928 to 1948 ⁽³⁾. The collection also includes a number of 'tourist' photographs taken by Tucci in many parts of India during his term as professor at the University of Calcutta and Shantiniketan (November 1925-November 1935), as well as a number of photos acquired from other sources, a few views of the Appenine regions and a fine portrait with dedication by V[asudev V.] (?) Gokhale (Fig. 3).

Excluding reprints made for the archives, the historical part of the collection amounts to 11,000 items, including:

1) 5,927 negatives, of which 3,883 on 110 and 135 rolls and 2,044 on flat film: 5×5.5 , 6.8×10.8 and 10×14.5 cm;

2) about 4,800 positives, almost all printed on returning from expeditions.

This material was consigned to the property of IsMEO in poor condition, and immediately entrusted by the institute to the care of the MNAO: all the photographs had been bundled together with elastic bands and put into boxes. The rolls of film already showed deteriorated states of conservation, proportionately worse with the older items. Apart from the normal cuts made by the photographer to reduce the rolls to strips of five photograms, the films of the 1933 and 1935 expeditions had also been further cut to separate negatives for printing (Fig. 1), with the probable aim of giving various editors access to the various negatives at the same time. The rolls from the later expeditions (1939 and 1948) are in better condition, being cut into strips of 3-5 photograms (Fig. 2).

The large box containing this material had lain in the storeroom until the mid-seventies ⁽⁴⁾, when the MNAO staff were given the task of opening it and sorting out the contents. The elastic bands had rotted, ruining some of the photographs they had been in contact with and this — I take it — quite limited part of the collection was thrown out, while the rolls also suffered further cuts to remove ruined negatives. Thus the films were in even more fragmentary conditions by the time they were ready to be inventoried and conserved. The rolls of negatives were then put into the usual pergamine-paper bags haphazardly, material from different expeditions being bundled together. Nevertheless, the staff managed to separate the 1933-35 negatives from the 1939-48 material thanks to the obvious difference in appearance of the films ⁽⁵⁾,

⁽³⁾ We have no evidence to date any of the photographs Tucci took before 1928. The photos taken by Maraini and Mele in 1937 and 1948 remain the property of the two photographers.

⁽⁴⁾ The following account has been pieced together from the recollections of MNAO staff already employed at the time.

⁽⁵⁾ The Agfa films used in 1933-1935 show only the name of the firm and the surround is of a lighter shade; in 1939 'Agfa Isopan ISS' was adopted, and in 1948 'Agfa Isopan F'.

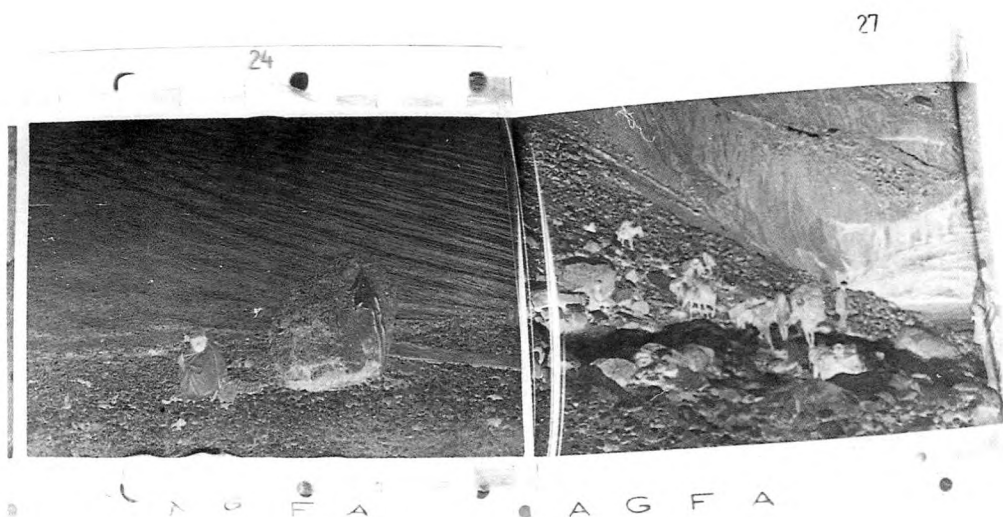


Fig. 1 - Fragments of film joined with nylon thread.

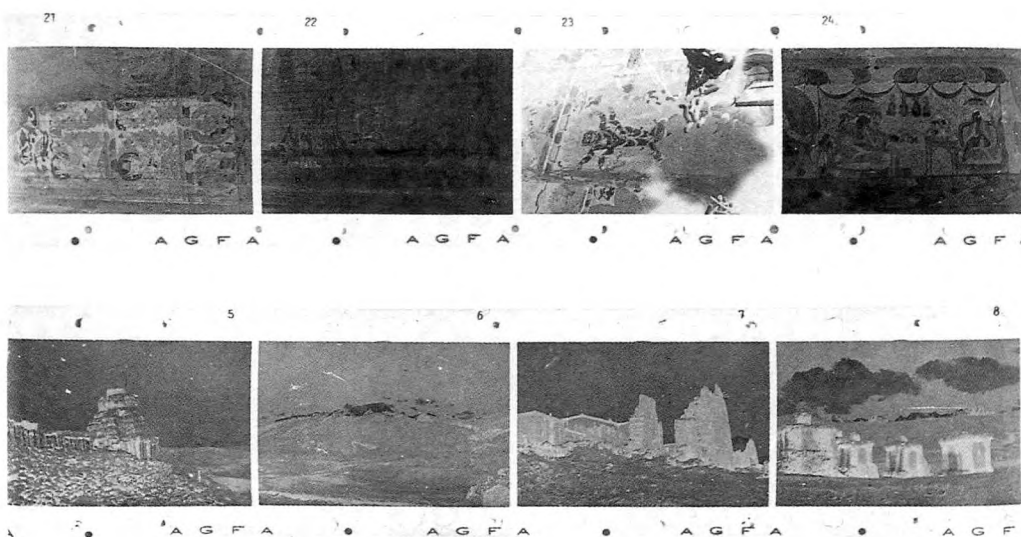


Fig. 2 - Above, 1933 negatives; below, 1935 negatives.



Fig. 3 - Portrait with autograph dedication by V[asudev V.] (?) Gokhale, dated 12 September 1926 (Fondo Tucci, P-4497).

although their attempts to reconstruct rolls for the inventory resulted in negatives from different rolls but with consecutive photogram numbers being placed in the same bags; in fact, the MNAO inventory procedure is to assign roll numbers first, and then the photogram numbers. In the event of two photograms with the same number ending up in the same bag, one of the numbers was blocked out with a drop of Indian ink and replaced with a number missing from the series. Some of the bags were filled with fragments belonging to individual photograms held together with nylon threaded through the slots and fastened with knots (Fig. 1). The inventory number refers to the position of the negative when all these operations have been completed.

The negatives in rolls and a small proportion of the negatives on flat film were printed and mounted on file cards.

Naturally these problems did not arise with the flat films, but they too were mixed up and inventory numbers assigned at random.

The problem with the positives was that most were devoid of captions or references that could lead us to the negatives. They were consigned to the MNAO in Kodak commercial paper envelopes and placed as they came in a drawer.

Photography on Giuseppe Tucci's Expeditions

From the technical point of view at least, the great variety of types, formats and quality of photographic material in the Fondo Tucci reflects the period in which the collection was created. It was a time when chemists and technicians were experimenting with a spate of new film formats and emulsions and increasingly economical, manageable machinery: once snapshot photography was invented the market began to expand and demand grew in all directions ⁽⁶⁾. When Tucci was about to set off to Calcutta in 1925 the Ermanox was launched on the market — a camera for flat 4.5 × 5 cm film with an f/2 lens that made photography possible even in poor light. Two years earlier Leitz of Wetzlar had presented a brilliant invention by Oskar Barnack at the Leipzig Fair — the Leica. Light and compact, it was the first camera to use a 35 mm roll and the ideal tool for photo reports. With its interchangeable lenses, it rapidly became *the* camera for field-work in the early thirties. From 1933 on it was also used on Tucci's expeditions, although negatives on flat film continued to be used until 1948.

We must also consider Tucci's rapport with photography. It was a difficult one, as Tucci himself admitted; while appreciating its great importance for the documentation of monuments and landscapes facing sweeping change or even destruction ⁽⁷⁾, he also displayed diffidence towards the camera and, indeed, to machines in general ⁽⁸⁾, much like the aversion many men of culture showed towards mechanical tools and industrial organization in this period ⁽⁹⁾. In practice, these mixed feelings did not prevent Tucci from producing a fair number of negatives on flat film. About 1,500 taken between 1928 and 1931 are conserved in the Fondo Tucci, many showing poor technical quality. The photographs show how Tucci's interest extended to all aspects of the lands and peoples he visited: craft work, monuments, local costumes, landscapes, even his own private life — all are documented (Figs. 4-9).

It was in this period that Tucci also discovered the economic advantages of photography, especially as a way to make up for the scantiness of the resources available for his expeditions. Having published a number of photos to illustrate the many popularizing articles he wrote for travel and other non-specialized magazines ⁽¹⁰⁾, Tucci

⁽⁶⁾ G. Freund, *Fotografia e società*, Torino 1976.

⁽⁷⁾ G. Tucci & E. Gherzi, *Cronaca della missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale* (1933), Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1934, p. 12; G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. III. *I templi del Tibet occidentale e il loro simbolismo artistico*, part I. *Spiti e Kunawar*, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1935, p. 17; Id., *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Milano 1937, pp. XI and XIII.

⁽⁸⁾ G. Tucci, *Nepal. Alla scoperta dei Malla*, Bari 1960, p. 13.

⁽⁹⁾ However, Tucci expressed his diffidence in terms of personal difficulties rather than ideological rejection, thus keeping a distance from the 'plough and sword' rhetoric then in vogue in Italy (cf. F. Jesi, *Cultura di destra*, Milano 1979, pp. 124-28).

⁽¹⁰⁾ In particular in the magazines *Le Vie del Mondo*, *L'Illustrazione italiana*, *Nuova Antologia*, *L'Illustrazione del Medico*.



Fig. 4 - Sarahan, September 1931. View of the built up area with the royal palace (Neg. Dep. 6192).



Fig. 5 - Peak of the so-called 'Indian Kailasa' seen from Chini, in upper Kinnaur, September 1931 (Neg. Dep. 7383).



Fig. 6 - Couple in costume, Kinnaur, September 1931 (Neg. Dep. 6409).



Fig. 7 - Unidentified place, before 1933. G. Tucci with his Tibetan hounds (Neg. Dep. 7230).

decided to take a second camera for flat 10×14.5 cm films on his journey to Ladakh, Lahul, Kunawar and Nepal in 1931 ⁽¹¹⁾. The decision must have cost him considerable inconvenience since it was a heavy, cumbersome object to carry about, the only justification being the prospect of economic gain. In fact Tucci managed to sell the copyright for various negatives to a publisher who used them for a series of picture

⁽¹¹⁾ These negatives can be dated with certainty since Tucci visited both the western Himalayas and Nepal in the course of one single tour in 1931 and 1933 only. Some of the shots on large-format negatives are identical to others on flat, medium-format film published by Tucci in 'Himalaya: carovanieri ed asceti sul tetto del mondo', *L'Illustrazione italiana*, LX 29, 1933, pp. 98-99. The pictures in these two series differ from the photographs Gherzi took in the same places on 135 roll film in 1933; in particular, in the centre of a photograph of the village of Kinnaur taken in 1933 (Neg. Dep. 6029/4) there appears the superstructure of a building missing from the photographs taken two years before (Neg. Dep. 7467). On the 1931 expedition see also: G. Tucci, 'La mia ultima spedizione sull'Imalaia', *Nuova Antologia*, 365, 1933, pp. 245-58.

postcards (Fig. 10). The photographs of the 1933 and 1935 expeditions also include a number evidently taken for commercial reasons (Figs. 11-13) ⁽¹²⁾. It is in this light that we should read the occasional purple passage included in his works for the more general public ⁽¹³⁾, which were prefaced with acknowledgements to the firms that had helped finance the venture ⁽¹⁴⁾.

Among Tucci's 1928-31 production mention must be made of a series of portraits he took on the journey he made to Nepal together with his wife Giulia and Carlo Formichi between April 25 and early September, 1929 ⁽¹⁵⁾. Each frontal portrait is matched with a photograph of the left profile (Fig. 14) to offer exemplary pictures of human types considered representative of their ethnic groups and castes; some of these matched portraits were subsequently published separately ⁽¹⁶⁾. This particular approach to portrait photography was recommended to anthropologists in the first methodological exegeses on data collecting published in Italy ⁽¹⁷⁾ and was in fact adopted by naturalists and anthropologists in the last century, e.g. the Dayak portraits taken by Odoardo Beccari in northern Borneo between 1865 and 1867 ⁽¹⁸⁾, the portraits of Caucasians and Siberians collected by Stephen Sommier ⁽¹⁹⁾ and those of Toda and various Himalayan populations taken by Paolo Mantegazza ⁽²⁰⁾.

⁽¹²⁾ The photograph shown in Fig. 12 was in fact sold to Buitoni, who used it for one of their publicity campaigns (*L'economia italiana tra le due guerre: 1919-1939*, exhibition catalogue (Rome), Milano 1984, p. 360); I have found no information on Fig. 13 or the other photographs of this type.

⁽¹³⁾ 'The people quarrel for the empty Cirio cans and fierce fights break out' (from *Cronaca della missione...*, *cit.*, p. 64); 'Here Abdul will be able to show us his culinary skill; so far we have only eaten canned food. But you cannot go on living on this canned stuff, even though it is prepared with the care and expertise typical of Cirio' (*ibid.*, p. 136); 'With ill-concealed glee the "she-xonpon" accepts the eleven rupees, [...], the watch and the Cirio canned fruit I give her [...]' (from *Santi e briganti...*, *cit.*, p. 27); 'The one that never emerges from his hole is the cook: [...] What he gets up to neither I nor Gherai know, as our most lavish meals add up to something from a can, a bit of Buitoni maccheroni and a bit of some Cirio vegetable. All stuff that is ready in two minutes' (*ibid.*, p. 147).

⁽¹⁴⁾ This financial help was not always offered as spontaneous patronage. The following passage by Tucci is eloquent: 'Many private contacts had failed to give good results: [...]. When things got really difficult it was the Rt. Hon. Giulio Andreotti who helped us on'. This is followed by acknowledgements to the public bodies and private firms that had contributed to the expeditions! (*A Lhasa e oltre. Diario della spedizione nel Tibet MCMXLVIII*, Roma 1950, p. 7).

⁽¹⁵⁾ G. Tucci, 'La spedizione scientifica Tucci nell'India, nel Nepal e nel Tibet', *L'Illustrazione italiana*, LVIII 40, 1931, pp. 506-10.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Id., 'Note e appunti di viaggio in Nepal', *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana*, LXVIII, 1931, opposite p. 642.

⁽¹⁷⁾ E.H. Giglioli & A. Zanetti, *Istruzioni per fare le osservazioni antropologiche ed etnologiche*, Roma 1880, p. 44; E. Morselli, *Programma speciale della sezione di antropologia. Esposizione Generale Italiana di Torino — 1884*, Torino 1884, p. 7.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *Nelle foreste di Borneo. Viaggi e ricerche di un naturalista*, Firenze 1902, figs. 60-63.

⁽¹⁹⁾ 'Iter Rossicum', *Archivio Fotografico Toscano*, IV 7, 1988, pp. 32-61.

⁽²⁰⁾ *Studi sull'etnologia dell'India*, Società Italiana di Antropologia, Firenze 1886.

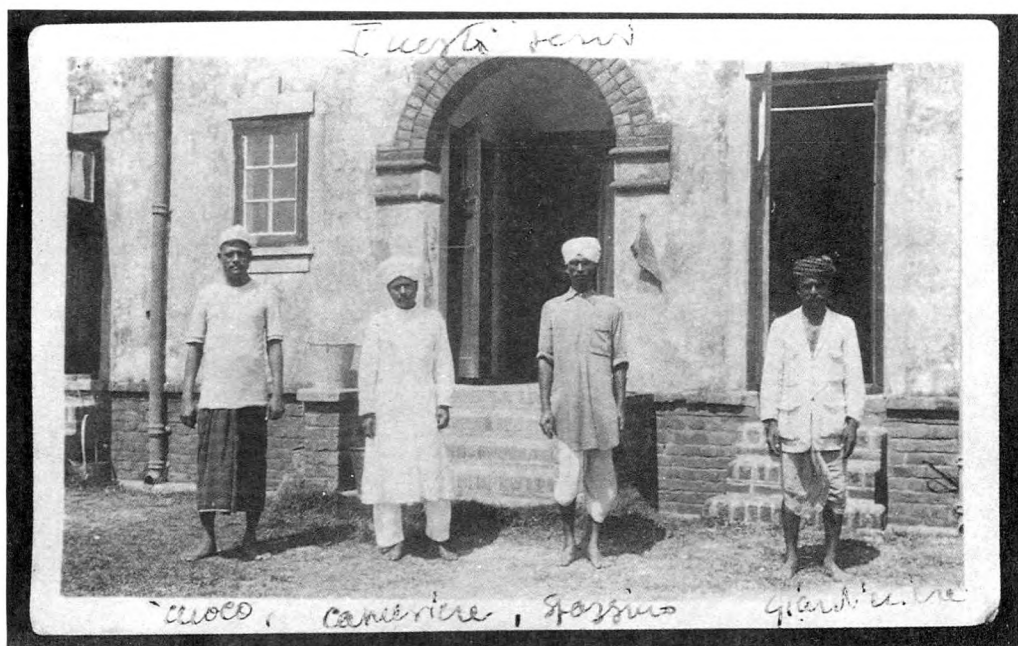


Fig. 8 - Calcutta or Shantiniketan, no later than 1930. Tucci's servants. The captions are, above, 'Our servants' and, below, 'Cook, manservant, sweeper, gardener' (Fondo Tucci, P-1169).

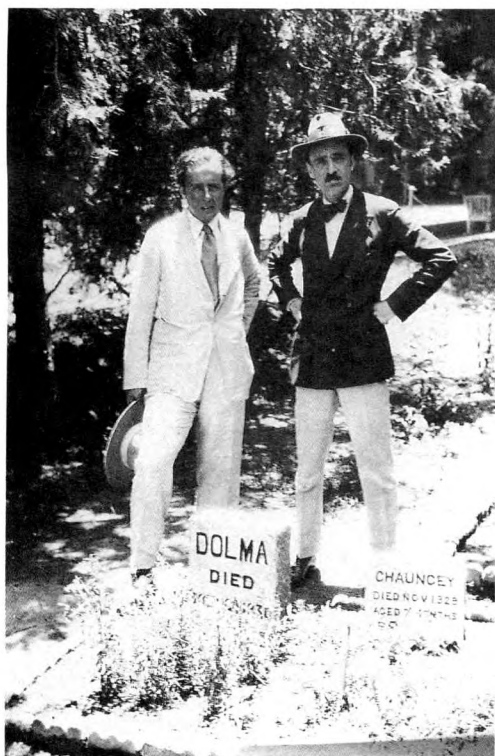


Fig. 9 - Wular Lake or Delhi, 1935. G. Tucci and Sir Aurel Stein (?) photographed by a tomb; the names on the stones may have belonged to dogs (Neg. Dep. 7014/8).



Fig. 10 - Picture postcard printed from a large-format negative exposed in Ladakh or Rubshu during the 1931 expedition (Neg. Dep. 7546).



Fig. 11 - Gartok, September 1935. Two caravan guides with the CAI flag of Imperia (Neg. Dep. 6034/3).



Fig. 12 - Gartok, September 1935. Portrait photo taken for publicity purposes (Fondo Tucci, P-1912).

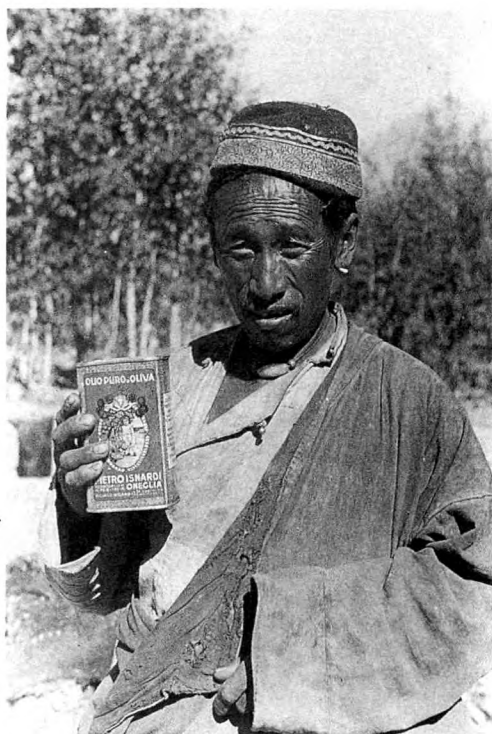


Fig. 13 - Tsaparang, 22 August 1935. Portrait photo taken for publicity purposes (Neg. Dep. 6049/25).

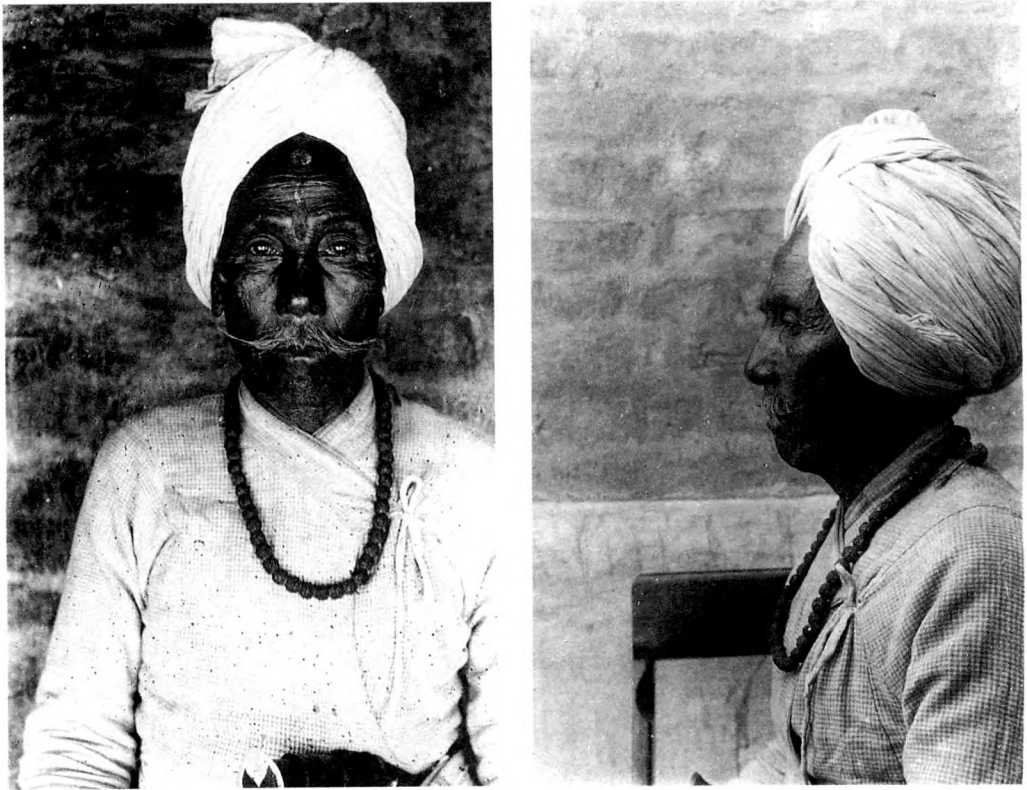


Fig. 14 - Kathmandu, Summer 1929. 'Mug shot' portraits (Neg. Dep. 6969 and 7225). The one on the left was published with the caption 'Kiranti Rai (Maharaja's servant)' but another photograph of the same person was published in 'La rivolta nel Nepal', *Le Vie del Mondo*, XIII, 1951, as 'Example of old Magar in Nepal'.

Moreover, Tucci was not the only Italian researcher still using photography to analyse links between race and culture in the twenties. One example was Francesco L. Pullé who, like other anthropologists, cultivated this interest taking part in the activities of the Italian Photographic Society together with colleagues like Paolo Mantegazza, Lamberto Loria and Giulio Fano, but then carried on through the first decades of the 20th century ⁽²¹⁾. The whole subject probably merits further study, but it does

⁽²¹⁾ At the beginning of the century Pullé collected some 'mug shots' at the Saigon Institute of Anthropometry on the occasion of the First Congress of Far East studies organized by the ÉFEO ('Il Congresso di Hanoi per gli studi dell'Estremo Oriente', in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, IV, 1904, pp. 7-22; the portraits are published on pages 11-19. My thanks to Prof. Maurizio Taddei for pointing out the article to me). Pullé's approach is eloquently summed up in one of the basic theses incorporated in a work published subsequently, where he argues that '[...] through the centuries the physical and psychical organism of the Italian people has matured to its present state [...]' (*Italia. Genti e favelle [Disegno antropologico-linguistico]*, Torino 1927, vol. I, p. XXVI).

seem decidedly odd that a scholar of philology and religions should have shown predilection for a method that had clear anthropometric implications — an approach that comes out clearly in his photographic work in 1929 and, during the following years, in his writings (22). And yet Tucci considered this type of 'mug shot', introduced in Italy for recruiting offices (23) and adopted by anthropologists when the discipline was tending towards a fusion of demological and biological models (24), an appropriate way to record the objective reality he observed (25), although it was being used almost exclusively by psychiatrists, physical anthropologists and the police (26) when Tucci made his first journey to Nepal.

All the other photographs Tucci took of people tend to show them in pose, although the poses usually allowed the subjects to assume the postures they found most natural (27).

As Tucci examined the results of his photographic work he must have realized that the most sensible way to solve his personal problem with the fiendish instrument was to have a photographer with him. On previous expeditions he had often been accompanied by his wife (Fig. 15) (28) and, probably, other Europeans (Fig. 16), but they do not appear to have taken any part in the work of collecting photographic documentation. In 1933 a cousin put him in touch with a medical officer in the navy who was not only a photographer and mountain-climber but had also spent over two years in China (29). So it was that this 'insuperable companion and intelligent

(22) As can be inferred from the many portraits published in *Cronaca della missione...*, *cit.*, with the caption 'Typical example of...', (where physical type is understood) as also from the collection of anthropometric data referred to in *Santi e briganti*, *cit.*, p. XIII.

(23) C. Bertelli, 'La fedeltà incostante', in *Storia d'Italia, Annali 2: L'immagine fotografica (1845-1945)*, Einaudi, Torino, vol. I, pp. 72-73. This type of photo portrait was already in vogue among the Anglo-Saxon anthropologists around 1850 (M. Banta & C.M. Hinsley, *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery*, Cambridge, Mass., 1986, pp. 58-61).

(24) S. Puccini, 'Evoluzione e Positivismo nell'antropologia italiana (1869-1911)', in P. Clemente et al., *L'antropologia italiana. Un secolo di storia*, Roma-Bari 1985, pp. 97-148.

(25) A. Baldi, 'Uso e valenza del ritratto fotografico nelle scienze antropologiche', *Archivio Fotografico Toscano*, II 3, 1986, pp. 55.

(26) U. Ellero, *La fotografia nelle funzioni di polizia e processuali*, Milano 1908.

(27) This way of portraying subjects came about when ethnology departed from the naturalist approach. To quote Lamberto Loria, 'The first time [i.e. the first pose] the photographer must not dictate the pose but adapt to portraying the subjects as they offer themselves to the camera, since an unexpected turn of posture is often more significant than studied composure or artificial grouping' (*Bollettino della Società Fotografica Italiana*, 1889, pp. 324-25).

(28) However, the presence of Giulia Tucci alongside her husband is attested only in 'Note e appunti...', *cit.*, p. 517, where she is mentioned because her illness had prevented a visit to archaeological sites in Nepalese Terai. Moreover, Giulia Tucci rarely appears in the foreground of photographs in the 'Fondo Tucci'.

(29) Some of the photographs taken in China were published by UTET.

collaborator', as Tucci himself described Eugenio Ghersi ⁽³⁰⁾, entered into a period of friendly collaboration that ended only with his appointment as naval attaché with the Italian plenipotentiary in Jedda in 1939. He was undoubtedly Tucci's most versatile companion ⁽³¹⁾ in this period, and the only one with whom he struck up deep friendship (Fig. 17). The quality of his photographs is good and, considering he had to work in dark, confined chapels with films that were by no means fast and inadequate lighting ⁽³²⁾, we can only wonder at the results he achieved.

On the two journeys to Tibet Ghersi also used a cinecamera (Fig. 19). The footage he took in 1933 was immediately used by the Istituto Luce to assemble a documentary on the expedition, but apparently it was never distributed. Other pieces were used in a series of documentaries on IsMEO broadcast by the RAI School-Education Department in 1983 ⁽³³⁾.

Tucci went through briefer periods of — undoubtedly less staunch — collaboration with a captain of the 'Alpini' military force, Felice Boffa, in 1939 ⁽³⁴⁾, and with the professional photographers Fosco Maraini, in 1937 ⁽³⁵⁾ and 1948, and Piero Francesco Mele in 1948. Faced with the Tibetan authorities' temporary refusal to allow the two photographers to cross the border during the 1948 expedition, Tucci entrusted their tasks to the expedition doctor, lieutenant-colonel Regolo Moise, and a Sikkimese photographer contacted at Yatung ⁽³⁶⁾.

Apart from the scientific interest of the photographs it contains, the 'Fondo Tucci' also offers a valuable source to reconstruct the scholar's life. In fact, the period they cover coincides with a rather particular phase of his life. 1928 and 1948 are also the dates of the first ⁽³⁷⁾ and last expeditions Tucci led to Tibet. Subsequently, due partly

⁽³⁰⁾ *Cronaca della missione...*, cit., p. 14.

⁽³¹⁾ Apart from his work on photographic documentation Ghersi also kept records, drew maps and distilled grappa for the expedition. His 1933 sketch-maps were published in an appendix to D. Klimburg-Salter, 'Tucci Himalayan Archive Report, 1. The 1933 Expedition to the Western Himalayas, and a Retrospective View of the 1933 Tucci Expedition', *EW*, 40, 1990, pp. 161-71.

⁽³²⁾ The only source of artificial light was magnesium, which filled the place with smoke when burnt; photographers had to wait for the smoke to clear before they could continue. The fact that all the ruins at mTho gling were examined and photographed in two days gives us some idea of the rate of work. The only alternative to magnesium was the use of oil-lamps (Fig. 18). The first 21 DIN film only came on the market in 1936 (I. Zannier, *Storia e tecnica della fotografia*, Roma-Bari 1985).

⁽³³⁾ Franco Cimmino was in charge of the Istituto Luce documentaries. The footage shot in 1933 was inserted in the second instalment and attributed to the twenties in the commentary, while the 1935 material appeared in the first instalment, immediately after the documentary 'Tra giungle e pagode' (Amid jungles and pagodas) shot during the 1952 Tucci expedition to Nepal, and was attributed to 1933.

⁽³⁴⁾ G. Tucci, 'Nel Tibet centrale. Relazione preliminare della spedizione 1939', *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica*, LXXVII, 1940, p. 85.

⁽³⁵⁾ Id., *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV. 'Gyantse ed i suoi monumenti, part I. Descrizione generale, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1941, p. 2.

⁽³⁶⁾ Id., *A Lhasa e oltre...*, cit., p. 7.

⁽³⁷⁾ Id., 'I conventi di Tibet', *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica*, LXIV, 1928, pp. 583-88.



Fig. 15 - Probably Kashmir, 1928. Giulia Tucci tidying up the tent (Neg. Dep. 6794).



Fig. 16 - Lahul or Kinnaur, August-September 1931. Tucci with a European and other members of the expedition (Neg. Dep. 7606).



Fig. 17 - Tashigang, early October 1935. Portrait of Giuseppe Tucci (Neg. Dep. 6045/38).



Fig. 18 - Alchi, early-mid November 1935. Oil-lamp illumination (Neg. Dep. 6009/23).



Fig. 19 - Probably Kulu, 14-20 June 1933. An assistant (?) getting the cine camera ready ('Fondo Tucci', P-4375).

to developments in the world political situation, he concentrated on west Nepal, Swat, Afghanistan and Iran. Although it was in fact his Tibetan studies that led him to these countries ⁽³⁸⁾, and especially to Nepal and Swat, his research in this part of the world combined exploration and the philological study of inscriptions and manuscripts with archaeological investigation carried out with modern criteria, not by Tucci himself, but by his collaborators. Another new figure on the expeditions at this point was his life-long companion Francesca Bonardi, who became the photographer.

First Attempts at Reorganization

In agreement with the MNAO director Dr Donatella Mazzeo, Prof. Gherardo Gnoli, president of IsMEO, invited Dr D. Klimburg-Salter to examine Giuseppe Tucci's Tibetan collection. Both knew that the material had been filed away without any order, and the main idea was to find some criterion for an inventory — chronological or geographical — assuming it would emerge once the photographs had been arranged

⁽³⁸⁾ Id., *La via dello Swat*, Bari 1963, p. 12.

according to inventory numbers. Given the conditions described above, this hope proved illusory. By the end of all this preliminary work the collection still gave the hotchpotch impression of a painting by Arcimboldo.

Dr Klimburg-Salter then examined all the photographs, identifying the subjects she recognized and grouping together those that seemed to have some connection, but the bulk of the collection remained unidentified. It was then decided to hunt down all Tucci's publications including the texts devoid of scientific importance but well illustrated with photographs which had appeared in tourist periodicals and popular magazines. All these illustrations were photocopied and collected in albums, grouped according to subject matter. Miss Giulia Talamo of the MNAO took particular pains over this work: by noting every reference to places visited and dates of journeys contained in the texts she was able to reconstruct a complete picture of Tucci's activity during the twenty-year period in question. Of all the expeditions only three were described in detail in as many books, the others being recorded with an oral tradition that was now dissolving into myth.

Comparison between the photos in the collection, published photos and the few accounts available of activities on the expeditions (Fig. 20) was of great help, bringing the proportion of identified photographs up to a fifth of the total. We also realized that the negatives of many pictures published were not conserved in the collection ⁽³⁹⁾.

Developing a Method, 1: The Negatives

After this teething period we turned our attention to the 1933 and 1935 expeditions to western Tibet. On the strength of the identification work so far completed Dr Klimburg-Salter was able to group together the pictures of art works, analysing the style and hypothesizing the sites on which the photographs had been taken. Unfortunately her conclusions were based solely on internal evidence, while some external verification would have been opportune to support the attributions given our patchy knowledge of Tibetan art history. Moreover, many of the photographs published by Tucci and tracked down in the collection bore incomplete captions, often lacking the actual place-name; in other cases the place-names seemed doubtful given the data we had now accumulated on Tucci's itineraries ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

⁽³⁹⁾ The documentation on 1935 shows particularly wide gaps. For example, the wall paintings photographed at Kyung lung and Mang nang are missing (although a fair number of positives of the latter are conserved), as are most of the 1,500 manuscript pages which should have been photographed according to a note in the appendix to the reprint of *Santi e briganti...*, cit., Roma 1978, p. 153.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ This reflects an odd side of Tucci, who was not particularly precise when it came to places, dates and common people. For example, in *Cronaca della missione...*, cit., figs. 53 and 135 were published as 'Kibar' and 'Houses in Nü' respectively. On examining them we found out that, although taken from slightly different angles (photograms 15 and 16 on the same roll; see Appendix), both photographs showed the village of Kibar. Again, Tucci's 1929 journey to Nepal lasted over four months according to 'La spedizione scientifica Tucci in India...', cit., but not quite three according to 'Note e appunti...', cit., p. 516.



Fig. 20 - Kelat Bridge (near Manali), 21 June, 1933. 'We find the camp already neatly set up on a small plateau on the banks of the Bias, [...] the tents are new and clean, white guy lines stretched tight on the pegs; [...] Abdul has already built the first stove with three stones arranged in a rectangle by an old tree' (*Cronaca della missione...*, cit., p. 32) ('Fondo Tucci', P-0640 and P-3734).

In order to verify the various art-historical hypotheses we tried setting the negatives of the pictures examined side by side to see if they matched; this would at least have proved that the photographs had indeed been taken in the same place and, very probably, in the same temple. In fact, Ghersi was in the habit of separating photographs of two similar subjects such as the paintings in two temples belonging to one single complex with blanks or views of exteriors. When we started comparing negatives we noticed that although the films were all of the same type they differed in certain small particulars. However, since we were faced with a great many small fragments of film we could only tentatively attribute two fragments to one roll and, if there was a gap between them attribution became excessively tenuous: all too many photograms could have filled the gap, giving rise to a variety of interpretations. The hypotheses based on art-historical criteria were not thus invalidated: they simply remained unconfirmed.

The main problem with art works was verification, but with all the other subjects it was identification *tout court*. There was little point in hoping to find solutions in other publications or the memory of some traveller.

If only the rolls had remained intact we could have arrived at complete identification in ideal conditions, seeing the expedition chronicles unfold as we went through them. Hit-or-miss reconstruction of the rolls was pointless, and this ruled out the iconographic approach adopted so far. Basically images refer back to images, and not to a roll of film exposed on a journey, the contents of which are only partially known if at all. It is more useful to identify the characteristic signs appearing on all the films but in a different pattern on every roll, thus distinguishing all the photograms belonging to a single roll. Thus our investigation extended from the picture itself to the entire film, seen now as a very complex product.

The first step was to identify the features that could help us construct a typological grid which could in turn be applied to sort the fragments into homogeneous groups. These features were the small signs on the film that we had grown familiar with as we compared the fragments following our art-historical criteria. At first sight they hardly seemed to merit any attention, appearing mostly on the unexposed part of the film during the production and use of the material. The principal types can be classified thus: scratches caused by winding the film, marks left by light filtering in at the edges, faults and anomalies in development ⁽⁴¹⁾, the quality of definition of the manufacture marks on the film and their position in relation to the photograms.

However, it was by no means easy to make use of such features as these, faced as we were with thousands of pictures. The only feature that could easily be classified was the position of the manufacture marks. The marks made by the manufacturer on the blank film used for the 1933 and 1935 expeditions are the photogram number, on the upper margin, and the name AGFA followed by a round dot on the lower margin

⁽⁴¹⁾ Ghersi used to develop the films in his tent at the end of the day, using candles to heat the water for the pans (personal note). Obviously, the uniform results of laboratory processing could not be guaranteed in such conditions.

(Fig. 2). Of course these marks have nothing to do with the photograms, but their position in relation to them is the same for the entire roll. In fact, there is no fixed point for the factory machinery to cut away the strips of film which are made into rolls, just as there is no fixed point for exposure of the film to begin. Both the photogram number and the round dot in the lower margin can be taken as points of reference: both are marked beside slots, recurring regularly every eight slots. Thus it is sufficient to count the slots between these marks and the margin of the photogram to obtain two figures distinguishing a limited number of rolls. Reference to one or the other distinguishing mark is determined by the different types used in 1933 and 1935, as can easily be seen by comparison of the two strips shown in Fig. 2: in the first case the round dot appears one slot before the number, in the second four slots before. It was possible to verify the date of films thus marked with the dates of the published photographs, and for all negatives definitely attributable to one or other of the two expeditions the dating confirmed our initial hypothesis. Once this satisfactory result had been obtained we identified each fragment with the relevant pair of numbers and then sorted them all into the respective groups. On average each of the sixteen pairs of numbers corresponded to five rolls.

Reconstruction of the original rolls then proceeded by lining up after each initial fragment the photograms coming immediately in numerical succession that showed the same scratches, the same tone in the surround, the same black stripes, similar-sized spots on the margins and perfectly fitting cut edges. Examination of these features together with possible identification of the subject shown also helped us attribute to individual rolls fragments where consecutive numbering was interrupted by permanent gaps resulting from the loss of negatives.

Developing a Method, 2: The Positives

The Fondo Tucci also contains a large number of prints whose negatives are missing. Some bear brief captions handwritten by Tucci, occasionally also giving the year. Taking these as our reference points we went on to identify the most evident features of the photographic paper and establish a chronology which, naturally, does not always necessarily correspond to the precise periods in which the photos were taken. The gelatin paper used up to 1935 was of the following types:

1. 'Velox' paper, c. 6.6×11 cm format. The surface feels rough and the grain of the paper shows through the thin glaze. The negatives on flat film exposed between 1928 and 1930 were printed on this paper;
2. paper bearing no trade-mark, slightly smaller format. The surface is smooth and the glaze more glossy. It seems to have been used only for the photos of the 1931 expedition;
3. 'Agfa Lupex' paper, appearance and format as above. The photos taken in India from 1930 to 1931 are printed on this paper;

4. paper bearing no trade-mark, format 11.5×17.1 cm. Used for some of the photos of wall paintings taken on the 1933 expedition and printed without margins;
5. paper bearing no trade-mark, format *c.* 8.2×11.7 cm. Used to print the photos of the 1933 and 1935 expeditions taken with film in 135 rolls.

A number of the photographs referred to in 5) can be attributed to one of the two expeditions thanks to a defect in the enlarger used to print them. Some of the photos of the 1933 expedition have the bottom right hand corner cut off (cf. Fig. 20), while those of the 1935 expedition also show a wavy line along the shorter side thus formed (cf. Fig. 12). Probably all these photographs were printed in the photographic laboratory of the newly created IsMEO on returning from the expeditions.

Further help in the identification of positives lacking negatives of the 1935 expedition comes from the numerical countermark Tucci (or his photographer) took care to pencil on the back of the prints, giving the same number to all prints from the same roll. The roll numbering did not respect chronological order but it does at least allow us to attribute the pictures to the original rolls. When a picture fills in a gap in a series showing the same subject we can also attribute the number of the missing photogram with certainty. The prints of 1931 and 1933 occasionally bear such numbering too, but application of this mnemonic system appears sporadic and in some cases the same number is used to countermark more than one roll.

Organization of the 'Fondo Tucci'

All the photographic material in the 'Fondo Tucci' was divided into two main units: a historical archive, organized above all with conservation in mind, and a reference archive. The former contains all the original material, which users do not normally have access to. Methods and materials for optimal conservation are now under examination and the final decision, which should be taken in the spring of 1993, will also depend on the financial resources available.

The reference archive consists of recent reprints from the negatives and will be completed with reproductions of historical prints lacking negatives as soon as possible. Pictures taken on flat film were printed on contact paper and collected in albums according to geographical areas while the later photos, which had been set on cardboard mounts before reordering, were sorted according to expeditions and placed in drawers in chronological order.

All the data available for every single photograph have been fed into the memory of a MacIntosh computer at the IsMEO Excavations Centre. It is planned to purchase a second computer to facilitate consultation in the MNAO Photographic Archives premises.

APPENDIX

As we have seen, identification of the photographs in the collection began by comparing them with the photographs Tucci published. However, many of the captions to these illustrations do not give place reference and some are erroneous. It is after all quite natural that the task of handling such a great quantity of pictures, often presenting them to a public that took only a vague interest in the Himalayan regions, inevitably resulted in omissions and confusion. Given the importance of the collection it is worth listing the incomplete or erroneous captions with corrections.

Captions without Place Reference

<i>Illustration</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>MNAO Inv.</i>
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From *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. I, 'mC'od-rten' e 'ts'a-ts'a' nel Tibet indiano e occidentale, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1932.

IIa	Nimu or Leh	7207
IIIa	Leh	6342
IVb	Saspol	6467

From *Cronaca della missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale* (1933), Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1934.

fig. 65 A wandering Lama	Kyi	6061/30
fig. 106 Upper Kunawar types	Chango	6060/35
fig. 107 Upper Kunawar types	Namgya	6036/15
fig. 151 Tibetan sheep [...]	Tiak	6074/8
fig. 257 Agricultural implements	Losar	6078/37
fig. 252 Chorten, [...]	Tiak	6078/16

From 'Nel paese del Lama', *Le Vie d'Italia e del Mondo*, III, 1935, pp. 261-88.

Monastery entry yard	Kaza	6052/32
Chapter monks in a symbolic dance	Kyi	6061/35
Lama sounding the ritual drum	Losar	6061/11
Tibetan pilgrim	Miang	6018/26
Wandering ascetic	Between Sarahan and Simla	6012/12
Statue of Avalokiteśvara	mTho gling, Temple of Ye shes 'od	6035/15

Temple wall ornaments	Ri	6007/22
'Yak' caravan	Losar	6055/17
Sacred formulae inscribed on stones	Kibar	6017/26

From 'Splendori di un mondo che scompare: nel Tibet occidentale', *Le Vie d'Italia e del Mondo*, III, 1935, pp. 911-37.

'Chorten' in mountain solitude	Ta pho	6046/33
Dances of Buddhist monks	Probably Kyi	
Festive hospitality in a Spiti village	Losar	6037/38
A Tibetan village	Near Lha lung	6012/28
One of the means of transport [...]	Tiak	6074/7
Rocks with the ascetics' caves	Near Shang rtse, prob. Kun lang	6060/5
The great 'gate' of Yi Qi	Ri	6019/18
Plummeting gorges	Parilungi valley, near Kibar	6573/4

From 'Il Manosarovar, lago sacro del Tibet', *Le Vie d'Italia e del Mondo*, IV, 1936, pp. 253-70.

Nomads and pilgrims	Seralung	6027/27
Nomads and raiders	Seralung	6028/44

From 'Metapsychica tibetana', *L'Illustrazione del Medico*, 1936, pp. 13-16.

One of the places in western Tibet where [...]	Mang nang	P-3227
A city of hermits, ancient Tibetan Thebaid [...]	Gyungo	P-0866

From 'Nel paese delle donne dai molti mariti', *La Lettura*, XXXVI, 1936, pp. 102-7.

Troglodyte caves [...]	Mang nang	6099/30
Another monastery [...]	Gyantrag	
Symbolic dances of monks	Losar	6046/3
Priests gathered for exorcism	dPal kye	6027/6
Broken statues watch over the ruins [...]	Mang nang	6098/33
Herds of yaks [...]	Gartok	
Tucci expedition caravan	Between sKar dum and Rakas tal	6006/8

From *Tibet, paese delle nevi*, Istituto Geografico De Agostini, Novara 1967.

Fig. 7	Carding wool	Dunkar or Pyang	6040/19
Fig. 86	A lhato	Along the Indus valley between Tashigang and Ni ma mud	6016/11

From *Tibet*, Nagel (*Archaeologia Mundi*), Geneva 1973.

Fig. 54	Ruins [...] in western Tibet	Near Luk	6056/14
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Erroneous Captions

<i>Erroneous caption</i>	<i>Corrected caption</i>	<i>MNAO Inv.</i>
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From *Cronaca della missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale* (1933), Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1934.

Fig. 35	The temple of Losar	The temple of Lha lung	6058/35
Fig. 37	Losar type	Photo taken in Chandra valley; probably one of Tucci's caravan guides	6572/6
Fig. 49	In the Parilungi valley	Between Po and Ta pho	6055/11
Fig. 85	Po women	Kibar women	6059/18
Fig. 88	Po types	Chango types	6079/34
Fig. 93	[...] on the Ta pho road	Losar	6058/23
Fig. 135	Houses at Nū	Houses at Kibar	6079/17
Fig. 201	Gartok [...]	Chusu [...]	6047/32
Fig. 253	Ruins of Toshang	Ruins of Serka	6059/16

From 'Splendori di un mondo che scompare: nel Tibet occidentale', *Le Vie d'Italia e del Mondo*, III, 1935, pp. 911-37.

Village of Miang	Village of Luk	6056/10
Remains of the city of Luk	Ruins of Byang thang	6061/23

From 'Il Manosarovar, lago sacro del Tibet', *Le Vie d'Italia e del Mondo*, IV, 1936, pp. 253-70.

[...] sadhu [...] on the way to the Kailasa	[...] <i>sadhu</i> [...] near Almora	6074/12
The great monastery of Lamponà	Seralung	6018/30

From 'Il paese delle donne dai molti mariti', *La Lettura*, XXXVI, 1936, pp. 102-7.

Tombs of ascetics in the desert [...]	<i>Stūpa</i> -s at Byang thang	6014/15
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From *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Hoepli, Milano 1937.

The monastery of Kyung lung [...]	The castle of Kyung lung	
The convent of Dunkar	Not Dunkar: probably Monhil	6015/13
The 'medicine' Buddhas [...] of Piang	The painting is at Dunkar	6020/14

From *Tibet, paese delle nevi*, Istituto Geografico De Agostini, Novara 1967.

Fig. 11 Peasants of western Tibet	Peasants photographed between Garbyang and Kalapani	6069/10
Fig. 39 [...] Gartok	[...] Taklakot	6076/3
Fig. 40 Peasant woman of western Tibet	Bhutia woman photographed between Almora and Garbyang	6014/23

From *Tibet*, Nagel (Archaeologia Mundi), Geneva 1973.

Fig. 34 Caves near Lhatse	Caves at Ta pho	6080/3
Fig. 36 Caves near Yandoktsho	Caves at Ta pho	6080/5
Fig. 82 Row of 108 <i>stūpa</i> -s at Milam	Row of 108 <i>stūpa</i> -s at Ta pho	6080/19
Fig. 136 [...] portal [...]: Tabo	mTho gling, portal of the gSer khang	6019/3-4
Fig. 138 Portal [...]: Tsarapang	Portal of Alchi	
Fig. 199 Rock bas-relief [...] near Lhasa	Ajanta, cave 19	P-3634

Prof. GHERARDO GNOLI

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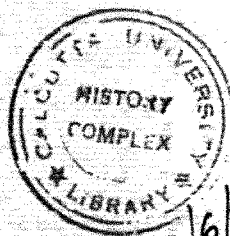
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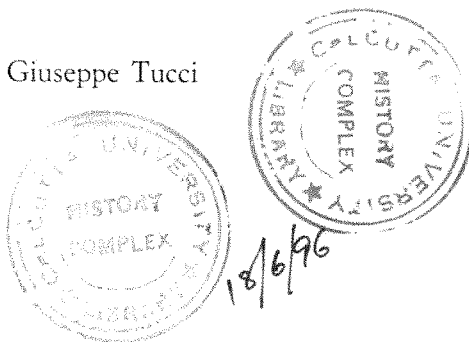
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	— <i>Archives of Asian Art</i>
AAH	— <i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ACASA	— <i>Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America</i>
ActaO	— <i>Acta Orientalia</i> , Copenhagen
ActaOH	— <i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ADMG	— <i>Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
AION	— <i>Annali dell'Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli</i>
AJA	— <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	— <i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
ArOr	— <i>Archiv Orientalni</i>
ASLAR	— <i>Annual Reports (Archaeological Survey of India)</i>
BEFEO	— <i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BMC	— <i>Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum</i>
BMFEA	— <i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
BMMA	— <i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BSO(A)S	— <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>
CAH	— <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CAJ	— <i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
CHC	— <i>Cambridge History of China</i>
CHInd	— <i>Cambridge History of India</i>
CHIr	— <i>Cambridge History of Iran</i>
CIInd	— <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
CIr	— <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i>
CIS	— <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
CRAI	— <i>Comptes rendus des séances (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres)</i>
EW	— <i>East and West</i>
HJAS	— <i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HR	— <i>History of Religions</i>
IJ	— <i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IsmeoRepMem	— <i>Reports and Memoirs (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia)</i>
JA	— <i>Journal Asiatique</i>

JAH	— <i>Journal of Asian History</i>
JAOS	— <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JAS	— <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
JASB	— <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JESHO	— <i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JGJRI	— <i>Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute</i>
JLABS	— <i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
JISOA	— <i>Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art</i>
JNES	— <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	— <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
JUPHS	— <i>Journal of the Uttar Pradesh (formerly: United Provinces) Historical Society</i>
KSLA	— <i>Kratkie soobščeniya Instituta Arheologii</i>
MA SI	— <i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
MCB	— <i>Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques</i>
MDAFA	— <i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i>
MIA	— <i>Materialy i issledovaniya po Arheologii SSSR</i>
MTB	— <i>Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko</i>
NTS	— <i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
OLZ	— <i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
PSAS	— <i>Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies</i>
REI	— <i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RHR	— <i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
RSO	— <i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
SA	— <i>Sovetskaja Arheologija</i>
SOR	— <i>Serie Orientale Roma (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)</i>
TOCS	— <i>Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society</i>
TP	— <i>T'oung Pao</i>
TPS	— <i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
VDI	— <i>Vestnik drevnej istorii</i>
WZKM	— <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
WZKS	— <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sudasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie</i>
ZAS	— <i>Zentralasiatische Studien</i>
ZDMG	— <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

Giovanni Gentile Founder and President of IsMEO

by GHERARDO GNOLI

The idea of creating an institute to handle Italy's cultural — and also economic — relations with India and eastern Asia evolved between the late twenties and early thirties. In a report to the Head of the Italian Government dated 9 March 1931 a young member of the R. Accademia d'Italia, Giuseppe Tucci, described a mission to India where he had been engaged in Oriental studies while, at the same time, 'disseminating Italian culture', and went on to conclude with the suggestion that an institute be created 'for the Middle and Far East'. It was to be very much like the existing institutes for eastern Europe and the modern East, having — as Tucci put it — 'a cultural profile of the type to be seen in the Buddhist Institute of Leningrad, or the Paris Society of Friends of the Orient, or the Indian Society of Berlin' and being equipped to 'carry out work of a more complex nature than mere cultural exchange' ⁽¹⁾.

The proposal Tucci included in his report had in fact been occupying his mind for several years. In a letter from Calcutta to Gentile dated 1st October 1929 he had asked what there was to show of 'our Institute for Middle and Far Asia'. Some of the material on this subject has already been published. Documentation assembled by Dr Valdo Ferretti was presented in an article of 1986 on 'Politics and Culture: Is.M.E.O. Activities During the Fascist Regime' ⁽²⁾.

Evidently, however, the project met with no few difficulties, and Tucci himself eventually suggested to Mussolini that it could, if necessary, be carried out without any excessive expense for the State: 'in order not to burden the budget it might begin on a modest scale with cooperation between keen, active people: the institute might then be supported by the Oriental Institute of Naples, which needs to regain all its lost importance' ⁽³⁾ (incidentally, it is surely significant that this Oriental Institute,

(*) This is the translation of a lecture delivered at a Conference on 'Giovanni Gentile, 1875-1944', held in Rome, 20-21 May 1994. The Conference was organized by the Department of Cultural Affairs, Municipality of Rome, with the cooperation of several Italian Institutions. The proceedings will be published in a volume.

⁽¹⁾ Page 6 of the typescript 'Copia della relazione presentata dal Prof. Tucci a Sua Eccellenza il Capo del Governo' dated 'Roma, Marzo 1931. XI'.

⁽²⁾ 'Politica e Cultura: origini e attività dell'Is.M.E.O. durante il regime fascista', in *Storia contemporanea*, XVII 5, October 1986, pp. 779-819.

⁽³⁾ Page 8 of the document cited above (fn. 1).

restored to its former importance and become in the past twenty years the leading Italian university for Oriental studies (and one of the most important in Europe) was to become IsMEO's major collaborator among Italian universities).

As we know, the project was in fact successfully launched as an independent venture, there being no ties between the new institute and existing bodies. A royal decree of 16th February 1933 accorded recognition to the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East as a non-profit-making body, and inauguration followed in Rome's Capitol on 31st of December in the same year. Gentile wrote of IsMEO:

The proposal to the Duce came from myself and a group of friends expert in Oriental matters headed by a former scholar of mine who, with his brilliance, learning and perspicacious, unceasing pioneering work in the discovery and study of the most mysterious reaches of the eastern lands and soul, brings honour not only to the school of Rome but to all Italy: Giuseppe Tucci. (4)

Two years before, in a volume entitled *L'Italia e l'Oriente Medio ed Estremo*, Gentile had outlined with exceptional clarity the situation of Italian Oriental studies and interests, cultural and otherwise, in Asia, with particular reference to India, China and Japan. He concluded by pointing out that: 'Thus Italy's presence now reaches out over almost all the East', adding:

In the creation of the new civilization now occupying the attention of the countries of Asia Italy, perhaps more than any other European country, can convey the essence of western civilization rooted in the classical world, teaching the sense of justice, proportion and criterion and clarity in expression; asserting realities and the value of action; acclaiming the power of the will and deeds. Along with her spiritual mission Italy can — within the limits and approaches indicated in various chapters of this book and with the assumption that fuller, deeper contributions will be forthcoming — also assist the countries of Asia in their work on economic structures, supplying (at least in part) the tools, machinery and technical staff needed to develop their industries and for the huge outlay in public utilities so necessary for their farms, ports and cities [...] Thanks to her cultural influence and share in economic reconstruction Italy will in the future be able to act as a great power in Asia at all times, whatever changes the coming or more distant years may bring. (5)

Viewed in the light of the idea that fascist Italy was to shake off the 'modest, provincial little Italy of former times' (here, of course, we are again quoting

(4) G. Gentile, 'L'Italia e l'Oriente', *Nuova Antologia*, 72, fasc. 1564, 16 May 1937 (pp. 146-57), p. 146.

(5) Id., 'La nuova Italia e l'Oriente medio ed estremo', in *L'Italia e l'Oriente Medio ed Estremo — Studi e documenti raccolti ed ordinati da Tomaso Silani*, 'La Rassegna Italiana', Roma 1935 (pp. 311-16), p. 316.

Gentile) ⁽⁶⁾, this statement brings a number of points to our attention — points that eloquently characterize the basic lines of Gentile's aims in creating IsMEO, of which he was to remain president until his death (Tucci himself acting as executive vice-president).

According to Gentile, Italian culture was to look to those parts of the farthest East to which as yet only a few, isolated scholars, often distinguished but with no school behind them, had turned their attention. Thus Italian culture was to grow out of its provincialism, as it was defined, advancing further from its regional cultures to complete unification at the spiritual level and thus perfecting the as yet imperfect Risorgimento ⁽⁷⁾. Here the great European countries boasting renowned schools of Oriental studies — France, Germany and Great Britain — must to some extent have seemed the models to inspire such efforts. Cultural and philosophical ⁽⁸⁾ needs thus converged in a political need; apart from merely economic concerns, the political need naturally consisted largely in hitting British interests in India and other parts of Asia ⁽⁹⁾.

Clearly, we must view the project launched by Gentile and Tucci in terms of the results obtained, and we are undoubtedly indebted to Tucci's flair and brilliant scholarship for the fact that IsMEO has become the most important centre for Oriental studies in Italy outside the universities. This is not the whole story, however: much of the Institute's success can be put down to the original structure characterizing it, and here Gentile played no small part. A public cultural and research body connected with the state administration mainly through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, designed for smooth, streamlined operations, it has successfully promoted and co-ordinated Oriental studies in Italy to this very day, and is now playing an increasingly important part in Europe and the world. Given its institutional role, it has in the course of time taken on the function of a bridge linking the universities and cultural institutions in general with Italy's cultural policy in Asia, thanks to close relations not only with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (sanctioned by statute), but also with the Cabinet Council,

⁽⁶⁾ 'L'Italia e l'Oriente', *cit.*, p. 157.

⁽⁷⁾ On this fundamental aspect of Gentile's thought, see A. Del Noce, *Giovanni Gentile*, Bologna 1988, p. 126 etc.; for a different viewpoint, see also S. Romano, *Giovanni Gentile. La filosofia al potere*, new rev. ed., Milano 1990, p. 200 etc.

⁽⁸⁾ Gentile's interest in Indian philosophy and religion was undoubtedly influenced by Tucci and through relations with him. Gentile was also well-acquainted with the 'Nota alla prefazione' that Spaventa wrote on Indian philosophy: B. Spaventa, *La filosofia italiana nelle sue relazioni con la filosofia europea*, new ed. with notes and appendices containing documentation ed. by G. Gentile, Bari 1908, pp. 34-41; see G. Flora, 'B. Spaventa e la filosofia indiana', *Napoli e l'India*, Atti del Convegno, Napoli-Ercolano, 2-3 giugno 1988, ed. A. Sorrentino & M. Taddei, Napoli 1990, pp. 123-43. Tucci himself also read the 'note' with keen interest, as attested by his underlinings in his own copy of the book, now kept in the Library of IsMEO.

⁽⁹⁾ On this subject see, in particular, R. De Felice, *Il fascismo e l'Oriente. Arabi, Ebrei e Indiani nella politica di Mussolini*, Bologna 1988, pp. 187 ff.

the Ministry of the Universities and Scientific and Technological Research and the Ministry of the Cultural and Environmental Heritage. Summary and unjust as Gentile's judgement of the provincialism of the 'modesta Italietta' might have been, we must at the same time recognize just what strides ahead have been made since then.

The longer passage from Gentile quoted above included the parenthetical phrase: '[...] Italy, perhaps more than any other European country [...]', etc. Tucci elaborated on this idea in a number of works⁽¹⁰⁾, and it has in fact long inspired IsMEO's programmes. Suffice it to recall a speech Tucci made on 3rd June 1959, when the 25th anniversary of the Istitute's foundation was celebrated:

Italy found itself in a particularly happy situation: there was no aftermath of hard feelings in Asia, because Italy had never sought to create colonial empires there — indeed, with a time-honoured tradition reinforced and enhanced with the lengthy labours of travellers, missionaries and scholars, Italy has brought the focus to bear on the spiritual realities of Asia, describing the situation as it is, disseminating the facts about our scientific heritage and sources of inspiration for works of art, seeking out points of convergence rather than contrast, showing compassion without humiliating [...].⁽¹¹⁾

In fact, anyone directly acquainted with conditions in many countries of Asia must concede that there is more than a grain of truth and relevance in these ideas. Pruned of superfluous rhetoric and crass nationalist pride, they are reflected in the fairly widespread attitude that, as interlocutors, we Italians are not suspect, or not dangerous (not quite the same thing, admittedly, but both important to our international relations in the fields of culture and science). Tucci went on to point out that:

The aim of our work is thus to revive and equip with up-to-date tools that humanist tradition that made Italians disinterested mediators between the cultures of East and West.⁽¹²⁾

On this point there is a clear continuity of ideas from Gentile to Tucci who, significantly enough, encouraged research on Marco Polo and Matteo Ricci and, in agreement with the State Printing Office, launched a series entitled 'Nuovo Ramusio',

⁽¹⁰⁾ Of Tucci's large output of popularizing works, see: *Italia e Oriente*, Milano 1949; 'Italy and New Asia', *EW*, II, 1951/2, pp. 129-31; *Le grandi vie di comunicazione Europa-Asia*, Torino 1958; *Collaborazione con l'Oriente*, IsMEO — Conferenze, Roma 1958; 'Le relazioni italo-iraniane', *Il Veltro*, XIV, 1970, pp. 5-8; etc.

⁽¹¹⁾ This passage appears on p. 5 of the typescript conserved in the IsMEO archives; I previously had occasion to quote it in: *Giuseppe Tucci*, Commemorazione tenuta... il 7 maggio 1984 a Palazzo Brancaccio, IsMEO, Roma 1984, pp. 19 ff.

⁽¹²⁾ From p. 11 of the document cited in the previous fn.; cf. G. Gnoli, *Giuseppe Tucci*, *cit.*, p. 20.

which aimed at highlighting the role of Venice and Italy as cultural mediators between East and West ⁽¹³⁾. However, Gentile and Tucci did take different historiographic approaches to one point of fundamental importance. While Gentile allowed himself to be tempted by the schematic Hegelian vision of Europe and Asia in diametric contrast ('Europe has a history, Asia has not: the former moves, the latter stands still' ⁽¹⁴⁾; and again: '[...] if the Europe-Asia dualism is to be overcome in such a way that the European spirit triumphs and humanity attains its ideal goal of unity [...]') ⁽¹⁵⁾, Tucci adopted an approach that has lost none of its relevance, offering a valuable moral and political reference point for us today as then:

writing history [thus he put it] in a new way [...] no longer just the history of Asia and of Europe (or, worse still, of the West, since the West may be anywhere on our planet depending on where we view it from), but the history of the Eurasian continent; ⁽¹⁶⁾

the aim being (to quote his words once again):

to demolish the screen that centuries of incomprehension have raised between East and West [...] to put an end to the presumption that all the major adventures of the human spirit came to fruition in our western — and particularly Mediterranean — world. ⁽¹⁷⁾

Here Gentile and Tucci stand on very different ground. We could cite many more passages by either of them, but the following quotations and considerations should suffice. In conformity with Hegel, Gentile described the antagonism between Europe and Asia thus:

One moves because it is State, i.e. consciousness of power and freedom; the other stands still because it has no knowledge of the State, except as abstract authority, i.e. the negation of freedom — the freedom through which man gradually, progressively actualises his own spiritual nature, thus developing his power. The European has confidence in himself, in the philosophy he commands, in the force of this philosophy. The Asiatic lacks this confidence; mystically rapt as he is in the

⁽¹³⁾ Cf. G. Gnoli, 'L'Oriente e Venezia', in *Le vie della seta e Venezia*, ed. by G. Curatola & M.T. Rubin de Cervin, Roma 1990 (pp. 11-16), pp. 13 ff. for bibliographic references.

⁽¹⁴⁾ 'L'Italia e l'Oriente', *cit.*, p. 153.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Premio Jawaharlal Nehru per la Comprensione Internazionale* (Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding), Thanks expressed by G. Tucci during the prize-giving ceremony... 3 October 1978, *IsMEO*, Rome 1978, p. 8.

⁽¹⁷⁾ From p. 14 of the typescript cited above (fn. 11).

sense of reality as all and nothing (nothing of what he is); beyond which he can do nothing; and in which he must immerse himself, if he is wise and wishes to elude the sufferings that inevitably beset those who foolishly endeavour to do something by themselves and demonstrate to themselves that they are able to achieve something, amid illusions that must sooner or later be seen as such and the storm of passions they excite. ⁽¹⁸⁾

And, although he added 'these are tendencies, not perfectly matching ways of life and ways of seeing life. Ideals, not realities', he concluded, significantly: 'But human actions are governed by ideals, and thus follow tendencies which may even clash, leading the lives of individuals and nations in opposite directions ⁽¹⁹⁾. This is certainly a long way from the position adopted by Tucci, who said of the East:

Let it not be said that this world and ours are opposite poles, and that their incompatible ways of thinking, feeling and conceiving of things and problems make any agreement difficult: as if East and West had followed and continue to follow incommunicable traditions [...] When we speak of East and West, as if to distinguish between two different spiritual attitudes or cultural traditions, we are in fact saying nothing, because contrast and diversity abound everywhere. In every part and place and nation there are different traditions and particular ways of feeling or thinking. Catholicism and Protestantism, Latin imaginativeness, English pragmatism and German metaphysics, Indian mysticism and Chinese rationalism — equally different visions of life reflecting the myriad responses of the human spirit, one and many-sided at the same time. Therefore we should not speak of antithesis between Asia and Europe any more than we speak of it between, say, Italy and England or France and Germany, but rather of contemporaneous, concomitant, complementary aspects; analogy that is not identity, a particular accent on something that is not difference, modulation that is not opposition. ⁽²⁰⁾

Thus an appreciable difference appears between the positions Gentile and Tucci held on relations between Europe and Asia although, more generally speaking, they are clearly conterminous, as also attested by a significant similarity in language and, of course, by their enduring personal relations.

We have not enough time here to deal with effect of Gentile's philosophy on Tucci's vision, nor with the influence Gentile had on Tucci as a scientific-political figure, lasting through the tragedy of the World War and on into the early eighties. As Renzo De Felice has rightly pointed out ⁽²¹⁾, moreover, the figure has yet to be

⁽¹⁸⁾ 'L'Italia e l'Oriente', *cit.*, pp. 153 ff.

⁽¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁽²⁰⁾ These passages are from a speech delivered to the Italo-Swiss Cultural Association on 14 March 1958: *Collaborazione con l'Oriente* (fn. 10), p. 8 and pp. 8 ff.

⁽²¹⁾ *Op. cit.* (fn. 9), p. 204, fn. 34.

studied in any depth. However, we can assert that Gentile remained very much alive in the memory of Tucci, who cherished his example until his own death ten years ago. Although he could not endorse Gentile's final choices, Tucci always respected his dignity, courage — in a word, his humanity. He was of course by no means alone in this, his esteem being amply shared by many who showed even markedly critical attitudes to his work. Suffice it recall what another great Italian scholar of Oriental studies, Giorgio Levi Della Vida — that staunch defender of moral and political liberty who refused to swear loyalty to the fascist regime — had to say of his 'colleague Gentile' (22).

If we, the direct heirs of Tucci in IsMEO today, ask ourselves what vital, relevant features persist of the work Gentile performed as founder and president of the Institute, we must surely answer: the understanding — indeed, the conviction that Italy must become increasingly open to Asia in terms of culture. This is in fact an imperative need in the present phase of our history, even more urgent today than it was sixty years ago. The choice that lies before us now is between new social and moral horizons, spreading from international understanding that is lasting because firmly rooted in the cultural humus, and the narrow horizons implied by the vision of the West as a heavily defended 'Fort Europe' — provincial indeed, and anachronistic too. Even if the latter option were not mistaken, blind or mere wishful thinking in political terms, it would certainly remain culturally erroneous and misleading, clashing with our common, indissolubly Eurasian historical patrimony and thus distorting and impoverishing its contents. The way would lie open to barbarization, with devastating civil and social — but also moral and intellectual — effect.

Finally, if asked whether the IsMEO founded by Gentile sixty-one years ago can be considered to have achieved at least part of its original aims, we would with all due modesty have to point out that it has certainly made a decisive contribution to setting Italy on an equal footing with the other countries boasting great traditions in Oriental studies. Looking back to 1933, we can in fact now state that Italian Oriental studies are second to none, not only for the Near East, but also for the Middle and Far East. Thanks to a solid groundwork of international agreements and conventions — over thirty, with cultural and scientific institutes in countries as far-flung as Japan and the United States of America, China and Germany, India and England, Russia and France — the Institute created by Gentile and Tucci has in fact become a practically indispensable centre for Oriental studies in Italy, Europe and throughout the world.

If frank, objective assessment be made of this initiative of Gentile's in a little known field that has attracted scant attention from historians, positive recognition must be accorded to its modern, far-sighted inspiration, as also to its intrinsic aim, whether explicit or implicit, of overcoming the old, ethnocentric approach marking considerable areas of our culture.

(22) G. Levi Della Vida, *Fantasmi ritrovati*, Venezia 1966, pp. 249 ff.

On Representations of Camels and Camel-Riders in the Rock Art of North Yemen

by MICHAEL JUNG

Dedicated to Jenny

During the First International Conference on the Conservation and Enhancement of the Archaeological Heritage of the Arabian Peninsula 'Arabia Antiqua' organized by the IsMEO in May-June 1991, one symposium (origin and specialized development of Early Holocene adaptations in the Arabian Peninsula: 6000-2000 B.C.) dealt among other things with the evolution and development of pastoralism and aspects of bedouinism. The discussion also concerned the role and the significance of the camel. There is of course no doubt at all about the primary importance of the camel for the bedouins; their history, economy, ideology and culture in general clearly indicate its use as a pack-animal, for riding and for providing meat, milk, hair, skin and fuel. The camel's significance for the bedouin warfare, however, is still controversial.

According to a theory presented three decades ago by Dostal (1958, 1959, see also 1979) the Bedouins are 'dromedary-shepherds, who are at the same time rider-warriors' (1959: 14 f.). The Bedouins largely owed their military force to a new kind of camel-saddle constructed on the principle of the saddle-bow, taken from the horse-rider peoples of Central Asia in the middle of the first half of the 1st millennium A.D. (cf. 1958: 6 f.; 1959: 20). This bow-saddle (*šadād*-saddle) greatly facilitated riding, making it possible to exploit the full speed of the camel and to use new weapons (armour and lance). Before the adoption of the saddle-bow, camel-riders had to accommodate themselves in front of the hump (seldom), on the crupper or on the hump itself, with the only auxiliary of a cushioned saddle. None of these possibilities permitted full advantage to be taken of the military possibilities offered by the camel. In Dostal's opinion, the *šadād*-saddle revolutionized riding and military techniques, and made the nomads of northern Arabia, then 'proto-bedouins' into 'full-bedouins' (cf. 1958: 9 ff., fig. 21). His theory has been accepted by scholars such as Červíček and Kortler

(*) I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Alessandro de Maigret, who gave me the possibility to participate in the research of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Yemen, to Prof. Umberto Scerrato for his helpful suggestions, and to Marianne Bartoschek, Anna-Valeria Jervis, Leonardo Jervis and Helen Ampt for their friendly advice.



Fig. 1 - Camel-rider attacking a man on foot, from the Wādī Ḥabābiḍ (IsMEO, Dia. Y. 83a 44).

(1979: 231 f.) and Bulliet (1975: 68-74, 87-110), whereas Macdonald (1991) sustains that the *ṣadād*-saddle had no military significance.

During the congress, a photograph, taken in 1983 in the Wādī Ḥabābiḍ, c. 60 km southeast of Ṣana‘ā’ and recently published in *AION* (cf. Jung 1989: 331, pl. XVa; see here Fig. 1) aroused interest: it shows a camel-rider attacking a man on foot from the back of his mount with a long lance.

Dostal (1958: 2, 6 f., fig. 15; 1959: 15, 19) cited rock pictures from Upper Egypt and Central Asia in his description of the evolution of the saddle and camel-riding. I think that examples of Yemeni rock art may also contribute something to the discussion. As I am not an anthropologist or ethno-archaeologist, I do not wish to enter the debate on bedouinism. I only wish to contribute elements on camel-riding in South Arabia, which could be of use to experts in this field of research.

In North Yemen I know of 48 sites of rock art with pictures of animals. In 23 of them camels are depicted, mounted and/or unmounted. Therefore in 47.91% of these sites, camels are shown (Fig. 2). The first place on our list, which can of course only give an approximate picture of Yemeni rock art on account of our limited knowledge, but which may well indicate some trends, has depictions of horses, again mounted or not. They occur in thirty-one sites, i.e. 64.58%. Next comes the ibex with thirty sites or 62.49%. Its frequent representation is not surprising as it was

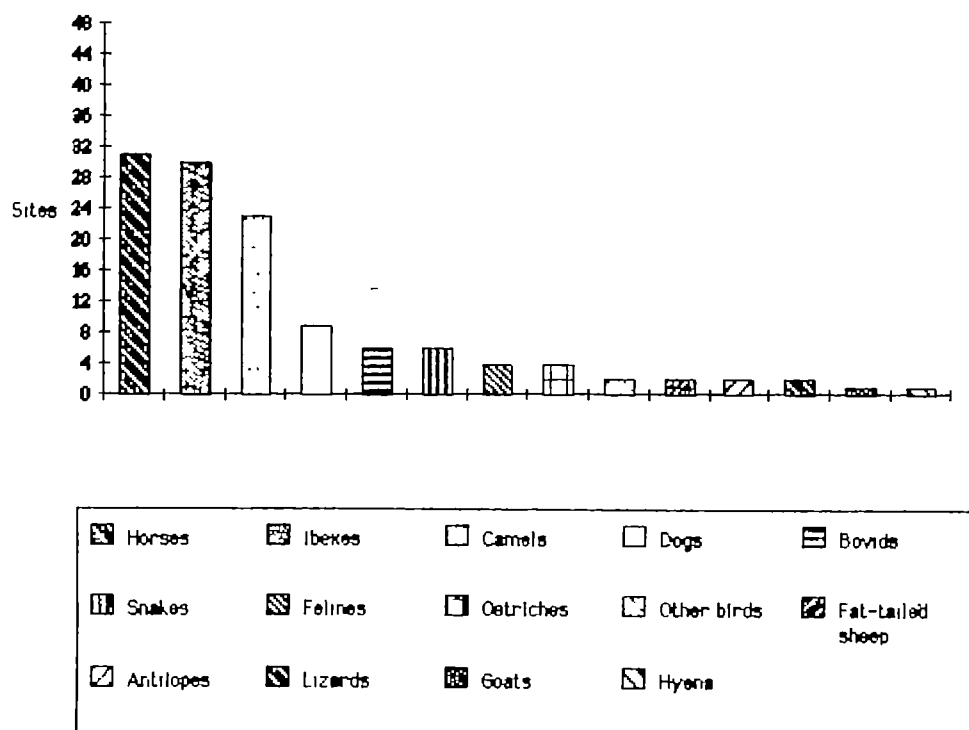


Fig. 2 - Distribution of the different animal species represented in Yemeni rock pictures.

a popular game for hunting and was invested with religious and magical importance from the preislamic period up to recent times (cf. Serjeant 1976; on recently discovered preislamic inscriptions regarding the 'Holy Hunt', see also Garbini 1988). The other animals, e.g. dog, bovine, serpent, feline, ostrich, other kinds of birds, fat-tailed sheep, antelope, lizard, goat and hyena are far less often depicted (for notes on animal figures in Yemeni rock art, cf. Jung 1989: 277-80, 283 f.; 1990: 42-44; 1991; for the distribution of animal figures in Central Arabian rock art, see Tchèrnov 1974: table facing p. 240).

Let us now see how camels and camel-riders are depicted. I shall consider unmounted camels first. In some sites they are depicted alone and in no apparent context with other figures (cf. at Ġabal Šaw'b Humāyd /Ša'da, see de Bayle des Hermens 1976: 22; in the Wādī Šudaif, see Philby 1956: fig. 209; on the sites mentioned in the text see Fig. 3). Perhaps in some cases the preislamic or Islamic inscriptions found nearby are related to them. Two pairs of camels, three of them saddled with the *šadād* face each other in antithetical position at a site north of the Wādī Qu'ayf (cf. Červíček & Kortler 1979: fig. 14). There are many cases of unmounted camels accompanied by horse-riders (cf. at Ġabal al-Ḥazā'in, see Robin 1978: fig. 1, 11; at Ġabal 'Asāl, see Jung 1990: pls. II, IIIb).

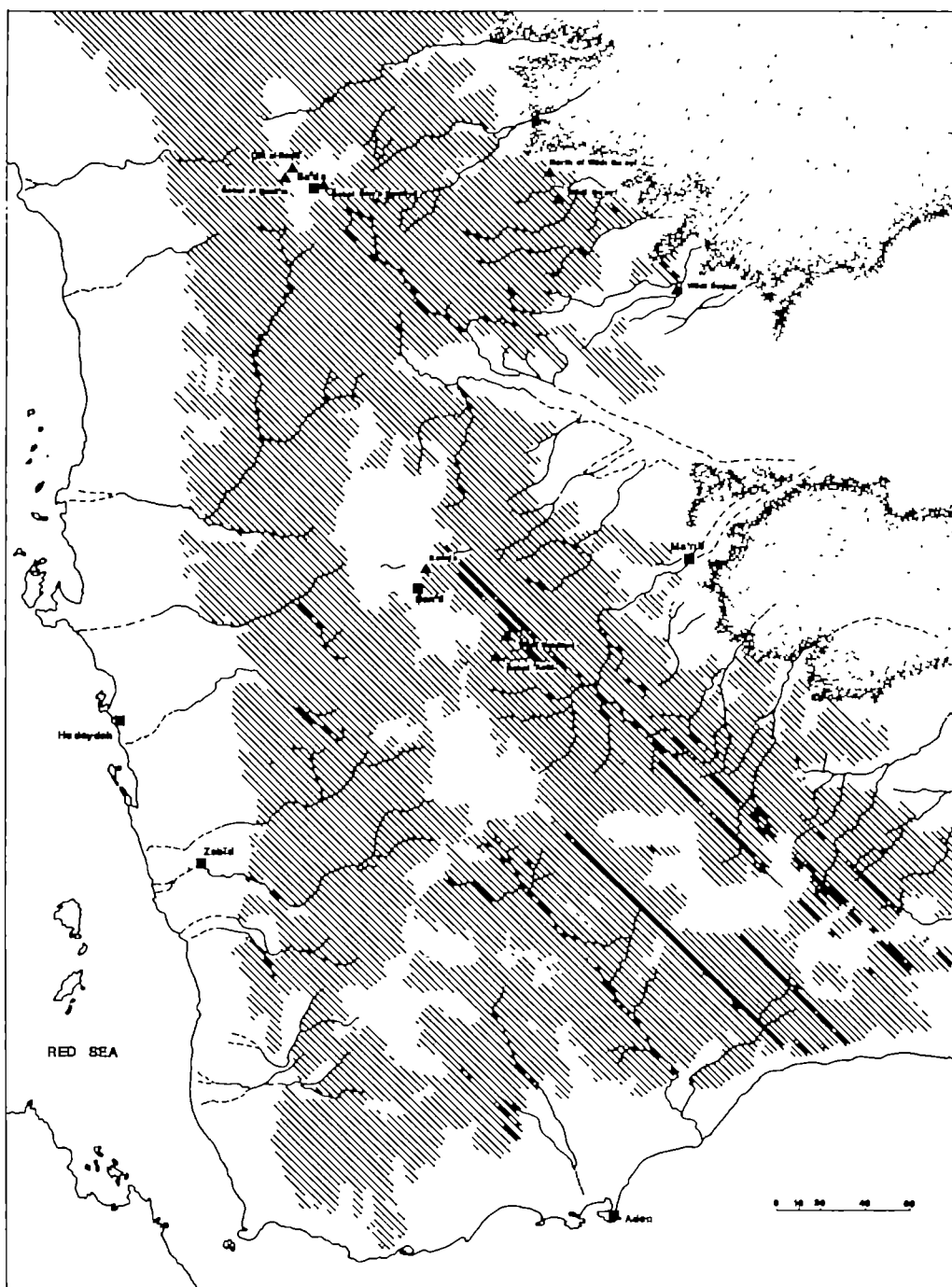


Fig. 3 - Map, showing rock art sites with camel figures in North Yemen mentioned in the text.

Fig. 4 - The hunt on the camel, from Ġabal 'Asāl (after Activities 1983: fig. 63, detail).

A remarkable rock panel was photographed by the Italian Archaeological Mission at Ġabal 'Asāl (cf. Activities 1983: fig. 63; see here Fig. 4). Horse-riders are depicted, two of them obviously in combat, a warrior on foot, an ibex and also a single camel-figure. A long stroke on the camel's back, starting from its crupper, probably represents a spear thrown by the horse-rider above, i.e. a hunting scene. There are several hunting scenes with camels in central and northern Arabia (cf. Anati 1968a: 11-13, pl. I, fig. 2; p. 60, pl. XVIIa; pp. 150 f.; 1968b: 54, fig. 4, pl. IV; p. 62, fig. 15 [see here Fig. 5], pls. VI, VIII; Zarins et al. 1981: 35, pls. 34e, 39b; the mural paintings found in Qaryat al-Faw may also show hunting scenes, cf. al-Ansary 1982: figs. at pp. 130-33, 144). According to Knauf (1988: 14, fn. 76) wild camels were hunted in Arabia from the 3rd millennium B.C. up to the first centuries A.D. While admitting that camels were hunted at some time in the southwest of the Arabian Peninsula, in a recent contribution Macdonald (1990) shows, that rock pictures interpreted as suggesting that the hunt on camels was practised up to the 1st century A.D., actually depict the raiding of these animals. As the graffiti of Ġabal al-'Asāl do not seem very ancient, considering their light patina, they seem to show the hunt on wild or feral camels in not too ancient times. Though Macdonald's argument holds for most of the examples cited in his exposition (see also the fine example in Khan 1988: pl. 97), the graffiti of Ġabal al-'Asāl may indeed prove that the hunt was still practised in the centuries A.D. ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ In a recently published short story by Salim Alafenisch, son of a bedouin sheik from Negev (1991: 14) one finds mention in the conversation between an Osmanly officer and his servant, i.e. in the period of the Turkish occupation, also of the hunting on foxes and wild camels in the Negev region.

On the former existence of wild camels in the Arabian Peninsula there can be no doubt, though authors like Rathjens (1955: 115) denied it. Agatharchides and Artemidoros probably taking the

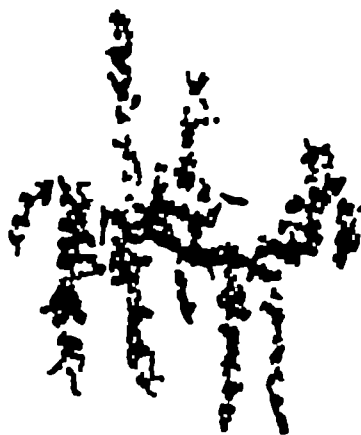




Fig. 5 - The hunt on the camel, from the Ġabal Qara/Saudi Arabia (after Anati 1968b: fig. 15).

A Bactrian camel seems to be depicted in the graffiti at Rawḍa, though Rathjens (1953: 117, fig. 121; see here Fig. 6) wrote that the two humps of the camel are in fact the saddle. Anyway Bactrian camels, though not very popular in Arabia, do not seem to be completely unknown, as a clay figure of this animal (Bossert 1951: no. 1340) is said to have been found in the Wādī Sabā, near Ma'rib. Another example we have in the rock art of central Arabia (cf. Anati 1972: figs. 43, 44), although Tchèrnov (1974: 215 f., 247) asks whether the depiction of the two humps was intentional or a slip of the artist's hand. Diodor (II 54, 6) writes that besides the dromedary, also 'those which have two humps, one behind the other, along their spines and hence are called dituloi [= double-humped]' are found in Arabia. In Asia Minor and Syria both camels, the *camelus dromedarius* and the *camelus bactrianus*, exist side by side. In Syria there is also a rock picture surrounded by a Safaitic inscription (cf. Littmann 1943: LP 325; see here Fig. 7), which shows the raiding of both kinds of camels by a horse-rider armed with a long lance.

information from Ariston (c. 250 B.C.), wrote that wild camels lived in the hinterland north of the Hiḡāz (cf. Müller 1855: 179; Strabo XVI 4, 18).

The question, of where in the Arabian Peninsula and when the camel was first domesticated has been discussed by many scholars. Walz (1951: 44-47, with a rich bibliography) for example thinks that central Arabia, the Neḡd region, was the center of domestication. From this area, domesticated camels presumably spread north and to Africa. According to von Wissmann (1982: 21), domestication probably started in eastern Arabia, in the copper country Makan (Magan, 'Omān) and then in the area of the oasis of Dilmūn- Gerrha- Hagar. Mikesell (1955) and Albright (1958: fn. 5) suggests southern Arabia to be more likely.

On the current situation of the camel in the Arabian Peninsula, cf. Ghandour et al. 1983.

Fig. 6 - Bactrian camel, from Rawda (after Rathjens 1953: fig. 121, detail).



Fig. 7 - Raiding or hunting on dromedary and Bactrian camel from the Ṣafāh region (after Littmann 1943: LP 325).

Somewhat surprisingly in view of the great importance of the caravan routes and long-range trade in southern Arabia (cf. von Wissmann 1975: 53 f.; 1982: 20-27, 43 f.; Liverani 1992; and the narration of the visit of the Queen of Saba at Salomon's court, I. Kings, 10, 1-10), there is, as far as I know, only one record of a camel carrying a burden on its back (at Ġabal 'Asāl, unpublished photograph IsMEO Y. 83.393).

In about half the sites with camel figures, they are shown mounted. The riders may be unarmed or armed, mostly with long lances (cf. in the Wādī Ḥabābiḍ, Jung 1989: 331, pl. XVa), in some cases also with swords (at Ġabal 'Asāl, cf. Jung 1990: pl. IV) or perhaps even rifles (at a site north of Wādī Qu'ayf, see Červíček & Kortler 1979: fig. 8).



On the question of the military use of camels in combat itself, there are two important rock-art scenes. In my opinion they unequivocally show that at least in some cases the Arabs fought directly from the backs of their mounts. In both cases camel-riders armed with long lances are fighting against men on foot. In the above example from the Wādī Ḥabābiḍ (Fig. 1), a camel-rider is depicted attacking. Unfortunately the graffito is heavily weathered and one cannot recognize the kind

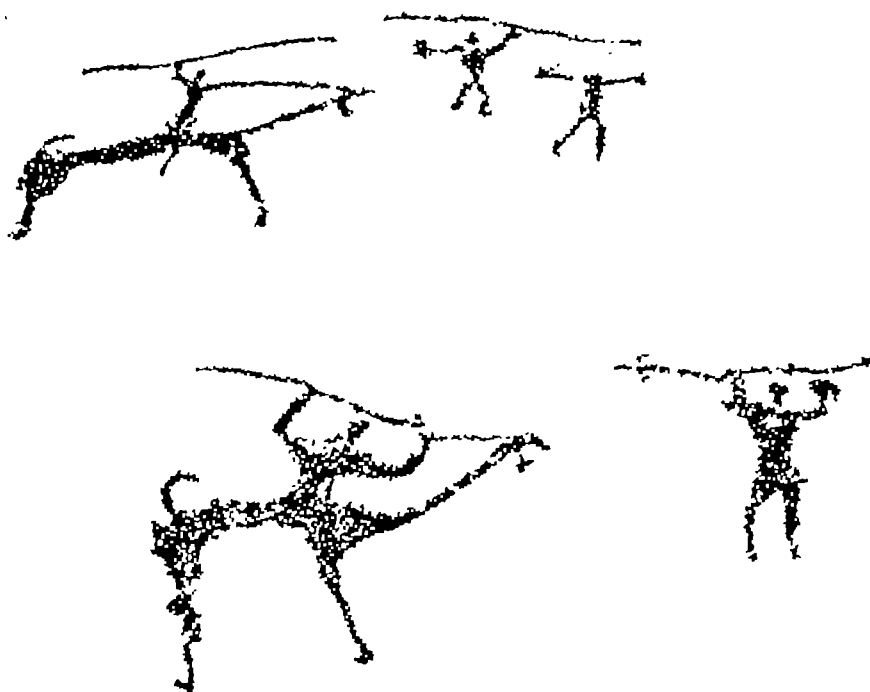


Fig. 8 - Two camel-riders attacking footmen, from the North of the Wādī Qu'ayf (after Červíček & Kortler 1979: fig. 9).

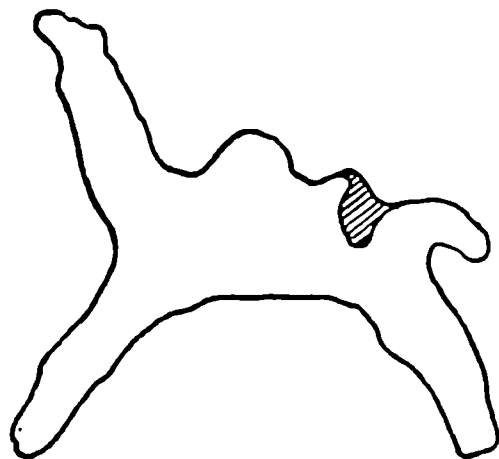
of saddle utilized. The second example comes from a site north of the Wādī Qu'ayf, found by Kortler, like many other interesting graffiti from this area. The picture shows two camel-riders advancing against three men on foot (cf. Červíček & Kortler 1979: fig. 9; see here Fig. 8). The latter are armed with lances and shields, whereas the riders are again brandishing long lances. On the back of one of the camels there seems to be part of the pommel of a *šadād*-saddle (unless the artist intended the pommel of a sword). The necks of the camels are adorned with bells or amulets. Another noteworthy example comes from the Wādī Qu'ayf area. According to Červíček & Kortler (*ibid.*: fig. 13) the graffito depicts a camel-rider and a horseman in combat, both equipped with long lances. The camel-rider would sit in front of the hump (on this riding position see below). But instead of a camel-rider this picture can perhaps show a horse mounted by two warriors.

Now let us consider representations of horses. In thirty-one sites horsemen are figured, sometimes accompanied by unmounted horses. The horsemen are mostly equipped with long lances, less often swords and shields and in the Wādī Ḥabābiq also rifles. It is more common to find horsemen engaged in combat than camel-riders

Fig. 9 - Camel mounted by two riders, one sitting on the withers, the other on the crupper of the camel, from the Ġabal 'Asāl (after Jung 1990: pl. IVa, detail).



Fig. 10 - Clay figure of a camel, shown with a saddle behind the hump (after Rathjens 1955: 248, nos. 401-2).



(cf. e.g. in the Wādī Ḥabābiḍ, see Jung 1989, pls. II, VIII, XII, at Ġabal 'Asāl, cf. *Activities* 1983: fig. 63). In the northern Yemen the horse seems far more often to have been used in warfare than the camel, at least in rock art evidence (2).

The riding positions taken by the camel-riders are most important in Dostal's discussion. He shows that the position (in front, behind or upon the hump) goes hand in hand with the development of the saddle and the evolution of bedouinism itself. In the late fifties he had only one instance of archaeological evidence of riding in front of the hump, a rock picture from the Wādī Gaš in Upper Egypt (Dostal 1958: 2; 1959: 15; the graffito is illustrated in Winkler 1938: pl. III 1). In Ġabal 'Asāl we have just found another example (Fig. 9). The camel is mounted by two riders, one in front of the hump and obviously armed with a sword (one can recognize the sword pommel) and the second behind. In this case the position in front of the hump may have been taken to make place for a second rider, the normal position being on the crupper of the animal (3).

(2) According to Philby (1956: 10) in his large collection of rock pictures from Saudi Arabia there is no depiction of a camel being used in battle. For Knauf (1988: 11 f.) a real camel-cavalry existed only in the early-bedouin phase. After this period the camel was replaced by the horse, and maintained military significance only as a pack animal.

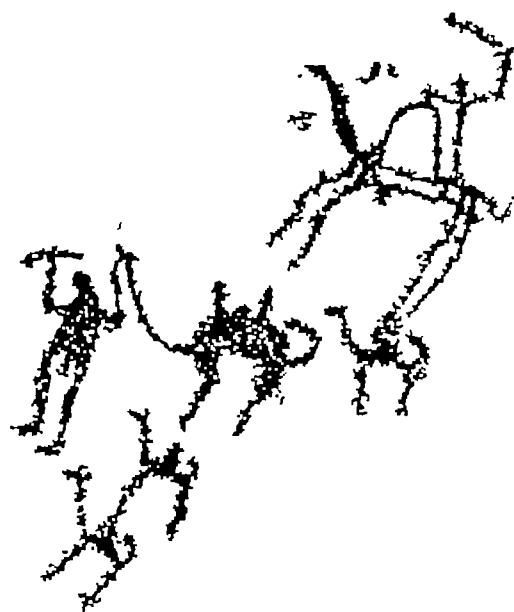
(3) There are other examples of riding in front of the hump, pictured once again in rock art: graffiti from Upper Egypt which belong to Červíček's E-Horizon in his monograph on *Rock Pictures of Upper Egypt and Nubia* (1986). They were found by Winkler in the Ḥārga oasis in Ġubāri Road. According to Červíček (1986: 87, 93, 98, map 6 and chart) the camel and this archaic riding technique were brought to Egypt and Nubia by nomads from the Arabian Peninsula in the Iron Age. The custom of riding on



Fig. 11 - Camel-rider sitting on the crupper, from the Wādī Ḥabābiq (after Jung 1989: pl. XVIIb).

Fig. 12 - Rock pictures from the Wādī Qu'ayf: above a rider mounted on a camel, probably saddled with an *al-ḥaulānī* saddle; below a man leading his mount by the reins. His camel is saddled with a *ṣadād*. Three unsaddled animals are also depicted (after Červíček & Kortler 1979: fig. 8).

According to Dostal (1958: 3 f.; 1959: 16) there can be no doubt that the riding position behind the hump, on the crupper, is more ancient than that on the hump itself. Among the examples of the first position the scholar also mentions clay figures



from southern Arabia, published by Rathjens (1955: 114-16, 248, nos. 401-4, 407-10; see here Fig. 10). Dostal still found a similar type of saddle (called *al-ḥaulānī*) in use in southeast Arabia (1979: pl. 61). According to Dostal the *al-ḥaulānī* saddle is a survival of the ancient southern Arabian saddle still used by the 'conservative southern group [of southeast Arabia]', which remained at a primitive stage of the riding technique (Dostal 1959: 27). The 'progressive' northern group adopted the saddle-bow construction much earlier^(*), thereby strengthening their military force and becoming 'full-bedouins'.

Beside the above figure from Ġabal 'Asāl (Fig. 9), there are at least

the withers of the camel was widespread in the Eastern Desert of Egypt and in the Sahara. The author also mentions a camel saddled on its withers (*ibid.*: 67, 87). Further examples of riding in front of the hump are illustrated in Červíček 1978 (283, figs. 8, 12) from al-Belda/Nubian Desert and from Šarab/NE of Edfu, and in Milburn 1979 (pl. I) from NW Aīr/Niger.

(*) In Knauf's opinion (1988: 10, fn. 50, fig. 2.3) the Bedouins could not have received the principle of the saddle-bow from the Parthians, as supposed by Dostal, because already on a Philisteen-Arabian coin of about 400 B.C., a camel is shown saddled with the *ṣadād*.

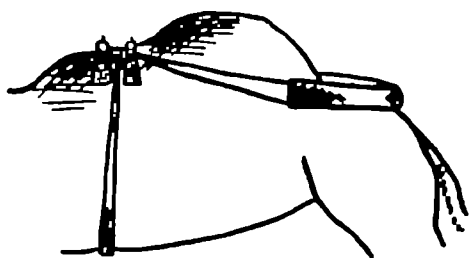


Fig. 13 - The *al-ḥaulānī* saddle (after Dostal 1958: fig. 5).

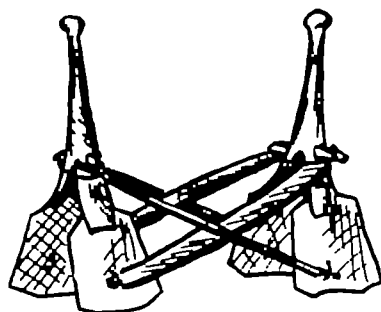


Fig. 14 - The *šadād*-saddle (after Dostal 1958: fig. 10).

two other figures in Yemeni rock art with riders sitting on the crupper. One was found by the Italian Mission in the Wādī Ḥabābiḍ, a rather stylized depiction (Fig. 11). The rider keeps his mount at the bridle and no trace of any saddle is visible. The second example comes from the Wādī Qu'ayf and is indeed very instructive (cf. Červíček & Kortler 1979: fig. 19; see here Fig. 12). The rider, said to be brandishing a sword, is again sitting on the crupper. The body of the animal is divided by lines. Could these ribbons not indicate the *al-ḥaulānī* saddle consisting of a horseshoe-shaped cushioned pad fastened around the breast by a girth (Fig. 13)? Below this picture we find four other camels, one of them clearly saddled with a *šadād* (Fig. 14) and being lead by the rein by its rider. Of the first camel's representation only the outline is depicted, while the four animals below all have the body entirely pecked in the rock. They were drawn by another artist and probably belong to a different period. The figures can be attributed to two different periods, illustrating progress in the riding-technique with the development from the *al-ḥaulānī* to the *šadād* saddle. As already mentioned above Dostal supposed that the *al-ḥaulānī* saddle (also called *al-fulānī*) was a survival of the ancient southern Arabian saddle. Besides the clay figures in Rathjens (1955: 114-17), this kind of saddle now seems to be witnessed by Yemeni rock art.

The *šadād*-saddle (cf. Dostal 1979: pl. 60) is more often represented in Yemeni rock art, cf. in the Wādī Qu'ayf (Fig. 9), in the north of the same Wādī (cf. Červíček & Kortler 1979: figs. 8, 14), and at Dāt al-Radā' (cf. Gingrich & Heiss 1986: fig. 1).

In short, what can Yemeni rock art contribute to the question of camel-riding? First, there are pictures which undoubtedly show the military use of the camel in battle. Secondly, the horse appears to have been much more important in warfare than the camel. Thirdly, the riding on the crupper and the use of the *al-ḥaulānī* saddle is also depicted in Yemeni rock art, along with an example of riding in front of the hump. Fourthly, one graffito may also witness hunting of the wild camel in not too ancient times.

At the end of our discussion let us take a short glance at other kinds of the southern Arabian art showing camels, and at preislamic and classical sources mentioning the use of the camel in warfare.

The camel is figured in various kinds of art of the preislamic realms of southern Arabia. It does not appear so often as the ibex and the bull, but nevertheless is not rare. The camel is not one of the 'Symboltiere' of the southern Arabian divinities in Grohmann 1914, but 'camels made of gold (bronze)' dedicated to Dū-Samāwī are mentioned in various votive inscriptions and were possibly the animal of this god (cf. von Wissmann 1982: 33, fn. 27; see also Höfner 1965: 527 f.).

Besides the above figures (Rathjens 1955: 114 f.), other small clay or bronze figures of the camel are known from different sites (cf. Rostovtzeff 1932: pl. III 3; Bossert 1951: nos. 1340-41, 1353; van Beek 1969: 287, fig. 125e, d; W.W. Müller 1987: photo p. 54; de Maigret 1988: 17, fig. 27; Vogt 1991: 24), a bas-relief from Zafār shows a strange camel with foliage growing from the hump (cf. Tindel 1980: fig. 5); the animal is further depicted on a bronze plate with the inscription Ry 367, which tells us that this plate and a camel has been offered to Dū-Samāwī (cf. Ryckmans 1949: 62-65, pl. II).

The representation of the camel or camel-riders was very popular on grave-steles. Camel-riders equipped with lances predominate (cf. the steles figured in Rostovtzeff 1932: pl. III 2; Dostal 1958: fig. 17; Radt 1973: pl. 22, fig. 60; Calvet & Robin 1980: fig. 18; Robin 1982: pl. 36) (?), but in some cases the artists may have been trying to represent a steering stick for the camel (arab. *miḥḡan*).

Unfortunately the reliefs are not always of great mastership; their illustration, too, often leaves much to be desired, so it is rather difficult to recognize which kind of saddle is figured. Verification of the originals and their chronological arrangement may give some indication of the time of introduction of the *ṣadād*-saddle in southern Arabia. A camel-rider sitting on a cushioned saddle is figured on a stele, which was part of a private collection in Rome at the end of last century, but which has since disappeared (D.H. Müller 1876: pl. in front of p. 114; see here Fig. 15). Behind this rider and the hump of the camel, a second man is shown seated on the crupper. On a fragment of a relief one recognizes the hind part of a camel, saddled probably with a *ṣadād*-saddle (Bossert 1951: no. 1285). Finally the raiding of a camel by a horseman is pictured on a stele kept in the Louvre (Macdonald 1990: fig. 4).

Battle-scenes of the late Assyrian period with camels figured on bas-relief, found in the 'Arab Room' of Assurbanipal's palace at Niniveh should also be mentioned.

(?) There is an interesting similarity between the steles from the National Museum at Ṣan'ā' and from Kāniṭ published respectively by Radt (1973) and Robin (1978, 1982). Both steles are divided into two bands, the upper one showing a camel-rider and the lower, one or two men accompanied by dogs. Besides the subject and its arrangement, strong stylistic affinities suggest that they come from the same workshop, and probably the same artist.

Fig. 15 - Southern Arabian grave-stele. The camel-riders are using a cushioned saddle (after D.H. Müller 1876: fig. in front of p. 114).

The reliefs show the battle between Assurbanipal and the Arabian queen Adiya in 650 B.C. The camel-riders are sitting in pairs on cushioned saddles and are armed with bow and arrows (Opitz 1931-32; on the representation of the camel in the classical art of Greece and Rome, cf. Schauenburg 1955-56 and 1962 with a rich bibliography).

In the southern Arabian inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd century A.D. camel-riders are sometimes mentioned as taking part in military operations, cf. Ja. 560/12-14, Ja. 586/23, Ja. 644/20-21, Ja. 649/40, Ja. 665/16-20, 29-33, 39 (all according to Beeston's reading, 1976), see also Ry 535 (Ryckmans 1956: 146 f., 154 f.). In Beeston's opinion, the riders dismounted in battle to fight on foot and the camels (*rkb*) were used only to ensure the mobility of the army (Beeston 1976: 11 f.). The supplies were transported by baggage camels (*gml*; *ibid.*: 17). Beeston (*ibid.*: 9) sustains that the horse-cavalry, too, generally did not have great importance in ancient southern Arabia, because the difficult mountainous terrain of Yemen limited its use.

In the *qaṣīda* of preislamic poetry we often find detailed descriptions of camels and camel journeys, like the long description of a camel in Ṭarafa's *mu'allaqat* (cf. Seligsohn 1901: 32-34) and the camel-travel in Labīd's verses (23-52, see Nöldeke 1900: 59-61). In my research on the subject, which is in no way exhaustive, I could not find any poem describing the use of the camel in battle comparable for example to 'Antara's verses (65-72) on his battle-horse (see Nöldeke 1900: 21 f.).

Different classical writers mention the engagement of camels in battle. It is said that Kyros's camel-cavalry won the battle at Sardes (546 B.C.) for the Persians, because the horses of the formidable Lydian cavalry were afraid of them (perhaps Bactrian camels) and threw Kroisos's army into confusion (Hdt. I 80). After this experience the Persians brought camels and horses up together so that they would get accustomed to one another (Aelian. hist. an. XI 36; Veget. mil. III 23; Polyaen. strat. VII 6). Xerxes, too, brought camels along with his army to Greece, in 480 B.C., but they



were torn to pieces by lions (Hdt. VII 125). In the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), camels and scythe-bearing chariots drawn by four horses lined up in front of Antiochos's cavalry. Arab bowmen armed with 2 m long swords 'able to reach the enemy from so great a height' were sitting on the camels (Liv. XXXVII 40, 12). Josephus reports that 'Abadat I, king of the Nabataeans, won the battle against Alexander Iannaios at 'Garada thanks to his camel-cavalry' (Jos. ant. Iud. XIII 375; bell. Iud. I 90). After Herodian (IV 14, 3 f.; 15, 2 f.), Artabanos IV, the last Parthian king, engaged heavily armed camel-riders, 'who fought from the back of the camels with long spears, avoiding close combat' after Caracalla's death in 217 A.D.

According to Gossen (see his fine, though not complete, compilation on Greek and Roman sources on the camel, 1919) the Roman army used the camels mainly as pack-animals and in the warning-service.

In the Vandalic war, camels were used against the Byzantine troops, and it is said that the Mauretans in the battle at Mamma formed a twelve-fold line of camels and the fighting men stood between their feet (Procop. bell. Vand. IV 11, 17-56, cf. also III 8, 25 f.).

Gauthier-Pilters and Dagg (1981: 156-60) write on the military engagement of the camel in more recent times ⁽⁶⁾ (Fig. 16). They note that the Tuaregs threw their spears sitting on their mounts, before jumping to the ground to engage in hand-to-hand combat (p. 158). They also write that in Yemen there more recently existed a camel corps (p. 159, see also *Handbook* 1917: 45).

⁽⁶⁾ The use of the camel in the guerilla warfare organized by T.E. Lawrence and Amir Faisal against the Hijaz railway and the Turkish positions was also discussed during a coffee break at the Rome conference. A short passage from the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1935: 302 f.) is sufficient to prove that the camel was actually used in battle:

Nasir screamed at me, 'Come on', with his bloody mouth; and we plunged our camels madly over the hill, and down towards the head of the fleeing enemy. The slope was not too steep for a camel-gallop, but steep enough to make their pace terrific, and their course uncontrollable: yet the Arabs were able to extend to right and left and to shoot into the Turkish brown. The Turks had been too bound up in the terror of Auda's furious charge against the rear to notice us as we came over the eastward slope: so we also took them by surprise and in the flank; and a charge of ridden camels going nearly thirty miles an hour was irresistible.



Fig. 16 - Advance on Aqaba, photograph by T.E. Lawrence (after Scheck 1989: fig. XII).

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Sura XXIII 1-6 in a Saljuq Inscription in the Great Mosque at Isfahan

by UMBERTO SCERRATO

The monumental pavilion rising in the mihrab zone of the Masjid-i Jumah in Isfahan is crowned by a great dome around the interior of which runs a celebrated inscription in the name of the Saljuq Sultan Malekshah (1072-1092), and recording how it was erected on the initiative of the illustrious Grand Vizier Nizam al-Mulk. On the evidence of the Sultan's title, recent research suggests that the pavilion was built in 1086-87 ⁽¹⁾. The Arab inscription with its solemn proclamation of royal power is in austere Kufic while, oddly enough for the period, the matching inscription from the Koran on the exterior is in cursive.

Discovered during IsMEO's restoration and consolidation work in the '70s, the latter inscription spanned the abacuses of the large, multilobed pilasters on the north façade of the great domed pavilion, thus commanding the courtyard ⁽²⁾.

Clearly much the worse for its long exposure to the elements, the plaster inscription was hidden from sight when the great south ivan was built at an unrecorded date which, however, must have come somewhere between the end of late 11th and early 12th century. Only one fragment of the inscription (Fig. 1) now remains on the last abacus to the left, but it suffices to show that the inscription originally contained the first six verses of Sura XXIII, 'The Believers' (*al-Mu'minūna*), which is worth citing here in translation:

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

- 1) Blessed are the believers,
- 2) Who are humble in their prayers,
- 3) Who avoid profane talk,

⁽¹⁾ *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, no. 2775. This persuasive suggestion was made by Sh. S. Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana* (Suppl. to *Maqamat* V), Leiden, etc., 1992, pp. 160-63, where closer dating is proposed between jumada II, 479 a.H.-Dhu'l-Hijja, 480 / September 1086-March 1087.

⁽²⁾ E. Galdieri, *Isfahan: Masjid-i Ğum'a*, 2 (IsMEO, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia, *Restorations*, 1, 2) Roma 1973, pp. 15-17, figs. 13 and 11, 67-68.

- 4) And give alms to the destitute,
- 5) Who restrain their carnal desires,
- 6) Except with their wives and slave-girls, for those are lawful to them. (3)

In a recent paper on the Great Mosque of Isfahan Oleg Grabar perceptively pointed out the 'striking contrast' between the two inscriptions on the dome — as courtly and kingly in contents as in the Kufic script within, but 'with very prosaic and concrete references to daily life for a good Muslim, and curiously to sexual relations' in the exterior cursive — and one can only wonder why this particular extract from the Koran was quoted (4). In fact, these verses appear relatively rarely in monument inscriptions; indeed, according to Dodd and Khairallah there are only three such cases: Koran XXIII 1-6 appears on the front of the prayer hall of the Quwat al-Islam built in Delhi by Qutb ad-Din Aibak (1198), on the tomb of Altmish (1236) and, finally, on the Shrine of Mashhad (1215) (5).

There can be little doubt that the choice of cursive, of which this may well be the earliest surviving example in a monument inscription, was dictated by the need to make the inscription more readily intelligible; in fact, a large but relatively neglected inscription of about the same period appearing at a large entrance on the southeast corner of the Great Mosque contains the oft-cited Throne verse, Kor. II 255, in Kufic characters (6). This was, after all, practically the only script considered appropriate to transcribe the sacred text of the Koran, at least for monument epigraphs, as also to endow official texts issued by the authorities with dignity and command. Significantly enough, all the other surviving inscriptions of the Saljuq period on the Grand Mosque of Isfahan, whether from the Koran or not, are in Kufic characters (7).

Moreover, although it was finally hidden from sight when the ivan was built (Figs. 2-4) (8), the position of the cursive inscription on the façade of the pavilion facing onto the courtyard must have had its own significance. Superfluous as it may

(3) In general we have used the prosaic but literal translation by L. Bonelli, *Il Corano*, Nuova versione letterale italiana, Milano 1972 (anastatic reprint).

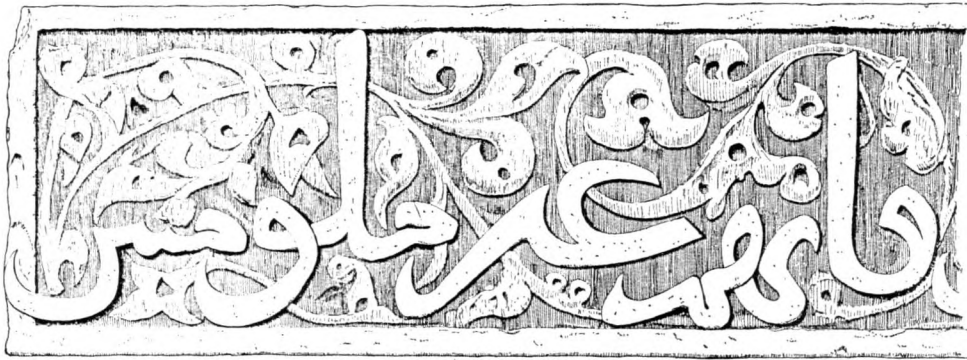
(4) O. Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan*, London 1990, pp. 32-33, fig. 24.

(5) E. Dodd & Sh. Khairallah, *The Image of the World. A Study of Quranic verses in Islamic Architecture*, II, Beirut 1981, p. 83. Respectively in M.M.A. Husain, *Record of all the Quranic and Non-Historical Epigraphs on the Protected Monuments in the Delhi Province* (MASI, No. 47), Calcutta 1936, p. 111, no. CXVIII, 27 and p. 115, no. CXIX, 9; D.M. Donaldson, 'Significant Mihrabs in the Haram at Mashhad', *Art Islamica*, II, 1935, p. 125.

(6) G. Ventrone Vassallo, 'Su una iscrizione selgiuchide della Moschea del Venerdì di Isfahan', in Gh. Gnoli & A.V. Rossi, eds., *Iranica* (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, *Series Minor*, X), Naples 1979, pp. 312-18, figs. 1-5.

(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 314-15, fn. 4-8.

(8) Architect Eugenio Galdieri has demonstrated that for various reasons the domed pavilion was probably not directly visible from the courtyard, cf. Galdieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 35, fn. 19, fig. 10, Id., 'Quelques précisions sur le Gunbad-e Nizam al-Mulk d'Isfahan', *REI*, XLIII, 1975, pp. 105-14, figs. 5-11.



فا نهيم غير ملومين

Fig. 1 - The inscription from the Koran preserved on the left-hand abacus of the northern façade of the great northern dome. (After Galdieri 1973).

seem, it was normal practice to set out the duties of a good Muslim in mosques. As we have seen, however, the choice of these particular verses was by no means common, and all the more surprising for the strictures on sexual behaviour they contain. As Grabar suggests, this 'reflects some concrete event of the time [and] makes a highly synchronic point meaningless centuries later' ⁽⁹⁾.

It has been suggested that the inscription must have sounded 'almost polemical' if addressed to the Daylamites, the old Shia lords of Isfahan ⁽¹⁰⁾, but they had been driven out of the city a good forty years before. The listing of very precise precepts made strikingly clear and intelligible in cursive script could not have had mere symbolic-devotional significance. Rather than a general reminder to observe the fundamental duties of every good Muslim it sounds like a stern call to order, expressing the authorities' deep concern over the reprehensible behaviour of such a rich society as that of Isfahan. The first point to make here is that we have no knowledge of any 'concrete event' that might account for the inscription. However, we believe that our present knowledge of Isfahan contains evidence which may well obviate the need for painstaking research into any such specific concrete event, assuming one actually occurred.

In the light of at least some of the sources available it seems that the inhabitants of Isfahan did not exactly have a spotless reputation.

Al-Mafarrukhi (approximately mid-11th century) seemed well aware of the grave shortcomings rumour imputed to his fellow citizens, casting an unpleasant shade on this rich, industrious city, when he noted that in Isfahan 'the good are excellent but

⁽⁹⁾ Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Galdieri, *op. cit.*, 1973, p. 17; cf. Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

the bad are dreadful' (11). Two centuries later al-Qazwini (d. 1283) dryly observed: 'Everything here is good, except that there ought to be no Isfahanis therein!' (12). From the sources assembled by Schwarz we learn that two basic faults were attributed to the people of Isfahan. One was avarice, as attested by Ibn al-Fakih (d. after 903), al-Mukaddasi (d. after 988), Yakut (1179-1229) and al-Qazwini (13), to whom we may add al-Ma'sudi (d. 965) (14). The other, also attested by the same authors, was licentiousness (15).

The inhabitants of Isfahan were in fact considered out-and-out libertines; indeed, Yakut, referring to an information by Ibn al-Fakih, tells us that an experienced traveller reported that he 'had never seen a city with so many adulterers and adulteresses as Isfahan' (16); Ibn al-Fakih also tells us that 'Ein Dichter sagt, Işbahāns Einwohner seien Kinder von Buhlerinnen' (17), while Yakut records an inscription in verse displayed on one of the roads leading to Isfahan: 'Woe betide any travellers who go to Isfahan by way of Idaj in search of sustenance; may God cover with ignominy anyone who dares return there having once seen the city' (18). Al-Mukaddasi complained that women were employed there to look after the public baths and reproached the people for their shallow character and scandalous customs (19). Al-Ma'sudi recounts the legend that the serpent-tempter chose to descend in Isfahan when it fell from Paradise (20). In order to justify the lively trade in prostitution thriving in Isfahan, it was the common opinion that supernatural forces must be at work, as Ibn al-Fakih tells us: 'Balīnās brachte einen Talisman an, um die Unzucht herbeizuziehen, und die Unzucht ist dort offenkundig' (21).

All this 'vituperation' about the inhabitants of Isfahan is missing from the excellent article Professor Lambton dedicates to the city in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (22), where the emphasis is on reports showing up the better side. For example, we have Ibn Battuta, who visited the city in 1326-1327 and found much to praise: not only the

(11) A.K.S. Lambton, 'Isfahan', *EF*, IV, 1973, p. 103.

(12) Qazwini, transl. *Le Strange*, p. 56.

(13) P. Schwarz, *Iran in Mittelalter* (1921), repr. Hildesheim 1969, p. 616.

(14) *Apud* A. Arioli, 'Notizie sulla moschea Ġamī di Isfahan in una fonte prosopografica del X secolo', *Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere di Ca' Foscari* (Serie Orientale, 10), Venice, XVIII 3, 1979, pp. 66-67, fn. 1.

(15) Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

(16) *Ibid.*; cf. Arioli, *loc. cit.*

(17) Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 617, no. 1.

(18) *Apud* Arioli, *loc. cit.*

(19) Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 617, nos. 3-4.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 589, no. 2; Arioli, *loc. cit.*

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 617, no. 2.

(22) Lambton, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-10.

Fig. 2 - The insertion of the great northern dome into the hypostyle prayer hall according to Galdieri (re-drawn by Danilo Rosati).

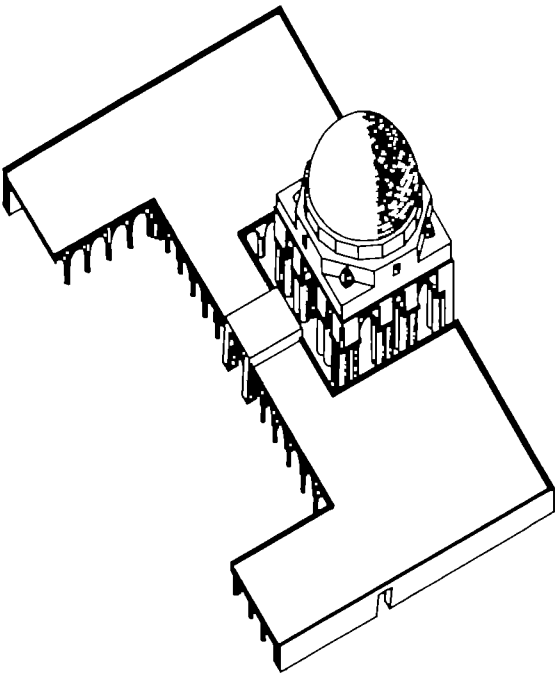
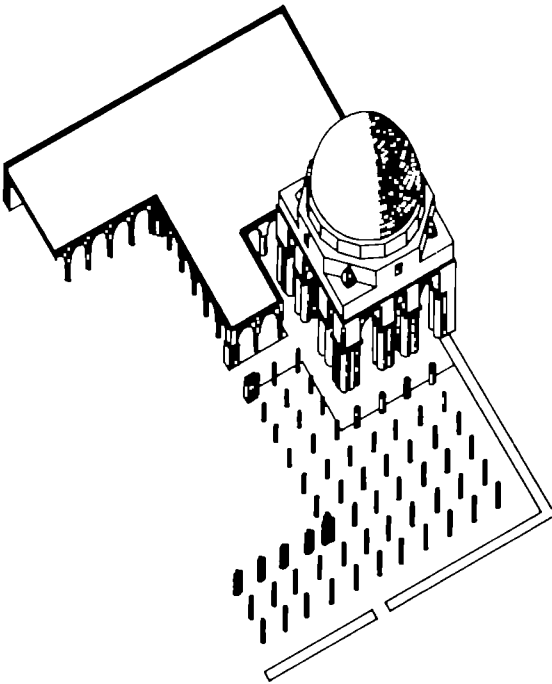


Fig. 3 - A possible alternative view of the insertion of the great northern dome into the hypostyle framework (drawing by Danilo Rosati).

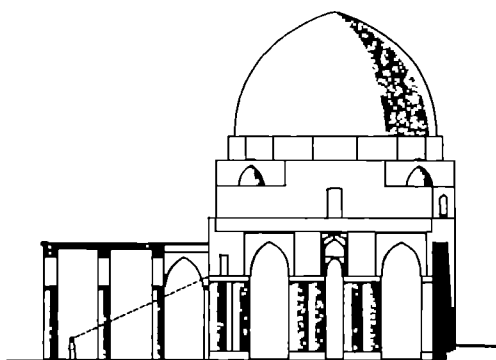


Fig. 4 - Section of the prayer hall showing the legibility of the inscription running along the abacuses of the great dome (after Galdieri, re-drawn by D. Rosati).

pleasing constitution of the people, their fair skin and fine complexion, but also their excellent qualities, fighting spirit, generosity and warm hospitality⁽²³⁾. Miss Lambton seems loath to recall the shameful stories reported by Curzon, who also claimed that they were spread after the Afghan invasion⁽²⁴⁾.

The fact that licentious pictures were privately circulated during the Safavid period cannot in itself be taken as a sign of particular permissiveness since, as we know, Islam was traditionally tolerant and permissive with regard to individuals — especially the powerful — provided they did not give rise to

scandal⁽²⁵⁾. On visiting the house of a rich Armenian merchant of New Julfa by the name of Khwaja Nasir in 1628, Herbert was shocked to see what he described as 'beastly pictures'⁽²⁶⁾ adorning it, as indeed were many other visitors. In at least one house that had belonged to another merchant from New Julfa⁽²⁷⁾ erotic pictures could still be seen in the '60s, surviving to document the wide vogue for certain subjects inspired

⁽²³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁽²⁴⁾ G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, II, 1892, p. 43: 'At different times since the Afghan Invasion, and since the great fall of Isfahan, exaggerated and conflicting accounts have been given of its population. Amid their own countrymen the Isfahanis enjoy an unenviable reputation alike for cowardice and morals. They are inordinately vain of their city and of themselves, and in a country where lying is said to be a fine art, are said to be incomparable artists. Their niggardliness and closeness in business matters are illustrated by a story told by Malcom, which has crystallised into the saying that: "The merchant of Isfahan will put his cheese into a bottle, and rub his bread on the outside to give it flavour". Cowardly though the people are alleged to be they have also acquired a reputation for petty disorder and the huts of Isfahan are justly regarded as the biggest blackguards in Persia. Isfahan is also one of those places where a spirit of religious intolerance prevails or can easily be excited [...]'. This passage is quoted from *Curzon's Persia*, Edited and Introduced by P. King, London 1986, pp. 142-43.

⁽²⁵⁾ Cf. J. Sourdel Thomine, 'Art et société dans le monde de l'Islam', *REI*, 1968, pp. 93-114.

⁽²⁶⁾ Th. Herbert, *Some Years Travels into Africa and Asia*, London 1677, p. 155, *apud* L. Morgenstern, 'Mural Painting', in A.U. Pope & Ph. Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art*, II, London-New York 1939, pp. 1384-85, fn. 4.

⁽²⁷⁾ As reported to me by my friend Prof. Maurizio Taddei of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, who had the opportunity to see a cycle of these paintings on a visit to Isfahan in 1965 to plan restoration works subsequently carried out by IsMEO. He also kindly made his photographs of the paintings available to me.

by examples in the Safavid court, while the fame of the licentious paintings that — to the wonder of its many visitors — decorated the summer palace of Shah Abbas at Afshar still lives on ⁽²⁸⁾. Interestingly enough — and not only for its relevance to our theme — Sir William Ouseley, a visitor in the early 19th century who, like to many before him, had found the paintings in the palace at Ashraf (now Behshar) 'most offensive to modesty' recorded that 'indecent pictures' were displayed in public places such as the small pavilions on the bridge of Allahwardi Khan, in Isfahan, much frequented for their refreshing coolness. Despite himself Sir William had to recognize the good quality of the work, while making the moral reservation that they had been executed 'in a style worthy of better subjects' ⁽²⁹⁾. In the Safavid period erotic depictions of intercourse had even found their way onto widely used articles sold in the bazar, as testified by a set of wine flasks in glazed ceramic with stamped — and thus mass-produced — decoration; the place of manufacture is uncertain, but Isfahan is considered a likely candidate ⁽³⁰⁾.

Isfahan was thus widely famed for its loose customs, and the available evidence shows this fame dating back at least as early as the late 9th century. The evidence also suggests that prostitution encountered few difficulties under the Buyyidis, or at least under Adud ad-Dawla (936-982). Al-Biruni (c. 973-1050) had some interesting points to make here: although there is no direct reference to Isfahan, he records that Adud ad-Dawla showed a very tolerant attitude to prostitution which, through fines and taxes, could swell his revenue with the excuse of offering his subjects agreeable recreation and 'of protecting his subjects against the passions of his unmarried soldiers' ⁽³¹⁾. Thus the verses of Kor. XXIII 1-6 displayed so prominently on the front of the 'shrine' in the Great Mosque offer further proof that it was no mere matter of vituperous rumours spread by the envious but rather a real case of moral backsliding held to have reached intolerable proportions.

The verses of Kor. XXIII 1-6 have all the force of a call to order addressed to the inhabitants of a city where licentiousness was rife, and we might reasonably suppose that it was chosen by that great theoretician of the Saljuq state, Nizam al-Mulk, who must also have chosen to have it displayed in the more legible cursive rather than Kufic. Thus it gives concrete, pragmatic expression to an act of 'good government' seeking to check and repress the improper, indecent conduct of the subjects; it was in practice a sort of edict and, as we might expect of an Islamic

⁽²⁸⁾ Cf. Th. Arnold, *Painting in Islam; A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*, Oxford 1928, p. 87; Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 1387.

⁽²⁹⁾ W. Ouseley, *Voyages (1810-1812)*, III, pp. 273 and 48-49, *apud* Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

⁽³⁰⁾ Cf. a flask in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore: R. Surieu, *Persia. Saggio sulle rappresentazioni erotiche e sull'amore nell'Iran di altri tempi*, Rome-Geneva-Paris-Munich 1975, fig. on p. 31; see G.D. Guest & R. Ettinghausen, 'The Iconography of a Kashan Luster Plate', *Ars Orientalis*, IV, 1961, fn. 77, p. 45.

⁽³¹⁾ *Alberuni's India*, transl. E. Sachau, II, repr. Lahore 1962, p. 211.

society, the most direct and theoretically persuasive way of asserting it was with the Law of God.

Once seen in the social context of Isfahan in the latter half of the 12th century as evoked by the available sources, the choice of verses from the Koran quoted in the inscription — and in particular the call for moderation in sexual behaviour — no longer seems odd or unnecessary. We may therefore take it as direct evidence of a particular endeavour to create a more moral society in Isfahan. The need had grown all the more pressing when, in 1051 with Toghril Beg, the city became the capital of the Saljuqs. Thus we may venture to say that the most significant part of the old Masjid-i Jumah, then in the process of being refurbished and reorganized with the splendid domed pavilion to represent the quintessence of authority, was the natural place for the inscription to be displayed.

We do not know what the immediate reaction of the people of Isfahan was to this stern call to order, but we do know that they did not lose their taste for certain transgressive pleasures. What is certain is that the inscription with Kor. XXIII 1-6 soon disappeared from sight, hidden behind the new structure of the great south ivan abutting on Nizam al-Mulk's domed pavilion.

As we have seen, Kor. XXIII 1-6 appears in an odd miscellany of quotations from the Koran in the *Quwwat al-Islam* in Delhi: once on the front of the prayer hall, where it was added as a characteristic embellishment by Qutb al-Din Aibak in 594/1198, and again on the inner side of the interior arch on the north entrance to the tomb of Iltutmish (d. 1236) ⁽³²⁾, both in Naskhi.

Here, too, we should not imagine there was anything random or superfluous about the choice. It was general opinion among the Muslims that idolatrous India was very permissive on sexual matters: Ibn Khurdadhbih (9th century) noted that 'The kings and people of Hind regard fornication (*zinā*) as lawful, and wine as unlawful' ⁽³³⁾, and the theme was taken up about a century later by the *Hudud al-Alam*: 'All through Hindustan wine (*nabūd*) is held to be unlawful and adultery (*zinā*) to be licit' ⁽³⁴⁾. As Hodivala points out, Ibn Khordadbeh's text employs the term *zinā*, which in fact refers to an illicit sexual relationship. This may be adultery or fornication, but the term also denotes prostitution ⁽³⁵⁾, which is the sense it should be given in this context. In any case al-Biruni, who had first-hand knowledge of India, corrected the common assumption with the comment: 'In reality the matter is not as people think, but it is rather this, that the Hindus are not very severe in punishing whoredom' ⁽³⁶⁾.

⁽³²⁾ See fn. 5.

⁽³³⁾ Elliot & Dowson, *The History of India by Its Own Historians*, I, repr. Lahore, p. 13.

⁽³⁴⁾ *Hudud al-Alam*, 'The Regions of the World'. A Persian Geography, 372 A.H.-982 A.D., transl. and expl. by V. Minoraky, repr. Karachi 1980, p. 86, f. 14b.

⁽³⁵⁾ Sh.H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History. A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India etc.*, I, 1939, repr. Lahore 1979, pp. 12-13, cf. p. 11.

⁽³⁶⁾ *Alberuni's India*, II, *cit.*, pp. 210-11.

One thing that seems quite clear is that the prejudices about India were much the same almost two centuries later. Not only was there a great difference between the cultures but such outward manifestations as nudity freely displayed and 'commercial' and sacred prostitution could not be ignored. The conquest of new lands entailed the legitimate acquisition of a great many 'slave-girls' but, given a state of emergency and general confusion *and* their reputation for licentiousness, the risk was that they might encourage Muslims to stray from 'the right path'. Thus a further, 'prosaic' set of precepts was carefully chosen and added on the monuments with evident significance (Kor. XXIII 7-14):

- 7) However, those who desire other than these are indeed transgressors —
- 8) Let them keep well the goods entrusted to them, and let them keep their word,
- 9) and take great care to say their prayers.
- 10) They shall be the heirs,
- 11) Who will inherit paradise (*al-firdaus*), and dwell there for ever.
- 12) In truth, we created man out of fine clay [*lit.*, the quintessence of clay],
- 13) Then we placed him like a drop of sperm in a safe receptacle [i.e., the mother's uterus],
- 14) Then we transformed [*lit.*, created] the drop of sperm into coagulated blood, then the coagulated blood into a piece of flesh, the piece of flesh into bone, and we apparelled the bones with flesh, then we brought it [i.e., man] to light, as another creation; blessed indeed is God, the greatest of all Creators.

Devastating Floods in Proto-Historic India

by ATREYI BISWAS

Floods are frequently referred to in modern times. These are not a recently developed calamity which may have emerged due to recent ecological degradation, instead have plagued mankind since time immemorial and has inflicted damage and devastation to our villages, towns and cities. We present here a short sketch of floods that effected the pre-Christian era of our history.

The basic changes in settlement history arose due to man, water and land relationships. The selection of land was reached on the basis of ease of availability and the perennial nature of water sources. The earliest major civilization of India, the Harappan civilization flourished in the riverine valleys, primarily because early men were attracted by the benefits of river-valley cultivation. In a country where rainfall is seasonal and erratic, where fluctuations of climate were noticeable in historic times, riverine sites arose by natural selection.

The areas where the Harappan culture flourished are presently either having desert or steppe type of climate. In most of this region, comprising of Sindh, West Punjab, northwest Rajasthan and Gujarat, rainfall varies between 'extreme low' and 'very low'. It can be seen that the 30 in. isohyet forms the eastern boundary of Harappan-zone and the civilization never really penetrated into regions of more rainfall. The climate of northern Sindh is semi-arid (annual rainfall less than 10"). Since the temperature goes upto 90°F, the evaporation of surface water is very rapid. The distribution of Harappan sites in northern and western Sindh shows that they are geographically in Baluchistan and were largely situated on the rivers and streams on the eastern rim of that mountainous region. In Indus valley, most of the Harappan sites were situated on active and meander flood plains. Cover flood plains probably consisted of the forest areas.

These forests were essentially xerophytic forests including trees such as *Acacia*, *Capparis*, *Zizyphus* and *Tamarix*. There were hardly any Harappan sites in these forest hinterlands. This shows that the technological capability of the Harappan people was not yet competent enough to cut down the dense forests. Tropical forests, which must have covered areas of 'heavy' and 'medium' rainfalls were beyond their reach. The hinterland areas of the river valleys were also thickly wooded and without the knowledge of iron technology it was not easy to use the Bronze Age implements of the Harappan people to develop this region and make it habitable. Therefore, they had no option but to remain in the limited areas of the river flood-plains.

The annual inundation of river banks during rainy seasons, when the rivers were in spate, due to rains in upper catchment areas, was a normal thing. After the flood waters receded, it would leave behind the silt which was extremely fertile. Cultivation on these river banks would bring good crops without any need for manuring or furrowing the fields. This is called '*sailābi*' method and is utilized even in modern-day Sindh. Therefore, a great demand existed for these 'flood zones'. Most of the proto-historic settlement in Sindh, Punjab and Bahawalpur States of Pakistan and north Rajasthan, Kaccha, and Gujarat of India, can be traced on the 'flood zones' of their respective rivers. Though the settlements enjoyed the benefits of the fertile riverine tracks, there were also occasions when they were completely devastated and washed away due to heavy floods in the same rivers.

The archaeological evidence of Mohenjodaro, situated on the river Indus, shows that the city was buried by 30 ft of silt above ground level, which does not indicate a normal inundation of the river bank by the annual flood of the river (Sahani 1956: 102-7). Moreover, 1964 test borings have revealed that the silt deposits also exist below the ground level. When the layers of silt deposits above ground level are added to those of below ground level, the total thickness of the silt comes to about 70 ft which is divided into many layers. The accumulation of such a huge silt deposit could have been possible only if we presume that the city had been destroyed by flood many times in the past (Raikes 1965: 196). The citizens tried to rebuild their city a numbers of times after the flood waters receded. But their patience and repeated endeavours to rebuild these settlements ultimately could not withstand the devastating nature of the Indus river floods. Their prosperity declined in the later phases of these site occupations. This is very vivid in the last level of their cultural deposit which can be described as a 'squatter-type occupational level'. The buildings of this last level were rudely constructed of second-hand bricks. Many factors were responsible for the decline of the Harappan culture. Though, this is not an appropriate place to indulge in that academic discussion, it cannot be denied that flood-havocs also played a major role in the process of their gradual downfall. As in Mohenjodaro, flood destruction can be perceived in other contemporary sites as well. Even Jhukar, Lohumjodaro, Chanhudaro (Mackay 1943: 63) and Amri (Majumdar 1934) seem to have been affected by floods. The floods in Indus river devastated the sites located primarily in the lower regions of this river valley. The lower regions accumulated a great amount of silt deposits along its banks and therefore, the ground level was raised up. Whenever there was a heavy winter in the mountainous regions, where the river is fed by the melting snow, the flow of water in the ensuing summer was much more and if accompanied by a heavy rainfall then the flood was unavoidable in the lower regions of the river path. The people of Chanhudaro suffered repeatedly due to recurring floods (Wheeler 1968: 56), as the site was located in the lower region of the river Indus. They were forced to make their way to lands of higher elevation and this original site was ultimately abandoned. Harappa was another important site, remains of which can now be traced on the old river bed of the Ravi. Today the dry river bed extends to 6 miles from

the north of the site, but once it must have been much closer as the traces of flood havoc can be ascertained in this settlement as well (Wheeler 1968: 30).

The Ghaggar (Hakra, the ancient Saraswati river) had supported many settlements along its banks. According to hydrologists (Raikes 1968: 286-91) the Ghaggar was captured alternatively by the rivers of the Indus system and of the Ganges system in pre-and proto-historic times which effected its westward and eastward diversions. During the period of its westward diversion it had brought seasonal floods to the north Rajasthan region. Kalibangan was one of the important sites which reached the status of urbanization in pre- and mature Harappan periods. Kalibangan, which was situated on the Ghaggar river provide us with proofs of thick clay among the ruins of the city. Raikes (1968) considers that it resulted due to 'unprecedented floods which might have engulfed the city and brought about its ruin'.

Gujarat including Kaccha, was another area which was colonized by Harappan people. This region became popular due to trade. Gujarat supplied the raw materials to the Harappan cities of Punjab and Sindh. It had a long sea-coast. Some centres evolved around trading ports. Lothal, in Ahmedabad district was one of their major trading centres. Excavator Rao (1973: 54-60) considers this town, which witnessed days of prosperity, declined due to great floods, 'which occurred quite a number of times and ultimately reduced the city to a heap of ruins'. The dockyard, which was the source of its maritime activity was also 'rendered unserviceable because of accumulation of silt'. The later phase of its occupation consisted of jerry-built houses with mud-floors, reed walls and thatched roofs, which clearly represent its decaying economy. Another site of much importance was Rangpur, in Surendranagar district of Gujarat, situated on the river Bhadar. Most of the structures of this site are reported to have been either washed away by flood or disintegrated in a mass of clay (Rao 1963: 188; *IAR* 1954-55). Desalpur, a small site in Kaccha, situated on the bank of river Bamuchela, an affluent of the river Dhrud, was destroyed in the same way. Bhagatrav, in Bharoach district Gujarat, was situated on the river Kim. The backwaters of the sea which entered the creek, together with flood in the Kim river had brought devastation to this site (*IAR* 1957-58: 15). Koth, in Ahmedabad district, has preserved a 4 ft thick deposit of flood loam, which covers its Harappan deposits. Heavy floods were responsible for the destruction and abandonment of this site too (Rao 1962-63: 181). Kanasutaria was another small Harappan site in the Ahmedabad District which lies 25 miles north of Lothal. This site is covered by a thick fluvial deposit of sand and gravel providing us with the proof that the settlement was destroyed by a heavy flood (Rao 1962-63: 188-89).

This short sketch of the flood disturbances in Harappan and late Harappan eras of Punjab, Sindh, North Rajasthan and Gujarat show that the people were forced to live in the flood-zone areas, in spite of the sufferings they went through year after year. The reasons behind it seem to be that the technological base of the Harappans was still very premature. It was a bronze-age culture, and we know bronze or copper are not very strong metals and inadequate for making agricultural tools. Besides, they

used bronze very sparsely, because it was not available locally in abundance. This limitation hampered their process of colonization and habitation in the safer regions, away from the riverine tracks as this hinterland was thickly forested and the problem of cleaning and cultivating these regions without adequate tools and implements was unsurmountable.

This area is a tropical dry deciduous-forest zone. Here though the trees are of small size but have long roots. Ghosh (1973: 9) has suggested that the forests could have been cleared by the burning process, but it should not be forgotten that even after burning the trees, the stumps and the deep roots of the primeval forest trees needed to be cleared up before the land can be used as cultivable field. Thus for uprooting the dead roots and stump of the trees a harder metal was required. The process of expansion of cultivation thus depended on the opulent use of iron in agricultural process. When this facility was not available to the chalcolithic people of Harappan period, the inhabitants had no other choice than to reside near the flood zones and alluvial areas of the riverine tracks, where flood water solved its irrigation demands and receding water left a soft silt on the embankments, which could be easily cultivated even with the use of a hoe.

The second question arises, as to measures the Harappan people adopted as a safeguard against floods when it was so essential for them to live in the riverine-track areas. The usual method employed by them was to upraise their habitation areas, either by selecting a natural high ground or by creating it artificially by accumulating the earth from the surrounding areas, or by rebuilding their settlements on the demolished debris of the previous period, where the site has automatically reached a higher level. Sometimes, in larger settlements, they built platforms too so that their residential quarters could be built on a higher base. Very rarely and only in large settlements we find mud embankments or fortification walls were also erected.

Any flood-resistant effort would have to be a joint venture of the inhabitants. Five essential stages of social development were needed for any co-operative work of such magnitude.

1. Accumulation of enough manpower in a specific region. When a sufficient density of population was reached, only then the society could spare the needed manpower for the construction of public-utility projects.
2. A sufficient amount of surplus food in order to sustain those workers who would provide the labour in any joint-endeavour and thus would not need to grow their own food.
3. The knowledge of different types of food resources; because single yield in a year keeps a social group in a precariously strained economic situation and surplus of food cannot be generated constantly.
4. Achieving some specialization in the art and craft of masonry and architecture. This specialization also can only evolve, if economic sufficiency prevails for a long enough period.
5. Emergence of a ruling class which would control the finances and work as an

enforcement agency with regard to labour power; as no one works voluntarily on public-utility projects.

In the Harappan context, we see that all these prerequisites could be fulfilled in the large settlements and therefore, in many large towns, precautionary measures against floods were adequately taken. Mohenjodaro people constructed embankment walls to prevent flood water from entering their habitational area (Wheeler 1968: 28). A recent geophysical investigation had been conducted by the Italian Archaeological Mission (IsMEO) at Mohenjodaro in 1985. These investigations reveal that the areas MR North, MR South, and the Citadel of Mohenjodaro were built on thick and gigantic bases of clay and mud-bricks. M. Cucarzi (1985: 456) observes that the possible function of this mud-brick platform could be as a defensive structure against floods. Even before the final doom of the Mohenjodaro people tried to save their settlement by upraising the site. Before building this last level, the abandoned rooms and alley-ways of the previous occupation were completely filled in with rubble and grey dirt. The purpose of filling up the lower level construction was probably to upraise the ground level of the entire habitational area, so that it could be saved from the flood waters entering in it. Harappa (Wheeler 1968: 30) and Jhukardaro (Majumdar 1934) also provide similar proofs. The citadel mound in Harappa was enclosed by a mud-brick wall. A fortification wall was built in Kalibangan which is extended to a length of over 150 m, with a width varying between 3 m and 3.9 m. This wall served the dual purpose of defence and security, and seasonal excursions of floodwater. Besides this, the inhabitants of Kalibangan built a number of mud-brick platforms, with regular passages in between the platforms. Houses were built on the upraised platforms, an easier device to save their dwelling quarters from being entered by flood waters (*IAR* 1967-68: 44-45, pls. XIX, XX).

Similarly, people of Gujarat belonging to Harappan culture tried to build protective devices to prevent flood menaces. Usually, they too built their houses on mud-brick platforms. This can be seen in the excavated sites of Lothal, Rojedi and Rangpur. They sometimes constructed ramparts, surrounding walls and mud-embankments, like those of Rojedi (Summaries in *IA* 1957-58: 18; 1958-59: 19-21), Surkotada (Joshi 1979: 58-64) and Desalpur (*IAR* 1963-64: 11). Desalpur surrounding walls possibly served the dual purpose of defence and saving the site from flood, as the wall was reinforced with corner towers. Altogether 151 Harappan sites have been located in Gujarat (Jansen 1981: 264-66). Very few of them can be termed as cities or big towns. Most of the sites were village settlements which did not have much density of population and therefore lacked the essential social set-up which mobilized the public-utility projects. In Saurashtra many sites were located on a higher rocky outcrop or on a hillock. This was considered an easier way of saving the sites from flood devastation (Chitalwala 1979: 113-16).

In small Harappan settlements the situation was different. They were small agricultural sites or industrial units or trading posts. They had a limited population and limited food production. They had very few technical hands too. A large non-

food-producing labour force could not be maintained with this limited surplus and therefore they could not afford to take any precautionary measures against floods. Though scholars have mainly maintained that a strong state machinery existed in Harappan times, which maintained a closely knit economy and standardization in every walk of life, but as far as flood-resistant measures were concerned, we do not find it lending a helping hand to its poverty-stricken smaller units. This may be due to its recklessness or incompetence in handling such a gigantic problem in a fool-proof manner. Even in present days when floods occur only major settlements are given protection and the smaller villages are left to be devastated or washed out. Therefore, it is of no surprise that in Harappan society many small sites were wiped out due to floods.

In late Harappan period noticeable shifts in population concentration can be seen. From west Punjab, Sindh and north Rajasthan the people were now moving towards east Punjab, Haryana and western parts of Uttar Pradesh. These areas had slightly better prospects of rain. But as their technical knowledge was not progressing, rather declining — they could not enter the thickly forested areas and still remained clinging to the riverine tracks. As a result there was no rescue from the flood menace. Many other sites reveal the same observations. The people with Harappan background utilized the same methods for preventing floods. They either built mud-embankments, surrounding walls or raised their residential area by constructing platforms. Banawali in district Hissar, Haryana, was an important settlement with late Harappan affinities. Mud embankments were built in the Harappan style (IAR 1983-84). Hulas was another late Harappan colony in Saharanpur district of U.P. — which yields the proof that the residents built up their houses on raised platforms (Dikshit 1981: 70-75) to save their settlements from floods but still definite traces in this mud platform can be deducted which was damaged due to flood activities (Dikshit 1979: 213). Manda was a small late Harappan site, situated in the northwest of Jammu, on the bank of the river Chenab which also gives the evidence of flood destruction (Dikshit 1979: 213). The site of Bhagvanpura, in district Kurukshetra, Haryana, is situated on the bank of the river Saraswati. The excavation of this site reveals an interlocking stage of the Harappan and PGW cultural levels. The late Harappan period shows traces of a mud-platform which was damaged by a devastating flood, though this did not lead to people evacuating the site forever, as they continued to live in the area after flood water receded. Sharma (1960) reporting on the excavation of Kausambi has brought to light in late Harappan cultural context a fortification wall, which he thinks was built by late Harappan people. The potteries found in this phase, according to him, can safely be compared with the late Harappan potteries of western India like those of Rangpur and Somnath. This site lies on the river Yamuna, which endangered its safety. Therefore, the Harappan people built this defensive wall. But Sharma's suggestion is not fully acceptable as it is still debatable whether or not the Harappans had penetrated as far east as Kausambi. Though the late Harappan settlements in Alamgirpur lies only 300 miles up northwards on the Yamuna.

With the extinction of different phases of Harappan culture, an unsettled situation prevailed in north India. The next cultural level can be seen through Ochre Colour Pottery and Black-and-Red Ware. Their stratigraphical sequence differed according to the region. The area of OCP Culture was quite extensive — from Bahadarabad near Hardwar, U.P. in the north to Noh in Bharatpur district, Rajasthan in the south and from Katapalon near Jullundhar district, Punjab in the west to Saipai in Etawah district, U.P., to the east. One of the important OCP site was Hastinapur (Lal 1954-55: 133-34) in Meerut district, U.P. which was situated on the river Burhi Ganga. Lal (1969: 15; 1972: 282-87) has undertaken a detailed study of soil samples from OCP sites of Hastinapur, Jhijnhana (*IAR* 1962-63: 70), Ahicchatra (*IAR* 1963-64; 1964-65) and Nasirpur (Dikshit 1968: 47). The chemical analysis of the OCP deposits suggest that they were water-laid. Prof. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed has also independently examined the soil samples of Atranjikhhera, which has yielded OCP in a substantial amount (Gaur 1983: 23. See Appendix) and has reached the conclusion that the area had been flooded by the river and remained waterlogged for a considerable period (*IAR* 1962-63; 1968-69), Lal (1968: 857-63) suggested that a major tectonic activity during OCP period brought about a great flood in the upper valleys of the Ganga, the Yamuna and their tributaries which took the form of a deluge and affected OCP sites extensively. In the site of Bhagvanpura in Kupukshetra district OCP remains are found in flood affected trenches (Joshi & Madhubala 1979: 330-54). Atranjikhhera, Etah district, U.P. provides us with four cultural levels. The site is situated on the right (western) bank of Kali-nandi, a tributary of the Ganges. On the northeastern side, the river flows closest to the mound, the distance being hardly 50 m. The area had been quite prone to floods from the very beginning of its occupation. It had been flooded many times. This natural calamity exists even in present days.

During rainy seasons the whole area comes under a layer of water. Therefore, in the days of its earliest occupation i.e. OCP period, there are clear indications that the area had been flooded by the river and remained water-logged for a considerable period. There seems to have been a gap between OCP period and the succeeding BRW period. The latter had a very thin distinctive layer. Probably the BRW people occupied the area after horrifying memories of flood destruction of OCP site was forgotten (Gaur 1983: 4-5). BRW cultural level again met with destruction due to flood. A mud-filling which seems to have been deposited by floods in the river Kali separates the BRW and PGW phase (*IAR* 1963-64; 1968-69). Hastinapur, Meerut district, U.P., testifies to the same sequence of events. The presently dried-up river Burhi Ganga, which was once a great affluent, flowed along the site. The site started its history from OCP level and continued till the NBPW period. The definite gap between each period indicates that the site was abandoned due to flood havoc and reoccupied repeatedly. The absence of any habitational traits in the OCP level indicates that these people had a very short stay and they had a poor socio-economic infrastructure. Probably they were of migratory nature, as no burnt-brick houses, or any structural evidence is found from any of the OCP sites. Their knowledge

of copper was possibly their only significant achievement. But as pastoral nomads, they did not need to settle down permanently anywhere and therefore did not need to support their settlements with diverse economic activities. Due to weakness of their infrastructure, no evidence of constructional activity is available in their sites. They could not therefore take any precautionary measures against flood. Their sites were so badly damaged due to flood havocs that hardly any traces of their civilization are available to us. B.B. Lal (1954-55: 21-23) has suggested the pre-1200 B.C. period as the chronology of OCP people. Though D.H. Gordon (1957) and Wheeler (1959) have suggested the pre-800 B.C. period as the age of this culture.

After OCP period comes the cultural level of Painted Gray Ware (PGW) people. PGW deposits, which probably belonged to later Vedic civilization, have been found in a wider horizon. They were getting better equipped with new technology as iron was definitely introduced by this time. But no improvement can be perceived in their flood-prevention measures. They were still constructing mud-embankments, similar to those of the earlier days. In some of the PGW sites this cultural level was found overlain by flood deposits, causing desertion of the settlement. For example Surdargarh, a small site in Bikaner district, Rajasthan which represents PGW period, was evacuated till long after PGW level, after which it was reoccupied by the Rangmahal culture. A flood deposit separates the two cultural periods (Tripathi 1976: 28). Noh in Bharatpur district, Rajasthan, is situated near a small rivulet known as Ruparel. But in rainy season this rivulet quite often gets flooded. The PGW strata of this site, which is termed as period III by the excavator, is found in a highly disturbed condition. River gravel is mixed with rolled sherds of PGW. It is interesting to see that the inhabitants of this site had tried to save their colony from these floods. Period III has 3 m thick filling beneath it which was made to raise the ground level against flood damages (LAR 1962-63: 28; 1968-69; 1970-71). We have seen repeated flood menaces in the Bhagvanpura, in district of Kuruksetra. The river Saraswati had once again brought disaster to PGW cultural levels (Madhubala & Joshi 1979: 330-54). In the same way, Atranjikhhera, which was ruined twice earlier came under flood destruction for a third time in the PGW period. In the PGW period, floods occurred a number of times. The worst of these floods occurred in the river Kali towards the end of the middle phase of this period. The flood washed away considerable portions of the settlement. The excavator Gaur finds the deposits of eroded materials, sometimes redeposited in the trenches and sometimes near the river bed. He feels that sometime after the flood, the site was probably shaken by an earthquake, effects of which can be traced in trench D.1 (N.W.) (Gaur 1983: 122).

A mud-embankment with a basal width of about 7 m was noticed by M.D.N. Sahi at Atranjikhhera, which belonged to PGW period. Jakhera was another site in district Etah (LAR 1974-75: 43) which is situated on the left bank of the river Kali. It is 16 km from Atranjikhhera. Period IIb of Jakhera which has yielded PGW remains can be correlated with period III of Atranjikhhera. PGW people in Jakhera were facing the same flood menaces. They built a mud-embankment with an extant basal width

of 4.80 m and a moat-channel to protect their site from this harassment (Sahi 1978: 102). Similarly PGW people of Kampil, Farrukhabad district, U.P., built a mud-embankment to save their settlement from the floodfury, the traces of which can be seen in the excavation of that site (IAR 1975-76). In the same way flood had brought destruction to PGW people in Dadheri in district Ludhiana (Joshi 1978) and in Hastinapur (B.B. Lal 1954-55).

Cultural extent of PGW civilization can be fixed on the basis of available C14 dates and from the excavation report of its various sites. Twenty-five C14 dates for PGW culture from ten sites are noted by M. Lal (1986: 94). These dates come from the middle and late phases of PGW deposits — providing a time limit between 1155-660 B.C. They mainly belong to Rajasthan and west U.P. Thus it seems that PGW deposits belonged to the Late Vedic age.

The extension of agricultural activities can be noted with the emergence in the PGW period of a new cereal. Wheat was now introduced beside barley which was already known to them (Saraswati 1972). But the use of burnt bricks remained limited, which indicates that wattle and daub structures still predominated. Iron was found in all the phases of PGW levels, but their use was confined to weapons, craft-tools, household objects and ornaments. The use of iron in agricultural activity had not yet become common. Concentration of population and surplus of food production did not reach their climax and hence big utility projects could not be mounted on a large scale. PGW settlement pattern had not made any drastic changes. Most of the sites are located on the river banks, not away from it, which shows that the infiltration into the forested hinterland was not yet a practical possibility. PGW people colonized, primarily upper Saraswati valley, Yamuna and Ganga valleys. Maximum number of PGW settlements in Haryana existed in the alluvial plains (Bhangar land). Nearly 186 PGW and Gray Ware settlements have been located here in the Bhangar land by B. Dutta (1980: tables 3-4), 47 PGW and GW sites have been found on direct flood plains. In addition a number of PGW sites have been located on the flood plains of the Saraswati and Markanda rivers. This settlement pattern indicates that PGW people were mainly settling down along the natural drainage system, which provided them with potable water along with irrigation facilities. A study of the PGW settlements in Ganga-Yamuna Doab also indicate the same pattern (M. Lal 1984: 171-72). Barring few, most of the settlements in Ganga Rind and Yamuna Rind Doab are situated on the river banks and not away from it. Though they may have initiated the process of expanding their cultivable land by burning the forests, as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to it, but they had not yet infiltrated much into the thick hinterland forest areas and thus primarily depended upon the river-side tracks.

Flood irrigation was a basic source of cultivation. Of course, now they were occupying wetter areas, where rain was much more dependable, but the rain had always been erratic. Therefore, they prayed to the rain god Indra, for more water. They were scared of drought, not excessive rain or flood. References of floods occur many times in Vedic literature (e.g. in RV I 16.11; II 13.12; IV 19.6; VIII 31.10). But

in many Rgvedic hymns they are invoked and praised for their beneficial deeds. For example in RV X 17.10 the flood is called 'mother who gives brightness and shining'. In RV X 36.1 while invoking all the gods, the poet even invoke floods. In RV X 109.1 it is called 'heavenly flood'. It has been correctly suggested (Bhattacharyya 1976: 10-11, 57) that the importance given to sacrifices and rituals in ancient society was an economic necessity. Vedic sires had introduced sacrifices and rituals with a notion that the sacrifices exercised power over gods and could even influence things and events. All the Vedic *yajñas* were primarily connected to economic motives. They were directly connected with food production. Either they were to appease the rain god Indra, who could help them to irrigate their fields or to desist the menace of droughts so that their food production was not hampered. In fact the sacrificial details of the *Vājapeya* was a simple magical performance employed as a productive technique to obtain food and drink (Kane 1930-58: 1206). But it is interesting to notice that there were no rituals connected with stopping the flooding of rivers. This definitely indicates that the Vedic society welcomed the floods even if it may have brought destruction to its river side settlements. The socio-political infrastructure did not allow much state controlled activity which could enforce public-utility works on a major scale. Therefore, flood-resistant programmes in PGW or later Vedic period were conducted only on a limited scale — in the major towns — where the overgrowth of population must have made it necessary and possible to activate the construction works.

A substantial change occurred with the arrival of the people using Northern Black Polish Ware (NBPW). The chronological sequence of NBPW can be determined through available C14 dates. Most of the dates fall within the time range of 700-100 B.C. This is quite a long period — when seen through the eyes of literary sources. It includes Buddhist, Maurya and post-Maurya periods. Our literary sources of this vast period are of diverse types — which include early Buddhist canons and goes upto the period of the *Jātakas*. In archaeological terms this period has been generally studied under three phases — Early, Middle and Late. The Early NBPW period corresponds to c. 600-500 B.C. The Middle phase can be restrained between 500-350 B.C. and the Late phase between 350-100 B.C. dealing with the post-Mauryan remains (Sharma 1969: 23; M. Lal 1981: 1-25).

The socio-economic structure had an upsurge in this period with the profuse use of iron implements in agricultural activity. This brought in a large-scale change in the political atmosphere. This was the second urbanization of Indian history. Consequently, this prosperity is reflected in their construction of flood-preventive works as well. In NBPW period the construction of embankments became more common. Quite often the embankment walls were so constructed, that they could not only save the site from floods, but could be of defensive use as well. The big settlements had accumulated wealth and had enough man-power to do this type of work. Sometimes of course the ramparts were made only for the defence purposes, like that of Ahicchatra. Rivers Ramganga and Gangham, which flowed at very safe distance from the site, could not have posed any major flood insecurity. But the people of Ahicchatra might

have accumulated enough wealth, and security for their prosperous town was much more necessary than taking safety measures against floods. But in Kosambi the city wall was basically built as a safety measure against floods. The Yamuna flows to the south of this town. Rivers Pali and Satira flow along its western and eastern sides respectively. But these latter two rivers formed deep channels and did not usually get flooded. The site was mainly damaged by the river Yamuna. Excavator Sharma (1960: 6; IAR 1962-63: 33) suggests that 'the rampart on southern side was found to have been made of mud. This wall served the dual purpose of defending the city in case of attack and also save it from the floods of Yamuna'. The site had been affected by flood many times. The earliest vestiges of this flood menace can be perceived in sub-period I-2 where the traces of a sandy layer can be seen, which possibly got accumulated due to flood (*ibid.*: 27). By the sub period I-3 the city was protected by a massive defence system. The wall was extended to a length of 43 ft. The outer side of the wall had a sharp slope which was revetted externally by a burnt-brick revetment about 4 ft thick at the base. The revetment was covered by 2 to 3 in. thick plaster composed of mud and lime. In the sub-period II-5 a moat was also dug along with this defence system. In this sub-period another land-mark was achieved. At a distance of about 24 ft from revetment 1, was constructed a mud-bund with a basal width of 32 ft and an approximate height of 18 ft. This mud-bund was extended to a length of 80 ft. This is named as a 'subsidiary rampart' by the excavator which served the dual purpose of protection of the revetment from flood and stopped the overflowing of the moat. Again in sub-period III-8 much repair work was needed on the rampart. It was now raised by 8 ft. It seems, in spite of the precautions the site witnessed the furies of the Yamuna. Sandy earth full of *kankar* nodules covers the rampart wall. In sub-period III-9 the rampart was raised by 3 ft and the revetment was rebuilt and raised by 14 courses for the last time. In sub period III-10 a complete change occurred in the plan of defences. The top of the rampart was raised, while the area between the outer face of the revetment and the 'subsidiary rampart' was packed with loose earth, ash, sand and clay. This period is marked with NBPW remains and intense building activity. The moat was also re-excavated. Kausambi thus gives a vivid picture of how the material prosperity and urbanization had effected the public-utility projects. Rajghat was another NBPW site on the river Ganges which flows on the southeastern side of the site. The settlement was on a strategic location. It has the advantage of another river on its north. The river Varana flows from that side. Rajghat was ancient Varanasi. In the sub-period IB, dated by its excavator between 600-500 B.C. and 300-200 B.C. and marked by the appearance of NBPW, a massive mud-embankment was built there as a measure against floods (IAR 1961-62). Prior to this mud-embankment the inhabitants of the site probably tried to stop the flood water by constructing wooden platforms, as we find unmistakable traces of wooden planks topped over the 2 m thick deposits of earlier sub-period (IAR 1964-65). Later, in its second phase the mud wall was upraised by a 1.10 m thick wall, which was constructed on top of the earlier clay mud. This wall could not have served the purpose

of defence because it does not surround the city from its other sides. It was only built on that side of the settlement where a bend of Ganga makes it more easy for the river to encroach upon the habitation area (Narain & Roy 1976: 23-33; 48-50). Beside the massive embankment wall they built a moat connecting the Barna and the Ganga to act as a diversion channel and thus tried to protect their town. Ravages of the Ganga can be seen on the outer contour of the embankment wall, which was damaged in many places. But it probably prevented the flood water from entering the habitation area, whereas in the earlier levels of the site, damage by the flood in the Ganga can be proved as traces of it can be found in the form of silt, *kankar* and shells strewn amidst the earlier habitational deposits.

Pataliputra, the lowest strata of which can be dated to c. 600 B.C. (Sinha & Narain 1970) was situated on the confluence of the Son and the Ganga and therefore, the flood menace was quite formidable. The settlement reached its period of peak development during the Mauryan times. Timber posts and wooden beams are found in the excavation, which probably belonged to Mauryan period. This formed the inner core of the earthen embankment wall. The embankment wall was built to secure the city against floods. In later periods, this wall was probably used for defensive purposes as well (Mate 1969-70: 8-9). Spooner (1912-13: 62) has suggested that Pataliputra had suffered due to floods when its pillared hall got damaged. But the Kumrahar site had later been re-excavated and Altekar and Misra (1959: 34) had refuted this proposal. They do not find any flood deposits which might have brought destruction to Pataliputra-city. It seems that by the Mauryan period the state machinery was competent enough to save at least its capital, by taking some flood-resistant measures.

A massive clay embankment, along with a moat was constructed in Ujjain in the later half of period I of its history, dated between 750 B.C. and 500 B.C. This site was situated on the eastern bank of the river Sipra, and the river is bent in such a way near the site that flood water would invariably enter to the town. To divert this flood water they probably constructed the moat, just before the bend began. There are evidences of breaches in the mud-embankment wall which was repaired repeatedly.

Floods often occurred due to heavy rains in the catchment areas — sometimes even in upper reaches of the river which affected villages in the down-stream regions. For example a heavy rain in the upper reaches of the river Acirāvati, which brought a devastating flood in Sāvatti was remembered in the Buddhist works (*Tevigga Suttanta* and *Jāt.*, IV 105). Another such flood is referred to in Benaras (*Pada Kusalamanava Jāt.*, I 24; III 508). Sometimes small streams also flowed in spate and brought havoc in the nearby villages (*Culladharuggaha Jāt.*, III 221). The *Campeyya Jātaka* tells the story of a big flood in the river Campā, which lay between the realms of Anga and Magadha (IV 454). Buddhist legends speak of Gautama Buddha giving warnings to the monks of his monastery about the calamities of excessive rain which brought floods to the villages. In *Jātaka* 199 even famine conditions are mentioned as having arisen due to heavy floods. The period reflected in the Buddhist *Jātaka* stories probably belonged to the beginning of the Christian era which shows that even

with the advancement of technology, state mechanism, man-mobilization and social consciousness, the menaces of floods could not be completely overcome.

In the last phase of our period of study agriculture had become the main-stay of the people. Consciousness had grown amongst the people to save their agricultural out-put. With the beginning of NBPW period vast uncultivated forest lands had come under the ploughs of the farmers, they no longer remained confined to the riverine belts. The settlement pattern of the NBPW period had completely changed — they were moving away from the river valleys. They could no longer remain dependent on the sole source of river for irrigation (M. Lal 1984: 177-83; Dutta 1980). They constructed other forms of irrigation methods. The irrigation depended on canals, wells and tanks. The traces of a large rectangular tank in Sringaverapura, district Allahabad (*IAR* 1978-79: 57) and the remnants of another retaining wall of a large tank in Ropar, district Ambala (*IAR* 1954-55: 9), which probably served the purpose of irrigation, can still be seen. This agricultural-based society was now conscious of saving their villages and towns from flood havoc and they were building major embankment walls and moats to mitigate this evil. NBPW period is marked as the period of second urbanization in Indian history. At this stage, the state machinery was sufficiently geared to take up major protective measures against flood. These highly technical and expensive defensive walls could only materialize when the population density in the city centres reached its optimum level, when the society became opulent, when enough surplus was available to feed the unproductive labour force which remained occupied in construction works and when the technical know-how was developed by those, who could spare time and energy to process these engineering capabilities.

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***Vāmacāra* Viṣṇu in Hindu Iconography A Problem in Sociological Values**

by RAJU KALIDOS

The Hindu Trinity consists of the gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, who are considered to represent the cosmic activities of Creation, Preservation, and Destruction respectively. Normally in iconographical illustrations, they appear independently and rarely get united in syncretistic forms like Harihara, Somāskanda and the Elephanta type of Trimūrti. In most of these forms Viṣṇu is usually assigned the *vāmacāra* 'left hand' place. A typical example of this type of illustration is Harihara in the iconographical constitution of which Viṣṇu has only a *vāmacāra* place from very early times (e.g., Kuṣāṇa and Gupta) down to the late Vijayanagara period. Literary accounts, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, are almost unanimous in assigning the *vāmacāra* status to Viṣṇu which has a significant connotation of its own in the sense that the 'left-hand place' in Hindu tradition is supposed to be characteristic of woman, the Feminine Principle. A very good iconographical example of this concept is Śiva-Ardhanārīśvara. When Viṣṇu, an important god of the Trinity, is assigned such a position which is subordinate in Hindu social circles, it has to be viewed with rapt attention. If the Śaivas could treat him on a par with a feminine concept, its *raison d'être* could be obviously explained as a sectarian treatment, but why should the Vaiṣṇavas themselves accept this? This question acquires fresh magnitude when we come across certain motifs wherein Viṣṇu has a right-hand place in a composite image like the Trimūrti. For example some of the small caves in the Gaṇeśa-*leṇa* group and cave XVI on river beds at Ellora house a number of Trimūrti images wherein the place of Rudra-Śiva is shifted to the *vāmacāra* place. Now the query is: why the deviation and what contributed towards this secondary development over the iconographical norms set by the Elephanta masterpiece? The development of this form has a significance and relevance of its own, and hence this paper. So the aim of the present study is to trace the history of Viṣṇu's *vāmacāra* place in composite forms through an analysis of early mediaeval Tamil *bhakti* literature which contains a number of references to this aspect and its impact over the iconographical formulations of the age, with due credence to the socio-cultural setting of the theme.

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As warranted by the problem that has been stated above we may first of all take into account the literary gleanings from both Tamil and Sanskrit. The earliest clear presentation of the problem in Tamil is traceable in the hymns of Ālvār and Nāyanmār, custodians of the early mediaeval *bhakti* movement in Tamil Nadu. The Ālvār were Vaiṣṇava savants whose contribution to literature is collectively called *Nālāyirativīya-pirapantam*. The Nāyanmār were Śaivas whose writings are codified under the *Tirumūṣai* series ⁽¹⁾ which includes the contributions of the early trio ⁽²⁾, called *Tēvāram*. There are reference to Viṣṇu's *vāmacāra* status in these works.

The *Tēvāram* has a number of allusions in which the composite character of the iconographical form called Harihara is affirmed. To cite few examples: *Mālorupākam* (*Tēvāram* IV 87.7) 'having Māl (Viṣṇu) on one side' and *Tirumālōrpākattāṇ* (*Tēvāram* VI 238.5) 'having Tirumāl (Śrī-Viṣṇu) on one side', and so on. There is a specific indication to *iṭṭupākam* 'left-hand place' in which particular allusion it is stated that the Lord, Śiva, had Nārāyaṇa merged with him on the left side: *Nārāyaṇaṇai yīṭṭupākattataintār* (*Tēvāram* VI 267.2). This gives a clear perspective to the composite form under review. There is also an attempt to equate Viṣṇu with Śiva's consort, the Śiva-Śakti Umā or Pārvatī, who in another composite iconographical form called Ardhanārīśvara occupies Śiva's left side. The interesting passage is: *Mātorupālu Mālorupālum* (*Tēvāram* I 97.2), meaning that *mātu* (Skt. *nārī*) 'woman' and Māl (Viṣṇu) are the left half of Śiva. So from this account it is clearly stated that Viṣṇu is not only assigned a *vāmacāra* place but also placed on par with Śiva-Śakti.

The Ālvār call the united form, Araṇ-Nāraṇa (= Skt. Hara-Nārāyaṇa), whose *vāhanas* 'vehicles' are the bull (Nandi) and kite (*garuḍa*) and weapons the trident and disc wherein the body is united (*Tiruvantāti* 1.5). There are also a number of allusions in which the syncretic character is pointed out: *malai mankaiṇ paṇkaṇai paṇkil vaittu* (*Periya Tirumoli* 7.10.3) ⁽³⁾ 'having placed one who possess the hill-woman (Ardhanārī) on his own part'; *īcaṇ kicaintu uṭampilōr kūṟutāṇ koṭuttāṇ* (*ibid.* 9.10.4) 'he willingly gave a place to Īśvara (Śiva) on his own person'; *pākam nalki* (*ibid.* 10.9.4) 'having given the half', *mēṇi yonru* (*Tiruvantāti* 1.5) 'the body is one', *Caṭaiyāṇai*

⁽¹⁾ These are twelve in number, called *Paṇṇirutirumūṣai*, and supposed to be the work of the Nāyanmār who lived during the period from A.D. 500 to A.D. 1300 (at the latest).

⁽²⁾ The early trio consists of Tiruṇāṇacampantar, Appar *aḥas* Tirunāvukkaracar and Cuntarar, authors of the first seven *Tirumūṣais*: 1-3, 4-6 and 7 respectively. The first seven *Tirumūṣais* are collectively named *Tēvāram* and the eighth *Tiruvācakam* and *Tirukkōvāiyār*.

⁽³⁾ This passage strikingly compares with *Tēvāram* (I 97.2) cited above. *Mankai taṇ paṇkaṇ* 'having the woman on one side' would denote Śiva's Ardhanārī form. Śiva in such a form is said to occupy Viṣṇu's half, i.e., the right side, in which case Viṣṇu's *vāmacāra* position is not only accepted but the equation of Viṣṇu with Śiva-Śakti also indirectly acknowledged.

pākattuvaittāṇ (*Tiruvāymoḷi* 10.4.6) 'having the matted-locked one (Śiva) on his own person', and so on.

In all the above cited references the core idea is that Viṣṇu allowed Śiva to occupy one half of his body. But which part? it is not clearly stated. But there is a specific reference regarding this question in which Viṣṇu is said to possess 'one who has the matted locks with a Crescent adorning them (i.e., Śiva, called *Caṭaiyaṇ*) on his right side': *piṇai taṅku Caṭaiyāṇai valattē vaittu* (*Periya Tirumoḷi* 3.4.9). In all these allusions we get the other dimension of the problem wherein the Vaiṣṇavas themselves acknowledge the *vāmacāra* place of Viṣṇu in composite images like Harihara by declaring that Viṣṇu had Śiva on his right side.

The left-hand place of Viṣṇu in Harihara images is also attested by some Sanskrit texts. It may also be stated here that references on the subject under the present head are scanty. The *Mahābbhārata* (III 40.57), supposed to give the earliest account of the form (subject to authenticity of the relevant passage), calls the Lord Hari-Rudra. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (260.22-27) and *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* (VI 35-41, 56-57) are almost identical in iconographical descriptions and bear witness to Viṣṇu's *vāmacāra* status (Desai 1973: 51-52, 60). The *Matsya Purāṇa* uses the phrase *vāmārdha Mādhavaṃ*, meaning thereby that Mādhava (Viṣṇu) occupies the left half (*vāma* 'left' and *ardha* 'half'). The *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* handles the name Harihara while describing the form and states that Śiva is always on the right side and Viṣṇu on the left half. The concerned passage is: *Dakṣiṇārdhe Sadāśivam vāmanārdhe ca Hṛṣikeṣa*. Apart from them, there are a number of *śilpaśāstras* in South India which speak of *pratimālakṣaṇa* and enlist the Harihara form. The *Sārasvatīyacitrakarmasāstra* (chap. XXVII) calls the Lord Keśavārdhamūrti 'the Lord with the Keśava half' and says that the left is occupied by Keśava and that this half exhibits the characteristic attributes of Viṣṇu as follows: with all kinds of ornaments including the *krīṭa makuṭa*, hands in *ūru basta* (lower) and bearing the *śaṅkha* (upper), wearing *pītāmbara*, green in complexion and so on. Similar accounts are also found in the *Kāśyapaśilpaśāstra* (*paṭalam* 76) and *Śilparatna* (chap. 22. vv. 129-37).

Līṅgodbhava is an important form, often described by the Nāyanmār (*Tēvānam* I 13.9, 36.7, 37.9, 39.9, 86.9, 17.9, III 344.9), which attests the secondary and tertiary place accorded to Brahmā and Viṣṇu in this basically Śaiva form which projects the glory of Mahālīṅga whose head and foot the other two wanted to scale and ultimately failed miserably. But in the hymns of Nāyanmār nothing regarding Viṣṇu's *vāmacāra* position is specifically stated⁽⁴⁾. Being the product of sectarian animosity on the part of the Śaivas which purports to project the place of Śiva as Mahālīṅga, the Āḷvār never allude to this form. But in their hymns there are a number of references to a form called *Mūvarāyamutakvaṇ* which has earlier been identified with the Elephant type of triune bust (Kalidos 1986c: 319-21; 1988: 416-37).

⁽⁴⁾ It may be observed that in iconographical specimens of the age, Viṣṇu retains his *vāmacāra* status. See below for details.

We may now take into account the data forthcoming from the *Nālāyirativīyapirapantam* which refers to the type of triune busts found in the Elephanta and Ellora caves. These images are supposed to represent Śiva in his Sadāśiva form by experts in the field (Kramrisch 1946: 4; 1984: 65-85; Sharma 1976: 364). But an analysis of the data found in the Tamil *bhakti* literature has provided scope for a reinterpretation to the effect that these triunes represent a synthesis of Viṣṇu (in centre), Rudra (to the right) and Brahmā (to the left) (?). The nomenclature of the form is noted several times which supports the present thesis. The following for example may be noted: *mūvarākiya onuvaṇ* 'the one who became the three' (*Periya Tirumoli* 3.1.10), *mūvarumāy mutalāya mūrtti* 'the Lord who represented the three and became first among them' (*ibid.* 4.1.2), *mūvuvuvāṇavaṇē* 'one who became three in form' (*ibid.* 6.1.6), *mūvaril muṇ mutakvaṇ* 'first and foremost among the three' (*ibid.* 9.9.1), *mūvaril mutakvaṇ* 'first among the three' (*Tiruvāciriyam*, v. 3), *Mūvarākiya mūrtti* 'the Lord who acquired a triune form' (*Tiruvāymoli* 3.6.1), *mūvuvuvām mutakvaṇ* 'first in a triune form' (*ibid.* 7.9.2), and *mūvar mutakvaṇ* 'first among three' (*ibid.* 9.8.9). The core thought behind these cryptic passages is: (1) that Viṣṇu represented the Trimūrtis, (2) that he was the first and foremost among them, and (3) that these three either appeared in a triune polycephalous form (as in the Elephanta type of image) or represented three distinct physical forms in a panel (as in the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi lower cave or Lañkeśvara and Milk Maids caves at Ellora). The polycephalous aspect of this type of Trimūrti is clearly pointed out in a particular hymn (*Periya Tirumoli* 2.5.3) wherein the Lord is said to be 'three but in form one and yet the persons (*mūrti*) different':

Uṭampuruvil mūṇṇṇrāy mūrttivērāy [...]

In another significant reference the Lord is said to 'stand as the great one among all other gods and amidst them in triune form, being the primeval one'. The relevant passage is:

Tēvarāy niṅkumat tēvum attēvaril
Mūvarāy niṅkum mutu puṇarppum
(*Nāṇmukan Tiruvantāti*, v. 54).

(?) This aspect has been elaborated in my paper, presented in the Ellora National Seminar (Kalidos 1988) and the forthcoming monograph on Vaiṣṇava iconography (Kalidos 1986c). The arguments centre on the following ideas: (i) the facial expressions of triune busts represent the *saṭṭva*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* *gunas*, characteristic of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva respectively; (ii) in the Elephanta triune the central face, representing Viṣṇu, is to the left side of Rudra, the *vāmacāra* position under investigation; and (iii) the references which appear profusely in the hymns of Tamil *bhakti* savants justify the existence of such a form which however is missing in the early mediaeval and pre-early mediaeval Sanskrit texts, and so it is a product of the form visualized by the Tamil writers whose ideas must have spread far and wide in South India.

Though there are a number of such references in the hymns of the Ālvārs nothing definitely is stated regarding the *vāmacāra* status of Viṣṇu. But with due reference to the iconographical specimens of the age (*infra*) we may assertively state that Viṣṇu's place was mostly the left half.

ICONOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATIONS

In Indian artistic tradition from early times, at least the Kuṣāṇa, attempts have been made to syncretize the personalities of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā into a physical entity. Such forms are Harihara and Trimūrti. There are also some representations in which the Trinity appear within a frame but as separate beings. Examples are Liṅgodbhava, Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, Somāskanda and Tripurāntaka. There are also rare examples of Trimūrtis, appearing independently on a status of equality as *primus inter pares* ones, but within a bigger frame. Examples are found in the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi lower cave, Laṅkeśvara in the Kailāsanātha temple (cave XVI) at Ellora and the Milk Maids cave (no. XXVII) at Ellora. There are rare pieces of Yoga-Nṛsiṃha (or Kevala-Nṛsiṃha in seated aspect) and Vaikunṭhamūrti images in a cave temple at Nāmakkaḷ in which Śiva and Brahmā find themselves inducted as a sort of corollary to Liṅgodbhava images. During the later mediaeval period a form called Ekapādamūrti 'the Lord with one leg' became very popular in the Tamil country which appears to be an elaboration over the Elephanta type of triune, not in bust form but a full-fledged image.

Harihara

The earliest surviving images of the theme have been traced back to the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods (Sahai 1975: 136-37; Desai 1973: 52-53) which set the pioneering model for later types, appearing in a redundant quantity during the early and later mediaeval periods. The pattern set was that a line drawn through the centre of the image from top to bottom represented the characteristic aspects of Śiva and Viṣṇu on the right and left sides respectively. Mostly the images were *samapāda-sthānaka* which means standing in an upright position (Fig. 1). Rarely we come across seated images of which we have a specimen in one of the left *koṣṭhas* on the *mukha-maṇḍapa* part of the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakkaḷ (Fig. 2). Rare instances of *tribhāṅga* images have also been reported (Kalidos 1986c: 510). Mostly the images are *caturbbuja* and very rarely *aṣṭabbuja*. A number of specimens, subscribing to the usual typology (i.e., *samapāda-sthānaka* and *caturbbuja*) are traceable in the early mediaeval cave and structural temples at Bādāmī (caves I and III), Paṭṭadakkaḷ (Virūpākṣa T.) Āihole (*Rāvulapbaḍi* cave and Durga T.), Māmallaapuram (Mahāvarāha-Viṣṇu-*grha* cave), Kappakkuṭi caves and Nāmakkaḷ (Cave I). Iconographically the features characteristic



Fig. 1 - Harihara, Durgā temple, Āihole.

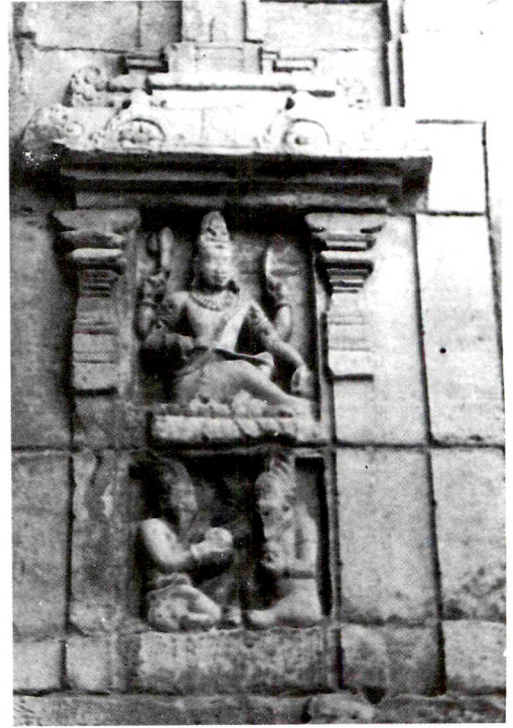


Fig. 2 - Harihara (seated), Virūpākṣa temple, Paṭṭadakkaḷ.

of Śiva (e.g., *jaṭāmakuṭa*, *ṭaṅka* or *mṛga*, a short loin-cloth and the vehicle *nandi*) and Viṣṇu (*Kirīṭamakuta*, *cakra* or *śaṅkha*, *pītāmbara* and the vehicle, *garuḍa*) are represented in the images. Viṣṇu in all these types uniformly occupies the *vāmacāra* place (Figs. 1-2).

Trimūrtis

Literally meaning 'triune', these iconographical representations purport to syncretize the Hindu Trinity which fall under four typological variables: (1) triune busts, (2) independent Trimūrtis in a panel, (3) Ekapādamūrti and (4) Somāskanda. The triune types are mostly concentrated in the Ellora caves, especially in the *garbhagrha* of Laṅkeśvar and the small caves (*Gaṇeśa-leṇa* and Cave XVI groups) on the river beds of Ellora and Bhairavakoṇḍa. Normally they appear on the back wall of the cell in front of which usually a Līṅga is found. However the classical piece found in the Elephanta cave is housed in a *koṣṭha* 'niche'. Most of these works are early mediaeval and pass into oblivion, perhaps due to the unpopularity of images

conceived in bust form in Hindu tradition. The Elephanta masterpiece and its replica found in the Ellora caves consist of polycephalous representations, having Viṣṇu in centre, Brahmā to the left and Rudra to the right (Figs. 3-4). The facial expression in respect of Rudra is terrific, usually the *jvāla* 'flame' issuing forth from the mouth. Here the placement of Viṣṇu is significant because though in centre, he is to the left of Rudra. Thus there is a stress on his *vāmacāra* status. However, in the river bed group at Ellora we find a number of Trimūrti (totally 13) busts in which the place of Rudra is shifted to the left side (totally 9) and thus assigned a *vāmacāra* status (Fig. 5). This is very striking and significant in the context of our study. If Sadāśiva the heads cannot be shifted on any account.



Fig. 3 - *Mūvarāyamutalvaṇ*: Trimūrti, Elephanta.

The second variable is the Trimūrtis. Specimens are found in the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi lower cave (Fig. 6), Laṅkeśvara and the Milk Maids cave (no. XXVII) in Ellora. In Badāmī caves II and III and pillar sections of the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakkal there are miniature reliefs. In all these representations members of the Trinity appear standing in *samapāda* attitude. They are *caturbhuja* and hold their characteristic emblems in *para-bastas*, viz., *taṅka* and *mṛga* or *trīśūla* for Śiva, *cakra* and *śaṅkha* for Viṣṇu, and *kamaṇḍalū* and *akṣamālā* for Brahmā. The *pūrva-bastas* are uniformly in *abhaya-mudrā* (right) and *ūru-basta* (left). What is important in all these illustrations is the placement of Viṣṇu's image. In the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi cave Brahmā is in centre, Śiva to his right side and Viṣṇu to the left; naturally Viṣṇu's place *vis-à-vis* Śiva is the left and so *vāmacāra* (Fig. 6). In Laṅkeśvara Śiva is in the centre, Viṣṇu to the left and Brahmā to the right. In marked contrast to these two illustrations, especially the Laṅkeśvara where Śiva is the centre of the cosmic core, the Milk Maids cave panel represents Viṣṇu in centre, Brahmā to the right and Śiva to the left. Thus Śiva gets the *vāmacāra* status here. It is very striking and falls in line with the triune images of the Ellora river-bed group wherein Śiva is accorded a similar status. The miniatures of Badāmī and Paṭṭadakkal are not conspicuous from the iconographical point of view and suffice it to add that they represent Viṣṇu in the usual *vāmacāra* place.



Fig. 4 - Trimūrti, Ellora.



Fig. 5 - Trimūrti, Ellora (note the shifting face of Rudra).

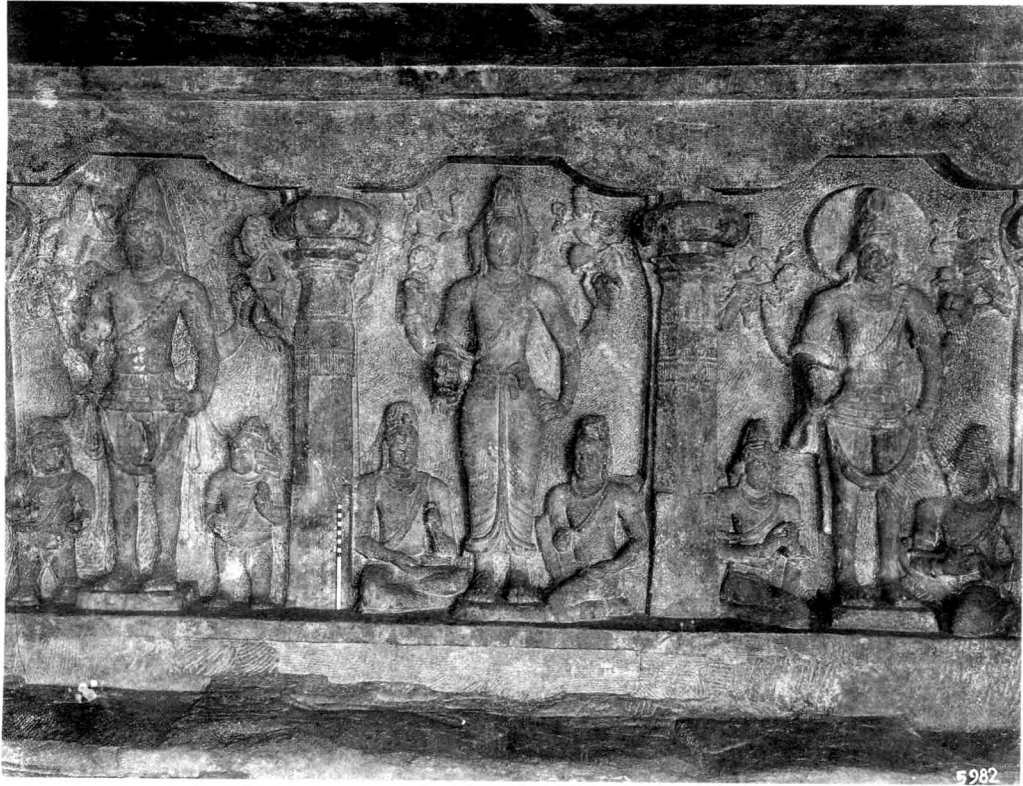


Fig. 6 - Trimūrtis, Tiruccirāppallī lower cave.

Somāskanda is another syncretic form which is mostly confined to the early mediaeval Pallava temples (both cave and structural) in the Tondaimaṇḍalam area. These images appear mostly in the temples meant for Śiva. Somāskanda appears on the back wall of the *garbhagrha*, behind the Liṅga, as we find Trimūrti images in the Ellora caves. The illustration uniformly represents Śiva and Pārvatī along with the baby Skanda (T. Murukaṇ) seated on a pedestal. In the background, behind Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā appear. Viṣṇu's placement in all these cases is uniformly *vāmacāra*. This type of representation fell into disuse after the Pallava period but the Cōla artists borrowed the theme for a number of bronze castings in which Brahmā and Viṣṇu fail to appear. Till contemporary times such images are used for processional purposes in almost all temples of Śiva in Tamil Nadu.

Ekapādamūrti is another ingenious product of the Hindu artists in which the Trinity merge into an entity (Grossato 1987). The central *mūrti* is *ekapāda* 'one legged' and has Brahmā and Viṣṇu emanating from the hip of the central core (Fig. 7). So the Trinity are present, all *caturbhuja* and holding their characteristic emblems (*supra*). Viṣṇu's placement in this type is also uniformly *vāmacāra*. This theme was a product

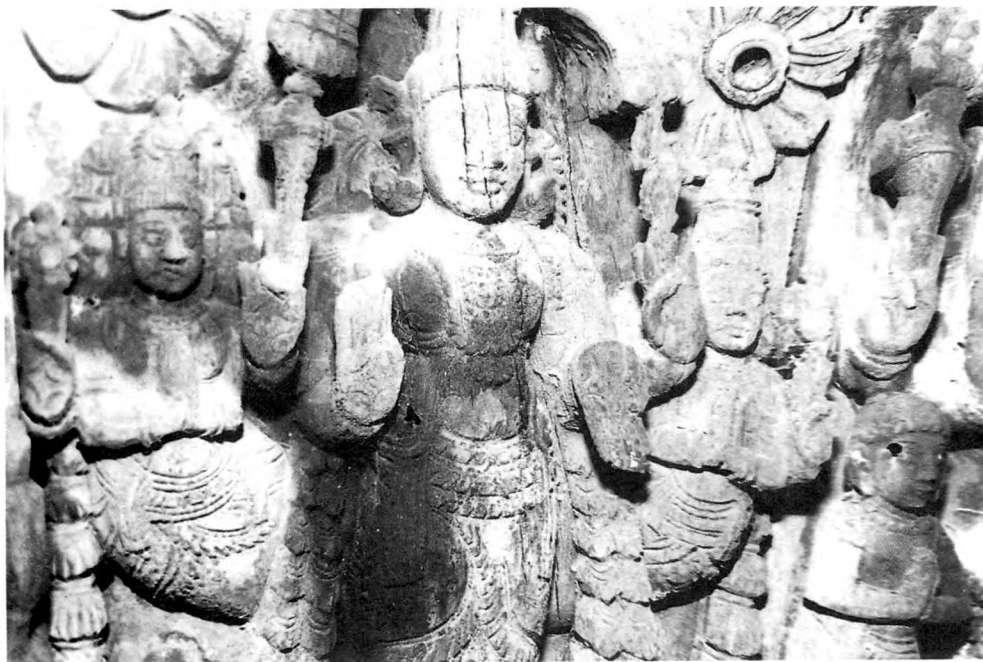


Fig. 7 - Ekapādamūrti, from a temple car, Thaṅjāvūr Dt.

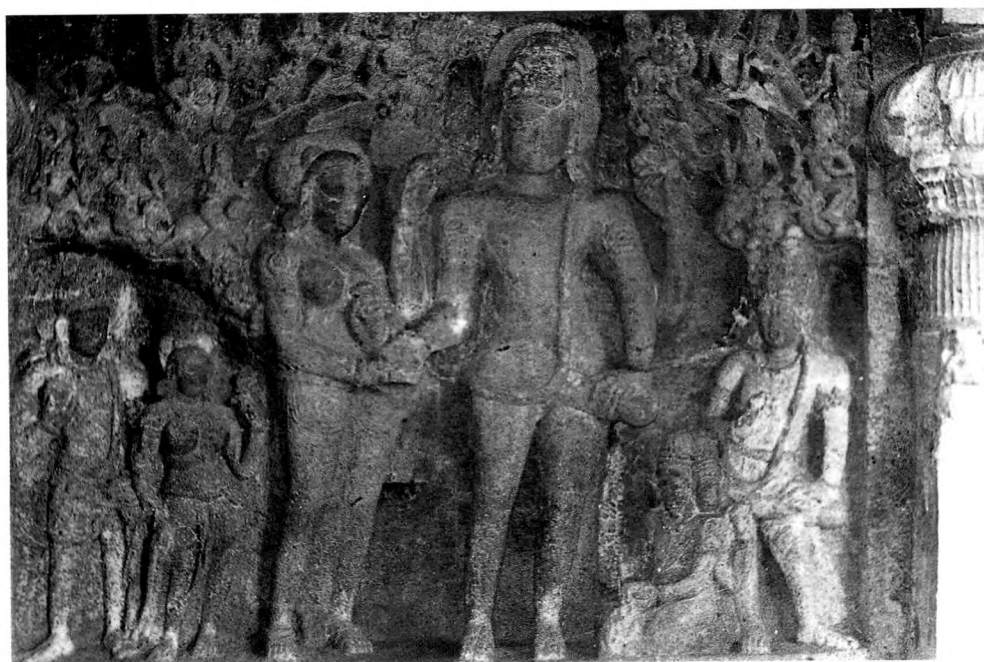


Fig. 8 - Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, *Ḍumārleṇa*, Ellora.

of the Vijayanagara period and found mostly in later mediaeval temples (Sastri 1916: figs. 59-60). In the temple cars of Tamil Nadu, wood carved chariots used for processional purposes, Ekapādamūrti appears in a prolific measure. As many as 49 specimens have been traced from the Tamil car temples (Kalidos 1989: 81-82, 300-302). Mostly Śiva appears as the central figure but in two rare cases Viṣṇu replaces the former. Such images are found in the Sōlīṅgapuram (North Arcot district) and Maḍurai (Kūṭal Alakar) temple cars. In these carvings Śiva receives the *vāmacāra* treatment.

Liṅgodbhava

A very popular Śaivite iconographical form since the early mediaeval period, it purports to proclaim the greatness of Śiva-Mahādeva in his phallic aspect as Liṅgodbhava which theme receives an elaborate treatment in *mahāpurāṇas* such as the *Liṅga Purāṇa* (Rao 1971: II, I, 105-107). Earliest iconographical specimens are found in the Kailāsanātha temples at Kāñchīpuram and Ellora, Virūpakṣa temple at Paṭṭadakkaḷ and cave temple at Tirumeyyam (Latha 1992). In most Cōḷa temples since the 9th century A.D. onwards Liṅgodbhava appears in a stereotyped pattern on the back *koṣṭha* of the main *garbhagṛha*, best examples being the Rājarājeśvarams at Tañjāvūr and Dārāsuram. Iconographically the Lord, Śiva, appears as Candrasekhara at the lower half of an inaccessible Liṅga whose head and foot Brahmā and Viṣṇu attempt to find out. So Brahmā appears in the zoomorphic form of a swan and Viṣṇu as *varāha* 'wild boar' at the right top and left bottom of the Liṅga respectively. Besides Brahmā and Viṣṇu in *caturbhūja* aspect, holding their characteristic emblems in *para-bastas*, appear in human form also on either side of Candrasekhara, the *pūrva-bastas* being in *añjali-bandha*. Doing so, they pay homage to Śiva and thereby acknowledge his greatness. The classical piece, representing the typology, is found in the left *koṣṭha* (on the main doorway to the temple) of the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. The specimen housed in the back *koṣṭha* of the Kāñchīpuram temple (Fig. 9) is also remarkable and early in point of time ⁽⁶⁾. Viṣṇu and *varāha* in all these representations receive the *vāmacāra* status. The Vaiṣṇavas have no antidote to this form, excepting the two rare pieces of Vaikunṭhamūrti and seated Nṛsiṃha of the Nāmakkal cave (*infra*).

Other Forms

Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, the Lord (Śiva) who becomes wedded to Umā, is a popular idiom in South Indian art since the early mediaeval period of which there are two

⁽⁶⁾ However the earliest specimen of a human being (Candrasekhara?) appearing within the Liṅga comes from Guḍimallam (Basham 1971: pl. 17b).

colossal representations in the Elephanta cave and the *Dumārleṇa* at Ellora. It was a popular idiom with the Cōḷa bronze makers and appears in most Śiva temples of the Cōḷa, Vijayanagara and Nāyaka periods in Tamil Nadu. The usual typology represents Śiva and Umā as the central core, the former taking the hand of the latter and Viṣṇu pouring the sanctifying holy water (this is according to the Southern tradition) on to the united hands of the divine couple. The mythological sanction is that Viṣṇu gives his sister in marriage to Śiva. What he does by pouring the water is *kannikādāna* 'gift of girl'. Brahmā too appears in the panel as a priest, seated before the *boma-kunḍa* 'fire pit' as the ritual head, giving the Śāstraic sanction for the marriage. It is interesting to note that Umā appears on the right side of Śiva in both the Elephanta and Ellora pieces. Viṣṇu is to the right side (and thus Śiva receives a *vāmacāra* treatment) in Elephanta (Berkson et al. 1983: pls. 51-52) and the left in the Ellora cave (Fig. 8; Kalidos 1986c: 32) (7).

Tripurāntaka is another form akin to Kalyāṇasundara in iconographical composition. In this form, Śiva appears as a warrior to topple the *tripuras*, the triple demons who disguised themselves as mighty forts. According to mythology, Śiva was assisted by a host of the gods in his war against the demons. Thus the earth became a chariot, Brahmā the charioteer, Viṣṇu the arrow and Mount Meru the bow (Rao 1971: II, I, 164-70). We have a classical representation of the theme in the Kailāsa at Ellora, just behind the façade on the left side of the main gateway. There is a dilapidated image in the Shore temple at Māmāllapuram which is thematically unique and finds no parallel in other parts of India either in point of time or composition. Normally Tripurāntaka is a *sthānaka* image but at Māmāllapuram Śiva is seated and holds the arrow and bow in his right and left hands respectively. What is striking in the carving is that Viṣṇu appears figuratively in his usual *caturbhuja* aspect, representing the arrow-head. Here Viṣṇu gets the right-hand place, making Śiva's position *vāmacāra*. In other illustrations Viṣṇu is never represented figuratively. So the Māmāllapuram piece is simply unique in the context of our study.

In the Nāmakkal cave (no. II) there are two representations of Vaikuṇṭhamūrti and seated Nṛsiṃha, both attended by Śiva and Brahmā to the right and left respectively. All are *caturbhuja* and hold their characteristic emblems in *para-bastas*. Śiva bears the *mṛga* and *nāga*. Nāmakkal was a stronghold of the Vaiṣṇava sect and it is interesting to find Śiva appear on the right side of Viṣṇu, thus making the latter's position *vāmacāra* (Fig. 10; Dehejia 1977; Kalidos 1986c: 470).

(7) Carmel Berkson (1983) and most other scholars consider the figure bearing the *pūrṇa-kumbha* 'water pitcher' as Himavan but I am inclined to treat him as Viṣṇu because in all the later mediaeval representations Viṣṇu as *śaṅkha-cakra-dhāri* pours the water. Others may point out that in the Elephanta piece Viṣṇu appears separately as seated upon the *garuḍa* to the left side of Śiva. This kind of duplication, i.e., one divine person appearing in various forms on a particular occasion, is possible in the Hindu tradition. For example see Viṣṇu as both Vaikuṇṭhamūrti and Nṛsiṃha appearing within a panel at Nāmakkal (Fig. 10).



Fig. 9 - Liṅgodbhava, Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñchīpuram.



Fig. 10 - Vaikunṭhamūrti, Nāmakkal Cave temple.

From the above study what is to be generalized is that a number of iconographical forms, purporting to either syncretizing (e.g. Elephanta type of triunes or Ekapādamūrti) or bringing together the Hindu Trinity into an entity (e.g. Tiruccirāppaḷḷi type of Trimūrtis, Somāskanda and Kalyāṇasundara) were being created since the early mediaeval period. In forms like Harihara, Viṣṇu and Śiva alone get fused. What is important in these iconographical illustrations is the *vāmacāra* place assigned to either Viṣṇu (these are numerically superior) or Śiva. As in the case of Ardhanārīśvara or Harihara in which Umā and Viṣṇu uniformly receive the *vāmacāra* treatment, the trend is not uniform in other themes. This is an important phenomenon in the Hindu social usage wherein *vāmacāra* was treated as something low, mean and not worthy of being accorded a commendable status of equality. So it is imperative at this juncture to explain this phenomenon in order to bring out the social values of the iconographical motifs under review.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT

In the Hindu sociological context *vāmacāra* is synonymous with weakness, frailty, meanness, baseness and degradation. It is generally believed that the power of a

man is on the right half and that of a woman on the left half. That is why in Ardhhanārīśvara the female is to the left (Kalidos 1993). The followers of Śakti as the primordial and omnipotent power, called Śāktas, who took to the *pañcamakaras* ⁽⁸⁾, are called *vāmacāris*. *Vāmacāra* is also known as *kaulamārga* which has a derogatory sense also in as far as the word *kauleyaka* means 'a bastard', *kaulinam* 'a scandalous act', *kaulika* 'a weaver' (a low caste) ⁽⁹⁾, *kauleyaka* 'a dog' (Apte 1976: 166). All these will stand proof of the fact that any one who occupies the left side is equated with the feminine principle or something low. It is also worth mentioning that in the Rājarājeśvaram at Tañjāvūr the image of Vāmadeva, the feminine part of Sadāśiva, appears on the left *koṣṭha* of the *pradakṣiṇa-pāṭha* within the inner cloister of the *garbhagrha* ⁽¹⁰⁾. Now, why in Hindu social usage the left side is treated low and mean? Of the two hands, it is customary in India to use the right one for all good or auspicious doings; say for example eating, giving a gift and so on. The left hand is used for lower usage; say cleaning the secret parts of the body after a call of nature or for doing any activity that is supposed to incur impurity or pollution. Even a left-hander in the Hindu social circles or even immature children are not expected to perform any auspicious activity, using the left hand.

Against this background, certain ideas got established in Indian courtly life and social organization like caste. In mediaeval Tamil Nadu, for example, the armed flanks were divided into *valankai* (right-hand division) and *iṭṭankai mahācēṇai* (left-hand division). Those of the *valankai* group were superior in status. Caste organization was also in the *valankai-iṭṭankai* pattern. Needless to add that the *valankai* castes enjoyed a superior social status. For more details on this subject, which I need not elaborate here, see Taylor (1857-62), Raman (1959), Rajayyan (1966), Mahalingam (1967), Hunumanthan (1981), and Kalidos (1989).

If one views the thesis elaborated in the present paper against the sociological

⁽⁸⁾ Followers of the Tantric cult believe in the consumption of *māṁsa* 'meat', *maṁsya* 'fish', *madya* 'wine', *mudrā* (symbolic gestures), and *maithuna* 'sexual intercourse'. See Kalidos 1986a: 78; Mookerjee 1977: 185.

⁽⁹⁾ Apte (1976) quotes a passage to the following effect: *Kauliko Viṣṇurūpeṇa nājakanyāni niṣevate* 'the weaver who represents Viṣṇu in form renders his services to spinsters of the royal family'. The metaphorical equivalence of *kaulika* with Viṣṇu is to treat him as a woman, maybe even a eunuch. This is to make him behave like a woman in the company of royal women folk so that no untoward incident, resulting in any sexual misbehaviour, occurs while performing his services. It may also be noted here that the *Kāṭyapa Nāmakāṇḍa* (pp. 283-85) calls the weaver by the caste name *ayogava*, born of a *vaśīya* father and *śāstriya* mother which is a *pratiloma* type of birth. The *Viṣṇusambhita* and *Maṁsambhita* also make a note of *ayogava*, both of the *pratiloma* type in which case the father is a *tūdra* and the mother a *vaśīya*, the prescribed avocation being artistic works and carpentry respectively. According to the Hindu *dharmaśāstras* those born in the *pratiloma* lineage were very mean creatures, treated as *pañcamas* (the fifth caste which was untouchable). For a detailed study of the points elaborated above, see Kalidos 1984: 374-87.

⁽¹⁰⁾ For a detailed study see Kalidos 1986b.

context, it will be evident that there was an effort to treat Viṣṇu as a *vāmacāra* principle which must have taken place at the instance of Śaivas who had a domineering following in South India through the ages down to Vijayanagara. However, the effort in certain circles was resisted by the Vaiṣṇavas who tried to project Śiva as a *vāmacāra* principle. This effort seems to have been feeble if we look into the numerical volume of the various typologies analysed in the second part of our study. All these were due to sectarian animosity and rivalry, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas making persistent attempts to proclaim the superiority of their own creeds through iconographical illustrations.

However, a paradoxical proposition emerges when we take into account the Vaiṣṇava Tamil *bhakti* literature wherein Viṣṇu's *vāmacāra* status is acknowledged. How did this happen? It appears that the Vaiṣṇavas had some reluctance in treating the left as a woman half. In support of this argument we may bring two points for elaboration in which Lakṣmī, the feminine counterpart of Viṣṇu, receives a right-hand treatment: (1) the *śrīvatsa* symbol, a mole representing Lakṣmī or Śrī, is carved only on the right chest of the images of Viṣṇu ⁽¹¹⁾, and (2) the *sanctum sanctorum*, meant for Lakṣmī of Śrī within a Viṣṇu temple is to be found only on the right side of the main *sanctum sanctorum*, meant for the Lord ⁽¹²⁾. So the Vaiṣṇavas generally did not treat very seriously the *vāmacāra* status assigned to Viṣṇu in iconographical forms of syncretic nature. But the fewer examples, in which Śiva is assigned a *vāmacāra* place would allow us to generalize that in certain circles there was a reaction which was sporadic in nature and failed to produce any pan-Indian effect due mainly to the basic Vaiṣṇava ideology which approved of the right-side-woman concept. If viewed in this angle, the right half in forms like Harihara, Liṅgodbhava and Somāskanda is feminine according to the Vaiṣṇavas. In any case Viṣṇu is supreme in his own way, no matter what the Śaivite treatment was. So also Śiva was supreme in his own way, no matter what the Vaiṣṇava treatment was.

⁽¹¹⁾ Śrīdevī, the Mother Goddess Lakṣmī, having her residence on the chest of Viṣṇu, is alluded to in a number of hymns of the Ālvārs. In such a form the Lord is called Cīrītaṇṇa (Skt. Śrīdhara) (*Periya Tirumoli* 2.3.9, 4.6.2; *Nācōṭṭār Tirumoli* 2.1, 5.9), Tirumārvaṇ (Tiru 'Śrī', *mārpa* 'chest') (*Periya Tirumoli* 3.1.2, 3.5.2, *Periya Tirumāṇal* 1.148), and Maṭṭakaimārpaṇ (*maṭṭakai* 'woman') (*Periya Tirumoli* 9.5.3). Periyālvār in his *Tiruppallāṇṭu* (v. 2) gives a specific indication to the right-side half of the Feminine Principle. The beautiful expression, noted for its rhythmic tone, is *vaṭṭōṭṭi nṭu valamārpaiṇil vāṭṭeṇṇa maṭṭakai*, meaning thereby that the gracious damsel resides in the right chest of the Lord. In another place (*Periya Tirumoli* 3.5.9) it is stated that the Lord unites (*kaḷantu*, this term also denotes sexual union) with Śrīdevī in his chest. I am of the opinion that there is an erotic content in this particular reference which would mean that the Tantric approach in Vaiṣṇava tradition is not *vāmacāra*.

⁽¹²⁾ In Śiva temples the programme is the opposite, i.e., Devī shrine to the left of the Lord (e.g. the Tārācuram temple); the Mīṇākṣī-Sundarēśvara temple, Madurai, is an exception. A good example is the Natarāja temple, Citamparam, where shrines for the goddesses appear to the right and left of the houses, meant for Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyī and Natarāja respectively (Younger 1986: fig. on p. 223).

CONCLUSION

It may be added here that at times religious traditions and social usages come into clash with each other which happened in case of the paradoxical treatment that Viṣṇu had to receive in respect of the *vāmacāra* status in iconographical illustrations. *Vāmacāra* as a derogatory factor was more a social phenomenon which percolated into the sphere of religion and art. The Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī (left-right) relation was a religious tradition because the Feminine Principle is a vital force which activates the Male Principle in all his doings according to the Śrī Vaiṣṇava ideology. So the Vaiṣṇavas since the time of the Ālvārs did not view with serious concern the *vāmacāra* aspect of Viṣṇu in iconographical motifs and they even accepted it since it was in tune with their religious heritage and philosophical orientation. The fewer repulsive elements, traceable in forms like Trimūrti or Trimūrtis and Tripurāntaka are likely to have taken shape when religious traditions and customary social usages came into conflict with each other, thus providing a ground to argue that Śiva is also *vāmacāra* at times if Viṣṇu should be treated as something low on this basis.

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Evolution of Gaṇeśa

by Y. KRISHAN

Hierarchically Gaṇeśa is a relatively minor god of the Hindu pantheon. Essentially he is a *parśva devatā*, a subordinate deity. But in practical terms, he is one of the most important gods. He is both *Vighnakartā* 'creator of obstacles' and *Vighnabartā* 'remover of obstacles'. That is why he is *Vighneśvara* 'lord of obstacles'. He is invoked for averting evil and removing obstacles in any activity or performance, religious or secular and for success and prosperity. No work or enterprise can be started without offering him worship and invoking his blessings, be it the performance of domestic rites of birth, name giving, commencement of education, house warming, marriage, etc. All business activity, construction work, such as house building, launching of any new project, is preceded by the worship of Gaṇeśa. For this reason the study of his origin is of great importance.

Modern scholars are generally agreed that Gaṇeśa is a non-Vedic god ⁽¹⁾. But how a non-Vedic and therianthropic god came to be admitted to the Hindu pantheon and its dualistic character received widespread acceptance, has not been adequately explained by the various scholarly studies of Gaṇeśa ⁽²⁾.

The peculiar and characteristic features of the classical Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati are five:

- i) Conceptually Vināyaka is *Vighneśvara* 'lord of obstacles', *vighnakartā* 'creator of obstacles'; later he becomes *vighnabartā* 'remover of obstacles' and *buddhidātā* 'bestower of knowledge', *siddhidātā* 'bestower of success', and *vrddhidātā* 'bestower of prosperity';
- ii) Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa is generally associated with the *mātr̥s* or *mātr̥kās*, usually seven in number;
- iii) physiognomically he has an elephant's head over a human trunk and limbs, that is, the head of an elephant with trunk, the lower portion being the body of a man;
- iv) Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa is also associated with the *navagrahas*, the nine planets of the Hindu astronomy.

⁽¹⁾ Y. Krishan, 'The Origins of Gaṇeśa', *Artibus Asiae*, XLIII 4, 1981-82, pp. 285-301.

⁽²⁾ P.B. Courtright, *Gaṇeśa Lord of Obstacles, Lord of Beginnings*, New York 1985; H. Heras, *The Problem of Gaṇapati*, Delhi 1972; Haridas Mitra, *Gaṇapati*, *Visva Bharati Annual*, VIII, Santiniketan, n.d.; A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, Oxford 1936. There are also articles on Gaṇeśa in various journals. See Bibliography in Courtright, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-64.

v) Vināyaka or Gaṇapati is embellished with a serpent (*nāga* or *śarpa*) as an ornament — sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) or a girdle (*kaṭibandha*) or a stomach belt (*udarabandha*).

Two other features of the classical Gaṇeśa's, viz. that he is one-tusked (*ekadantīn*) and has rat as his *vāhana* (mount), are not relevant in studying the evolution and functional significance of Gaṇeśa and, therefore, have not been covered in this study as their examination, it was felt, will make this study discursive. It has been confined to the study of the core features of the cult of Gaṇeśa.

I. GAṆEŚA AS VIGHNEŚA

The Origin of Vighnakartā, 'Creator of Evil, of Impediments' and Evolution of Gaṇeśa

The *Atharvaveda* ⁽³⁾ traces the evil features of life — disease, suffering and death — to various factors: earthquakes, atmospheric disturbances, adverse astral movements, meteors (*ulkā*), natural calamities (*utpāta*), *nakṣatras* (stars in the path of the moon) benign and malevolent, displeasure of divine beings and the mischief of evil spirits (AV 19.9.6-10). In particular the AV traces disease — physical and mental of unknown etiology — to certain supernatural factors — demons or malevolent spirits — *piśācas* and *atrinś* (who devour flesh of their victims), *kaṇvas* (who prey upon the embryos), epilepsy (*apasmāra*) (AV 2.2.5, 4.37, 19.36.6), *rākṣas* (who deprive a person of the power of discrimination) (AV 6.111.2), *grābī* 'fit' or seizure (AV 2.9.1, 2.10.6, 3.11.1, 6.112.1, 8.2.12, 12.3.18), *jambha* 'convulsion' (AV 2.4.2). In fact, the AV calls the diseases themselves as demons.

In particular Nirṛti is the goddess of evil, of death; of evil omen 'of perdition and misfortune'. 'She is invoked and offerings are made to her to keep her away from the sacrifice and is prayed to remove any impediments or obstacles in the performance of a sacrifice' ⁽⁴⁾. In the epic period, she is replaced by Jyeṣṭhā Alakṣmī, the antithesis of Lakṣmī, good fortune and wealth. Jyeṣṭhā Alakṣmī is also called Hastimukhā and Vighnapārasadā in the *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra*. The *Baudhāyanagrhyaparīśiṣṭa* III 10.1 ff. records a ritual text dedicated to the goddess Jyeṣṭhā Alakṣmī who is called Hastimukhā.

The evil spirits are exorcized by purification through water and by recitation of *mantras*, sacred hymns. In fact the AV ⁽⁵⁾ contains a number of *cātanānī* hymns which are used as 'expellers', that is, for exorcizing evil influences on beings, in witchcraft rites (*abhicārika*). It is these evil spirits of the AV which come to be identified as Vighnakartā in subsequent literature.

⁽³⁾ See *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, Vol. IV, s.v. 'Disease & Medicine. Vedic and Hindu'.

⁽⁴⁾ S.K. Lal, 'Female Divinities vis-a-vis Śrauta Rites', *The Haryana Sahitya Akademi Journal of Indological Studies*, II 1-2, Spring 1987, p. 73.

⁽⁵⁾ W.D. Whitney, transl., *Atharvaveda*, Delhi 1962. Examples of *Cātanānī* hymns are AV I 7, II 14, II 18, II 25, V 29, etc.

The earliest reference to *Vighnakartā* or evil producing being is to Vināyaka in the *Mānavagbhyasūtra* (7th-5th century B.C.). This *sūtra* speaks of four (6) Vināyakas who are *vighnas*, impediments in the achievement of the goals of the people in various walks of life. They also take the form of mental disorders, obsessive and depressive states in their victims.

In the Epics, Vināyaka appears late inasmuch as the verses containing reference to Vināyaka are interpolations. Again the essential nature of Vināyaka is evil who needs to be appeased. Thus the *Rāmāyana* (?) VI 128.113 speaks of pacification (*sāmayanti*) of Vināyakas who haunt a house. In the *Śāntiparva* (8) of the *Mbh*, the interpolated reference, Vināyaka is associated with demons and ghosts, *rākṣasas*, *piśācas* and *bhūtas* and they are the source of *vighnas*, obstacles. An interpolated verse in the *Anuśāsanaparva* (?) identifies Vināyakas as the lord of *gaṇas*, and as the gods of the people in general. That the Vināyaka in the epics had an evil nature is corroborated by the fact that in the epic mythology Rudra, who is the lord of the malevolent *rudragāṇas*, also becomes *bbūtādhipati* and *pramathanātha* (10).

Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* (300 B.C. to 200 A.D.) enumerates 'evil spirits' under the name *rākṣasa* as one of the eight calamities (*mahābbayāni*).

The *Yājñavalleyasmṛti* (1st-3rd century A.D.) marks the next stage in the evolution of Vighnakartā as Gaṇeśa. In this *smṛti* the four Vināyakas of the *Mānavagbhyasūtra* are amalgamated into one Vināyaka who is an embodiment of evil. Whereas in the *Mānavagbhyasūtra* Vināyakas are impediments *per se*, in the *Yājñavalleyasmṛti*, the Vināyaka becomes a single source of evil, of obstacles. Vināyaka also acquires the capacity to render ineffective the performance of religious rites. He acquires a new designation — *gaṇādhipati*, later also called *gaṇapati*, *mahāgaṇapati*, the lord or leader of *gaṇas*, the word *gaṇa* meaning a multitude, or hosts (11).

Vināyaka also becomes the son of Ambikā who, in the epic period, is deemed to be Pārvatī, the spouse of Śiva. Thus Vināyaka comes to be associated with Śiva as his son. Vināyaka is also admitted into the Brāhmaṇical pantheon inasmuch as he

(6) One of the four Vināyakas is named in the *Mānavagbhyasūtra* as *Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra*. The other three Vināyakas were: *Śālakapāṇkata*, *Usmita* and *Devayajana*. In *Āyurveda* *Kūṣmāṇḍagraha* is a psychic disease of the children involving personality disorder. See V.R. Athavale, *Bāleveda: Pediatrics and Āyurveda*, Bombay 1977, p. 148.

(7) *Vināyaksā sāmayanti gṛhasthpati yasya vai*. See fn. 703 of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Ram* (cr. ed.). This verse occurs in the *Granthā* edition.

(8) *Mbh* (cr. ed.), Vol. 16, Appendix I, No. 28, v. 420.

(9) *Mbh* (cr. ed.), Vol. 17, Pt. II, Appendix I, No. 18, v. 55.

(10) *Pramathanātha* is the title of Śiva who is another variant of Rudra.

(11) The word *gaṇa* in the *smṛtis* only means (i) an association of merchants, (ii) a guild of horse traders, (iii) an association of men living in a village, (iv) an association of warriors, etc. who pursue the same vocation. See S.C. Banerji, *A Glossary of Smṛti Literature*, Calcutta 1963.

is appointed as the leader of *gaṇas* (*gaṇapati*) by Brahmā and Rudra ⁽¹²⁾ and recitation of Vedic *svasti* and *baḷi mantras* is prescribed for the performance of Vināyaka *śānti* pacificatory rites. Conclusive evidence of the brahmanization of Vināyaka is to be found in the fact that the Vināyakas of the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* are offered wine and flesh whereas the later Vināyaka-Gaṇeśa is vegetarian enjoying *modaka* (sweet balls) ⁽¹³⁾. Further, worship of Vināyaka alongwith *grahas* ensures that all actions bear fruit (*Yaj* I 293). Thus Vināyaka now also becomes *siddhidātā*, bestower of fortune.

Vāyupurāṇa (300-600 A.D.) I 30.309 emphasizes that the house in which Śiva is worshipped is free, *inter alia*, from malevolent Vināyakas: *na ca yakṣāḥ piśācā vā na nāga na Vināyakāḥ kuryurvighnam gr̥be tasya yatna sanṣṭīryate bhavaḥ*. The *Vāyupurāṇa* II 30 narrates how Gaṇeśa as Nikumbha or Kṣemaka was commissioned by Śiva to deceive the pious king Divodāsa of Vārāṇasi; he granted boons to everyone else but withheld them from Divodāsa and his queen mischievously and provoked him into destroying Gaṇeśa's shrine in anger on the ground that this Gaṇeśa was wicked (*durātmā*) (*Vāyu* II 30.50). This provides corroborative evidence that in the first phase of his evolution Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka was only an evil being, *vighnakartā*. In the *Bṛahmaṇḍapurāṇa* 2.3.7.161 Vināyaka is *loka vināyaka* — a folk evil spirit.

In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 1.1.39 (6th century A.D.) Vināyaka is described as *vighnarāja* (lord of obstacles), *gaṇādhipa* (lord of *gaṇas*). Though in *Bhāgavata* XII 27.20-23 Vināyakas become companions of the god Bhāgavata, their evil nature is clearly established by their association with *rākṣasas*, *piśācas*, *bbūtas*, *pretas* (*Bhāgavata* II 10.35-40; VI 8.19-24; X 6.19-29) with *Kūṣamāṇḍa grahas* (VI 8.19-24 and X 6.19-29), with *Ḍākinīs*, *Jaṭādbārin Mātṛs* (X 6.19-29).

The *Baudhāyanadbharmasūtra* (*BaudhDS*) 2.5.9.7 is a rite of *tarpaṇa*, offering of water and food to refresh or satiate *Vighna* (obstacles), Vināyaka (leader of obstacles), Gaṇapati (lord of *gaṇas*). Likewise *BaudhDS* 3.6.13 advises that a person undergoing *prāyaścitta* (expiation) should have *darśana* (reverential view) of *gaṇas* and of the lord of *gaṇas* (*gaṇānāma paśyati gaṇādhipatim paśyati*) ⁽¹⁴⁾. Bāṇabhaṭṭa (7th century A.D.) in *Harṣacarita* III calls Vināyaka as *Vighna Vināyaka*, emphasizing his evil or obstacle-producing nature: in *Harṣacarita* VIII he calls Vināyaka as *aśiva sabacara* — an

⁽¹²⁾ In the *Varāhapurāṇa* 23.25 Brahmā tells Rudra that Gaṇapati, who was born from his laughter (that is from his mouth) be the chief of the Vināyakas.

⁽¹³⁾ As has been stated by V. Ramasubramaniam, 'The Gaṇapati-Vināyaka-Gajānana Worship. Analysis of an Integrated Cult', *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, Madras, 1971, p. 138: '[...] the demoniac Vināyakas and Vighneśas, who were delighting in fish, meat, and wine, being elevated to the caste of the vegetarian, *modaka*-loving "twice born (*dvija*) Brāhmin"', now the offering is of coconut.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Bühler has pointed out that 'several *adhyāyas* of *Pṛthvī* III seem to have been borrowed from other works or to be abstracts from them [...] the sixth [chapter] bears a very close and suspicious resemblance to *Viṣṇu* XLVIII. In fact, according to Jolly, the passage in *Bṛahdhāyana* "which inculcates the worship of Gaṇeśa or Śiva or both would be quite sufficient in itself to cast a doubt on the genuineness and originality of his versions"' (G. Bühler, transl., *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas* (SBE), Delhi 1965, Introduction, p. xxxiv; J. Jolly, transl., *Institutes of Viṣṇu* (SBE, VII), Delhi 1965, Introduction, p. xix.

inauspicious, or more precisely an evil companion. Likewise, in the *Uttarabbāga* of *Kādambarī*, Bhūṣaṇa refers to *aśva mūrtyo mahāvināyaka*, Vināyaka as the embodiment of inauspiciousness or evil.

Mitākṣarā (*Mit*), 10th century commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* I 271 calls Vināyaka lord of evils or impediments, *Vighneśvara*. He is also appointed as such by Viṣṇu, besides Rudra and Brahmā. As he is now an appointee of all the three great gods of Hinduism, Brahmā, Śiva (Rudra) and Viṣṇu, he ceases to be a sectarian god; he becomes non-sectarian. Perhaps that is why *Mit* I 292 says that Vināyaka should be substituted by the word *Bhagavāna*, Lord of Destiny. The *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* 1.23 (*vighnakarmainiriyukto api vināyakaḥ*) and the *Devīpurāṇa* 61 (*vināyakaḥ karmavighna siddhyarthaṃ viniyojitaḥ*) declare that Vināyaka was appointed to create obstacles in all works or enterprises.

The Nepalese Buddhist legend in the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* ⁽¹⁵⁾ provides independent corroborative evidence that, in its original nature, Gaṇeśa was a *vighna*, an obstacle, hence evil. He was admitted into the Buddhist pantheon on being chastened by Vighnāntaka. Oḍiyācārya was harassed by Gaṇeśa for his failure to invite him to a function where other gods had been invited to instal his idol in a temple; Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha created Vighnāntaka to protect Oḍiyācārya. Eventually, Gaṇeśa surrendered to Vighnāntaka but on the condition that he (Gaṇeśa) should be worshipped at the commencement of all works or ceremonies.

Skanda, Another Vighnakartā

Besides Vināyaka, Skanda was also originally said to cause disease, suffering and thus create obstacles. In fact, Skanda was once the embodiment of evil par excellence ⁽¹⁶⁾.

In the 'original' *Mahābhārata* as reconstituted, it is Skanda who is considered as *Vighnakartā* 'creator of obstacles'. The *Āraṇyaparva* of the *Mbh* 3.215 describes the birth of Skanda, Kumāra, Guha, from the intercourse of Fire with Svāhā, daughter of Dakṣa. Svāhā deposits the seed (semen of Agni) on a peak of white mountain guarded by poisonous snakes, and abounding in *rākṣasas*, *piśācas* and other terrible spirits and animals. In other words the environment in which Skanda was born only generated

⁽¹⁵⁾ A. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

⁽¹⁶⁾ F.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, New Delhi 1974 (repr.), p. 229, states that 'as son of Agni, Skanda was identified with all burnings (fevers) and other afflictions. The god who represented fire and affliction was naturally associated with the troops of afflicting beings grouped about Śiva and so became a "son of Śiva"'. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, observes that Skandha is the name of an evil being, a demon that causes drought. Again Skandha often occurs as a wrong reading of Skanda. It is the name of evil powers. Edgerton adds: 'It is possible but far from certain that this is to be identified with the *Skt* Skanda who is said to cause diseases among children'.

and strengthened his evil disposition. The birth of Skanda was accompanied by terrifying portents (*mabāghorān utpātān*: *Mbh* 3.215.1) and the sages perform pacificatory rites (*śānti*). Initially the birth of Skanda is described as a great calamity (*anartha mahān*: *Mbh* 3.215.2-3). He was nursed by *dohitāyanī* who as a blood-sucker and an embodiment of *krodha* (*karodhasamudabhava*) 'anger' and of *krūra* 'cruel', a being who lived on blood (*krūra lobitabhajana*: *Mbh* 3.226-27). Skanda is said to rob children, both newly born and in womb (*Mbh* 3.217.1). Seven mothers, Kākī, Halimā, Mālinī, Bṛmhātā, Āryā, Palālkā, and Vaimitrā, are made the mothers of the world and are both propitious (*śivā*) and unpropitious (*aśivā*) (*Mbh* 3.217.8). Skanda confers on mothers the capacity to devour children (*mātrṇām prajā bhoktum*: *Mbh* 3.219.19). In addition, eighteen *grabas* emerge from Skanda who are fond of flesh and liquor and who afflict young children till they attain the age of 16 (*Mbh* 3.219.19), who devour the offsprings of mortals and destroy the foetuses (*Mbh* 3.219.25-40). This band of seven mothers (*mātaras*) and the male *grabas* are called *Skanda-grabas* (*Mbh* 3.219.42). If Skanda and *Skanda-grabas* and the *Mātaras* are properly propitiated, they bestow well being, long life and virility. The *grabas* which afflict after the age of 16 cause madness in their victims: these *grabas* are *devagraba*, *pitṛgraba*, *siddhagraba*, *rākṣasagraba*, *yakṣagraba*, *piśācagraba*, *gandharvagraba* (*Mbh* 3.219.44-52). It is also significant that the various companions of Skanda, viz. *Mātr̥s* and *grabas* are called *gaṇas* whose worship helps to obtain wealth and avert diseases (*Mbh* 3.220.12). The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 2-3.10.51-53 says that Skanda was surrounded by *pramathas*, *mātr̥s* and *vināyakas*, and this is indicative of the close connection between them.

That the true original nature of Skanda was evil is also borne out by the beings who attended his coronation (*abhiṣeka*) when he becomes Commander-in-Chief (*mahāsenāpati*) of the forces of the *devas* (*devasenāpati*) in their fight against the *asuras*; *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas* join the investiture ceremony (*Mbh* 9.44.22); Yama provides Skanda with two attendants Unmatha and Pramatha (*Mbh* 9.44.27). Some of the companions of Skanda had faces of animals, tortoise, cock, dog, wolf, owl, ass, etc.; some had hideous features, large necks, nose, teeth, etc.; some had their mouths on their stomachs, on their backs, etc., later identified as classical *gaṇas*. *Mātr̥s* also became his companions. In the *Mṛccakaṭikā* 3.12 thieves are said to be the disciples of Skanda, *caurūṇām Skandaputrāṇām*.

In the *Suśruta saṁhitā* VI 27.3-5 nine diseases (*grabas*) of children are enumerated. Of these the first two are the Skandagraba and Skandāpasmāra. Another disease afflicting children is called Naigameṣa of Bālagraba. The ram-headed Naigameṣa is also related to Skanda because he was produced from Śiva. In this *Saṁhitā* Skanda is called *grabādhipati*, lord of planets. The *Aṣṭāṅgabṛdaya* VI 3.1-2 ⁽¹⁷⁾ also describes Skanda as a spirit causing diseases among children. The *Kāśyapaśaṁhitā* V 11.21, *inter-alia*, speaks of Skandagraba.

⁽¹⁷⁾ It classifies five *grabas* as male (Skanda, Viśākha, Meṣa, Sva, Pitṛ) and seven as female *grabas*: (Śakunī, Pūtanā, Sītāpūtanā, Adṛṣṭi-pūtanā, Mukhamāṇḍitikā, Revatī and Supka Revatī).

In Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* VIII.7.181-183 Skanda is said to be surrounded by *duṣṭa graha* *śiṣugraha*, inauspicious planets and planets unfavourable to children.

Supplement No. 20 to the *Atharvaveda pariśiṣṭa* is an apocryphal and late text named *Dhūrta Kalpa* ⁽¹⁸⁾ which contains details about the worship of Skanda: the ritual of Skanda is called *Dhūrtayāga* — worship paid to *Dhūrta* — rogue in case of illness. The other names of Dhūrta are Skanda, Viśākha, Śālakṣaṇkaṭa. Śālakṣaṇkaṭa is one of the four Vināyaka in the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*. He is accompanied by *mātrkāś*. It appears that the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa* preserves the memory of the evil-causing being of a much earlier period. It also appears that in the Buddhist literature also Skanda was considered an evil being.

Thus, in the *Mbh* Skanda is the embodiment of evil forces which torment man with death and disease, physical and mental, and thus plays the same role as the Vināyaka of the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* and of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*. But Skanda is also appointed to the office of Devasenāpati, the Commander of the forces of the gods in their fight against demons. Skanda becomes a Vedic, more precisely, an epic deity and is accepted by Indra as the leader of the army of gods and the husband of Devasenā ⁽¹⁹⁾. There is now an apparent conflict between the role of Skanda as *vighnakartā* and as the leader of the divine hosts. No wonder Skanda could no longer continue to be the source of evil; the office of Devasenāpati made it imperative for Skanda to let his evil-causative traits wither away ⁽²⁰⁾ and to let Vināyaka retain that exclusive privilege to himself, and he became *Vighna vāraṇa*, 'Warder' of obstacles (*Śivapurāṇa* 2 IV 6.18-19) ⁽²¹⁾. It is significant that in the *Gaṇeśapurāṇa* ⁽²²⁾ Mayūreśvara, the second incarnation of Gaṇeśa, transfers his *vāhana*, *mayūra* 'peacock', to Śaḍānana or Skanda. In short, Skanda undergoes a transformation: he ceases to be a *piśāca* and becomes a god. His functions as *piśāca* are appropriated by Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa. Now Gaṇeśa becomes the great *grāmadevatā mahāgrāmanī* of Bharatamuni's *Nāṭyaśāstra* 3.9 who is identified by Abhinavagupta with Mahāgaṇapati.

It follows from the above that the classical Gaṇeśa as *Vighnakartā*, creator of obstacles, had not emerged in the Hindu pantheon of the *Mahābhārata* and the god of evil had not acquired a definitive name: he was called Vināyaka (*Mānavagṛhyasūtra*) and Skanda (*Mbh*), and *nākṣasa* in the *Artśāstra* of Kauṭilya. It is only in the

⁽¹⁸⁾ V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, Varanasi 1970, p. 69. See also P.K. Agrawala, *Skanda-Kārttikya*, Varanasi 1967, pp. 18-20 and Appendix II, pp. 104-10.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Agrawala, *ibid.*, p. 71. As Agrawala puts it, *ibid.*, p. 72, '[...] a fold deity of terrible form with bloody red eyes and projecting fangs like those of Yakṣas and Cannibal goblins (*piśācas*) was being converted into a beautiful high born deity having a lofty rank'.

⁽²⁰⁾ *Kaṭhāṇa: Gaṇeśa Aṅka* (Hindī), Gorakhpur 1974, p. 319.

⁽²¹⁾ In *Manjūśrīmūlakalpa*, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum 1920, chap. II, p. 29, Manjūśrī is described as a *mahākrodharāja* having the name Śaṇamukha 'six-faced', *paramagubhya* 'most mysterious' and *vighnavināśakaḥ* 'destroyer of impediments'.

⁽²²⁾ *Kaṭhāṇa, cit.*, p. 319.

Yājñavalkyasmṛiti that Vināyaka becomes a single entity causing evil; he also becomes the principal source of obstacles, as distinguished from Skanda who now undergoes a beneficial transformation. As a natural consequence, the practice of ritual *śānti* or pacificatory rite, is no longer limited to the appeasement of Vedic gods. This is now extended to include the appeasement of Vināyaka.

II. VINĀYAKA AND THE SAPTAMĀTRIKĀS

The *mātr̥s* do not figure in the *gṛhyasūtras* ⁽²³⁾. The *mātr̥s* were originally non-Vedic ⁽²⁴⁾, non-Aryan, Dravidian folk deities, *grāmadevatīs*. This is borne out by the names of the *mātr̥s* in *Mbb* 3.224.10-16, 225.22-25, 229.14-15, which mention seven *śiṣu mātr̥kās*: Kālī, Halimā, Mālinī, Bṛmhātā, Āryā, Palālā, and Vaimitrā. In fact *Mbb* 3.217.7-13 classifies the *mātr̥s* into two broad groups: *śivāḥ* (propitious) and *aśivāḥ* (evil). The latter cause abortion, afflict children, feast on children's flesh and cause abnormalities in the birth of children (*Mbb* 3.219.27.36): they are malign for children upto the age of sixteen (*Mbb* 3.219.41). They also personified various scourges which afflict mankind: small-pox (Mātā, Sītalā, Jyeṣṭhā Poleramā), typhoid (Mutteyalammā), cholera (Ankammā), jaundice, hysteria, or deadly serpents (Manasā), and cattle diseases.

In the *Śatyaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* ⁽²⁵⁾ about 185 *mātr̥s* are named and it is added that there are many other Mothers numbering thousands and of diverse forms. They were conceived as fierce, hideous, ravenous, emaciated, baleful or malefic beings; in short they were similar to witches and were to be propitiated by bloody sacrifices of goats, pigs, hens, buffaloes, etc. In fact, the *Āraṇyaparva* of the *Mbb* 3.217.8-9 distinguishes the female followers of Skanda as *śivā*, auspicious benign spirits, and *aśivā*, inauspicious evil spirits ⁽²⁶⁾. The *aśivā* are the evil-causing *mātr̥kās*. The character of the *mātr̥s* referred to in the *Kaṭhāsaritsāgara* can be appreciated from their

⁽²³⁾ P.V. Kane, *History of the Dharmasūtras*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, Poona 1974, pp. 217-18.

⁽²⁴⁾ R.N. Dandekar, *Insights into Hinduism*, Delhi 1979, p. 133, observes: '[...] in the hieratic Vedic religion, not much importance is attached to female divinities: Aditi can hardly be equated with Mother goddess; Uṣās, Pṛthivī are little more than naturalistic. [...] the other female divinities in the *Veda* are either mere colourless female counterparts or wives of male gods, or otherwise they represent the later deification of some abstract concepts'. Dandekar goes on to suggest that Nirṛti, Sinīvālī, Kuhū and Guṅgū are presumably the Vedic reflections of some such female divinities'.

⁽²⁵⁾ *Mbb* 9.45.3-29.

⁽²⁶⁾ That these *mātr̥s* were originally of evil disposition receives confirmation from the fact that the daughters of Hutāśanā, a *mātr̥*, request Skanda to bless them to become 'the best mothers of the world' (*sarva lokasya... mātaraḥ uttamāḥ*, *Mbb* 3.217.7). *Skandapurāṇa* 7.2.29.174-75 speaks of *śiṣumātaraḥ*, who lift away new-born children. Their names are similar to those found in *Mbb* 3.22.10-16, viz. Kālī, Hilimā, Rudrā, Vṛṣabhā, Āyā, Palālā, and Mitrā. These are later-day *dākinīs* and *yoginīs*.

association with *yakṣas* (*Kathā* 17(AAA)), *bhūtas* (spirits of the dead) and *yoginīs* (witches). Thus these *mātr̥s* were essentially negative divinities ⁽²⁷⁾.

The *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* II 109.54 & 60-62 speaks of male and female *grabas* and *mātaras* with animal and bird heads including elephant (*basti*)-faced. Again in the *Harivaṃśa* Gaṇeśvara ⁽²⁸⁾ is the name of a demon causing diseases and is to be depicted in the company of *mātr̥s*. Likewise the *Vāyupurāṇa* II 39.259-62 speaks of various animal-headed female *gaṇas* including *gajavaktrā* and *gajānanā*. The *Skandapurāṇa* 6.81.17 refers to *gajasyā* (elephantine), 6.85.3&9 to *Gajavaktrā* ⁽²⁹⁾, and 6.87.23 to *Gajamukhī*.

There is archaeological evidence that disease- and evil-causing *mātr̥kās* were represented as having animal and bird faces. The following elephant-faced figures of *mātr̥kās* before the emergence of the classical Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka in the 6th century A.D. suggest that it is Jyeṣṭhā Alakṣmī, as *bastimukhā*, which is the prototype of the classical Gajānana Vighnakartā.

1. A terracotta plaque showing an elephant-headed human female figure from Rairh, Jaipur, Rajasthan, 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. It is only two-armed.

2. A fragmentary Mathurā relief of the Kuṣāṇa period, 2nd century A.D. In its lowest horizontal band, elephant heads (*gaja śirṣa*) are carved. In its present damaged state, it is not possible to determine whether these elephant heads ⁽³⁰⁾ are the heads of male or female elephants and whether the trunk was human, male or female. There is, however, no doubt that the relief, including the elephant heads, was decorative, and not votive or dedicatory.

3. A panel from Mathurā of the 2nd century A.D. depicting *Mātr̥kās*. One of the *mātr̥kās* is elephant-headed.

4. A fragmentary Sātavāhana sculpture of the 2nd century A.D. from Amarāvati, depicting a garland-bearing dwarf couple with the heads and ears of an elephant but without its distinctive trunk. This couple, in our opinion, depicts *Kumbhī* ⁽³¹⁾ which is another name of Jyeṣṭhā Alakṣmī in the *Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra*.

⁽²⁷⁾ The phrase 'negative' is of Dandekar. He observes, 'They [the *mātr̥kās*] are regarded specifically as negative divinities in the sense that they are prayed to not so much that they may bestow any positive good on the worshipper as that they may forestall the evils which are likely to befall them' (*op. cit.*, p. 132). In our opinion, however, they are essentially evil-causing beings and not merely those which avert evil. See also R.N. Dandekar, 'God in Hindu Thought', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1968, p. 454.

⁽²⁸⁾ M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁽²⁹⁾ S.A. Dange, *Paurāṇic Myth and Culture*, Delhi 1987, p. 25, observes: 'The combination of the beast and human in one body is often the characteristic of demons and spirits'.

⁽³⁰⁾ There is no authority for describing these elephant heads as elephant *Yakṣas* as done by A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. I, Washington 1928, p. 23.

⁽³¹⁾ According to Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *Kumbha* means a jar, pitcher. It also means 'The frontal lobe or prominence on the upper part of an elephant' and *Kumbhin* means "'having on his forehead the prominence called *kumbha*", an elephant'.

5. A *mātrkā* of the Gupta period, 4th century A.D., from Mathurā, which is usually called 'Vaināyākī' ⁽³²⁾. These *mātrkās*, including Gajāśirṣā or elephant-headed female figures are *grāma devatās* or folk deities. In the *Skandapurāṇa* VI 81.12-17 a Brāhmaṇa father curses Lakṣmī to become elephant-faced (*gajāśyā bhava*) in retaliation to the curse pronounced by her on his daughter *aśvamukhī bhava* (be horse-faced) as Lakṣmī was angry at her spouse Viṣṇu becoming infatuated with the feminine beauty of that marriageable girl.

The elephant-faced *mātrkās* are to be identified with Jyeṣṭhā Alakṣmī, Gajamukhā, as distinguished from the later-day Vaināyākī, Gajānanā of the classical Brahmanical pantheon, and the Vaināyākī of the Caunsaṭha Yoginī temples at Rampur Jhariel in Bolangir, Orissa, Hirapur near Bhubanesvara, Orissa and Bheraghat, Jubbulpore, M.P.

The *mātrkās* of the Kushan and Gupta periods are quite different from the later *mātrkās* of the Brahmanical pantheon. They are human-faced, animal-faced and bird-faced ⁽³³⁾. They are emaciated, misshapen, and hungry-looking, embodiment of evil as compared to the generally charming and benign Brahmanical *mātrkās* who generally have *saumya*, placid, gentle, mild appearance. Their number varies from two, three to seven.

However, two panels from the early Kushan period ⁽³⁴⁾ show *sapta mātrkās* as human females in ordinary dress without any weapons or symbols and without any *vāhanas*. In fact they all seem to be identical or indistinguishable from one another. It would appear that the Purāṇic texts cited subsequently enjoin the classical form of the seven or eight *mātr*s and the Mathurā sculptures of human-faced *mātrkās* mark an earlier stage in the evolution of *mātrkā* iconography, especially the transition from animal- and bird-faced *mātrkās*, *lokamātās* to human *mātrkās*, *devamātās*, as *śaktis* of different Brahmanical gods ⁽³⁵⁾.

In the Purāṇic period we have the development of benign *mātrkās*, *devamātās*. To distinguish them from *laukika* or *grāmadevatā mātrkās*, *lokamātās*, they may appropriately be described as Brahmanical or *alaukika mātrkās*. They are spouses of Brahmanical gods, *śaktis* or divine female energies of Vedic or Brahmanical gods. Generally these were seven in number but sometimes eight are also named. Their names clearly indicate their affiliation and role: Brāhmī or Brāhmaṇī (*śakti* of Brāhmā), Māheśvarī (*śakti* of Maheśvara or Śiva), Kaumārī (*śakti* of Kumāra or Skanda) Vaiṣṇavī (*śakti* of Viṣṇu), Vārāhī (*śakti* of Varāha), Indrāpī, or Aindrī or

⁽³²⁾ In our opinion, it is more appropriate to describe it as a statue of a *mātrkā* as the concept of classical Vināyaka and consequently of Vaināyākī had not emerged by this period.

⁽³³⁾ J.N. Tiwari, *Goddess Cult in Ancient India*, Delhi 1985, p. 104; Nilakamal Sharma, *Prācīna Bhārata men Śakti pūjā* (Hindi), Jodhpur 1986, p. 235.

⁽³⁴⁾ V.S. Agrawala, 'A Catalogue of the Brāhmanical Images in Mathura Art', *JUPHS*, 1949, pp. 59, 60, fig. 38; Tiwari, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4.

⁽³⁵⁾ Tiwari, *ibid.*, p. 105 says that the *mātr*s from Mathurā exhibit an 'emergent iconography which had not yet been standardised'.

Māhendrī (*śakti* of Indra), Cāmuṇḍā, (*śakti* of Yama) ⁽³⁶⁾. Cāmuṇḍā is a fierce, cruel goddess, essentially similar to the *krūra māṭṛkās*. It appears that Cāmuṇḍā ⁽³⁷⁾ in the Brahmanical *saptamāṭṛkās* represents the entire group of the terrible *māṭṛkās* ⁽³⁸⁾. The origin of the Brahmanical *māṭṛkās* lies in the fact that the divine Brahmanical mothers are the embodiment of the cosmic creative power whereas their male spouses or counterparts are the supreme transcendental spirit which remains eternally in a state of bliss and inactivity. In other words the divine Brahmanical or *deva-māṭṛs* come to represent the creative-dynamic aspect of the ultimate reality, the supreme spirit which is conceived to be essentially inactive, passive.

⁽³⁶⁾ See Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. He cites a variant list in which Raudrī Cāmuṇḍā and Kālā Samkarṣiṇī are mentioned. Another list of 16 *māṭṛs* gives their names as Gaurī, Padmā, Sacī, Mīdhā, Sāvitrī, Vijayā, Gayā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Śāntī, Puṣṭī, Dhṛtī, Turṭī, Ātma-devatā, and Kuladevatā. *Amarakoṣa* 1.1.35-37 enumerates seventeen *mātarūb* or Mother Goddesses.

⁽³⁷⁾ N.P. Joshi, *Māṭṛkās, Mothers in Kuṣāṇa Art*, New Delhi 1986, p. 35. He adds that in the Gupta period we have new *māṭṛkās*, Aindrī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī but not the Kuṣāṇa *māṭṛkās*. 'This lacuna was bridged by introducing Cāmuṇḍā, who headed all the ferocious and cruel *māṭṛkās*, and whose worship, according to the *Agni Purāṇa*, ward off all the evils caused by those *māṭṛkās*' (*ibid.*, p. 82). According to the *Skandapurāṇa* V 3.14.53-61, 58.7-88, Cāmuṇḍā headed all the *Māṭṛgaṇas* and *Vināyakaṇas* who caused havoc. According to the *Padmapurāṇa* 31.61.141, the ferocious group of *māṭṛs* had their origin in Cāmuṇḍā or Śivādūtī.

⁽³⁸⁾ Tiwari, *op. cit.*, p. 94, observes that the concept of the Supreme Goddess arose in the Gupta period. 'As a direct result of the evolution of the Supreme Goddess, the idea became popular that each God has his *śakti*. The gods in themselves are powerless and their energies are centred in their female counterparts'. Thus the cult of the *māṭṛs* as *śaktis* of various gods is a phenomenon of the Gupta or post-Gupta period.

Correlating the sculptural and literary data, Joshi, *op. cit.*, observes that 'the Kuṣāṇa *māṭṛkās* came to be substituted by the *Sapta-māṭṛkās* in early Gupta age', (p. x) and 'the concept of *Sapta-māṭṛkās* is post-Kuṣāṇa in date' (p. 39), 'the *māṭṛkās* of the Kuṣāṇa period [...] have gradually been replaced by the *Sapta-māṭṛkās* of the classical age' (p. 89). He adds (p. 81): 'With the end of the Kuṣāṇa rule sculptural representation of the *māṭṛkās* undergoes significant change. The "mother and child" type with human, bird or animal faces gradually disappeared and was replaced by panels showing the seven Divine Mothers namely Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, etc.'. H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras 1916, pp. 190, 224-26, 229 classifies the *māṭṛkās* in two groups (a) Śaivite and (b) *grāmadevatīs* or village deities. The Śaivite group of *śakti* deities are usually seven in number and called *Saptamāṭṛkās*: Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Māhendrī and Cāmuṇḍā. With the addition of Mahālakṣmī they become a group of eight mothers. (b) The shrines of *grāmadevatīs* are generally the haunts of malevolent demons who are appeased by the slaughter of fowls, sheep, goats and buffaloes. Their popular names are Kanniyamār, who are seven in number (seven sisters), Bhadrakālī, Kāṭiyammā, Mariyammā, etc. Mariyammā, Kolumammā, Silliyammā, Polerammā are goddesses of smallpox and infections and correspond to Sītālā. The Kanniyamār are to be appeased for any unforeseen and sudden illness. Their worship is performed generally by non-Brāhmaṇas.

Varāhamihira in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 57-56 is quite specific: 'the Mothers should be made with the forms and the cognisance of the individual God whom they are named after'.

The *Matryapurāṇa* 261.24 lays down that the distinguishing features of the *māṭṛs* should be the same as of their respective lord: *mātrīnām lakṣaṇam vaksye yathāvadānnapūroṣaḥ*. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*

mātr̥s: Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, and Cāmupdā flanked by Virabhadra and Gaṇapati.

The inscriptions of early Kādambas ⁽⁴⁸⁾ speak of *mātr̥gaṇas*; but their numbers are not specified.

In the inscriptions of the Cālukya Kings ⁽⁴⁹⁾, the number of Mothers is given as seven (*Hārīti-putrāṇām sapta-Mātr̥bhībbivardhitānām*) but the names of the mothers are not given. Varāhamihira is also silent about the number and names of Mother goddesses: the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (58.56) ⁽⁵⁰⁾ only enjoins that the cognizances of the Mothers are the same as those of the gods with corresponding names. The *pūrvabbāga* 48 of *Kādambārī* refers to *mātr̥maṇḍala* but the number and names of *mātr̥s* is not specified. The *Kaṭhāsaritsāgara* ⁽⁵¹⁾ refers to an unspecified group of *Mātr̥s*, *mātr̥-cakra*, *mātr̥-maṇḍala*, *mātr̥-gaṇa*; once it names Nārāyaṇī as their leader. It is only Utpala (9th century A.D.) ⁽⁵²⁾ in his commentary (57.56) who cites the names of eight *Mātr̥s*: Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Raudrī, Kaumārī, Aindrī, Yamī, Vāruṇī and Kauberī. Later in the same comments he adds that there are other *Mātr̥s* like Narasimhī, Vārāhī and Vaināyākī.

It would be evident from the above that the cult of the Brahmanical *mātr̥s* is a late, perhaps post-Gupta development. Individual Brahmanical *mātr̥s* were conceived earlier but they had hardly any significant role to play. The early-group *mātr̥s* are generally more or less identical without any significant difference to distinguish one from the other ⁽⁵³⁾. In the post-Gupta early medieval period the concept of Brahmanical *mātr̥s* appears to have been an attempt at brahmanization of the concept of *mātr̥s*.

It is the *grāmadevatā* or *laukika mātr̥s*, non-Aryan, non-Vedic, indigenous mother goddesses, which are important in the pre-Gupta period. These *mātr̥s* or *mātr̥kās* are essentially *aśivā*, malefic in nature. They cause evil and suffering to their victims and hence were sought to be propitiated for averting their baleful influence. When the term *mātr̥s* came to be appropriated to Brahmanical or *alaukika mātr̥s*, it appears that the *grāmadevatā* or *laukika mātr̥s* came to be described in the Gandhār inscription as *ḍākinīs*, ghouls, a term which truly reflects their nature.

It would also be clear from the above that the pre-Gupta *mātr̥s* (*ḍākinīs*) were first associated with Skanda in his pre-Devasenāpati phase and thereafter with Vināyaka

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 48.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ For this and the later material see J.N. Banerjea *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, pp. 503-4.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Mātr̥gaṇab kartavyab svaṇāmadevānūrūpa kṛtā cakra* (Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, text & transl. M. Rama Krishna Bhat, Delhi 1982).

⁽⁵¹⁾ *Kaṭhāsaritsāgara* 8.4.46; 9.6.76; 18.2.77; 18.2.88; 18.4.207, 208, 212.

⁽⁵²⁾ Avadha Vihari Tripathi, ed., *Varāhamihira's Bṛhat Saṃhitā with Bhaṭṭa Utpala's Commentary*, Varanasi 1947. Though the chapter number of the commentary is different, the verse is the same.

⁽⁵³⁾ Tiwari, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 106.

or Gaṇeśa when Vināyaka replaced Skanda in his role as producing obstacles and causing evil.

In literature and art, Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka is found associated closely with the *Saptamātṛkās*. According to *Yājñavalkya* 290 ⁽⁵⁴⁾ Vināyaka is the son of Ambikā to whom the worshipper of Vināyaka should offer obeisance. The *Gobhilaśmṛti* ⁽⁵⁵⁾ prescribes that at the beginning of all rites *mātṛs* together with Gaṇeśa have to be worshipped. The *Kāṭyāyanīśmṛti* ⁽⁵⁶⁾ also associates Gaṇeśa with *mātṛs*. The *Aparājitaśmṛti* ⁽⁵⁷⁾ prescribes that the *mātṛkās* should be placed in between Gaṇanātha (Gaṇeśa) and Bhairava. The *Padmapurāṇa* I.66 ⁽⁵⁸⁾ in an invocation to Gaṇapati refers to his being surrounded by Mothers (*mātṛkā pariveśitam*).

According to the *tantras* ⁽⁵⁹⁾, Gaṇeśa, *navagrhas* and *mātṛkās* are worshipped at the commencement of all auspicious functions or rites.

In iconography, the *saptamātṛkās* are usually, though not invariably, shown with Virabhadra at one end and Gaṇeśa at the other. The *Mayamata* (6th to 10th century) and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* (15th century) ⁽⁶⁰⁾ lay down that Virabhadra should be depicted before the Mothers and Gaṇeśa at the end. Temple decorations ⁽⁶¹⁾ provide extensive evidence in support of this prescription in the *śilpasastras*.

III. PHYSIOGNOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF GAṆEŚA AN ELEPHANT'S HEAD AND TRUNK WITH A HUMAN TORSO

Vināyaka is also called Vakratuṇḍa, that is, having a twisted trunk and also called Danti, possessing tusks. *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti* states that Vināyaka has the features of an elephant's head — *vakratuṇḍa* and *danti*. In the *Baudhāyanadharmaśūtra* 2.5.9.7, *tarpaṇa* rite is performed in honour of Gaṇapati who is also described, *inter alia*, as *bastimukha*

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Gharapure, transl., *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti with Mātṛkārū and Vīramitrodaya*, Bombay 1936-40.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. IV, Poona 1973, p. 529.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 48, fn. 1.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ p. 223; D.N. Shukla, *Vāstu Śāstra*, Chandigarh 1961, Vol. II, p. 235.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ *Padmapurāṇa Gaṇapati stotra*.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Sampurnananda, *Gaṇeśa* (Hindi), Benaras 1944, p. 19.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Quoted by Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 505. The earliest panel of *Saptamātṛkās* is of the Kushan period from Mathurā. There is no Gaṇeśa depicted alongwith the *mātṛkās*. See V.S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi 1965, fig. 184; Slab from Bhumara: Sampurnananda, *op. cit.*, pl. 3.

⁽⁶¹⁾ The *Saptamātṛkās* flanked at each end by Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra are to be found almost all over India and in all periods:

(i) Ellora: in Caves No. 14, Ravan-ki-khai (700-750 A.D.); No. 21, Ramnagar (640-675 A.D.); No.

'elephant-faced', *vakratuṇḍa* 'having a twisted trunk', *lambodara* 'pot-bellied'. The *Vāyupurāṇa* II 44.57 states that Vināyaka had the form of an elephant (*gajarūpī Vināyakaḥ*). The *Vāyu* II 46.68 describes Vighneśa as having the form of an elephant: *gaja rūpeṇa vighneśo*. *Mastyapurāṇa* 260.52 describes Vināyaka as *gajavaktram* 'elephant-faced'. In the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* III 71.13-16 (5th century A.D.) Vināyaka is described as *gajavaktra* 'elephant faced'. In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 1.1-39 (6th century A.D.) Vināyaka is described, *inter alia*, as *ekadanta* 'one-tusked' (a feature of the classical Gaṇeśa having one of his tusks broken), Gajānana 'elephant-faced'.

It has been shown above that *grāmadevatā saptamātṛkās* or *ḍakinīs*, were closely associated with Vināyaka as they shared with him his functional role as *Vighnakartā* 'causer of obstacles' and inflicting suffering on their victims. It appears that Vināyaka appropriated to himself the elephantine features of Vaināyakī, Gajamukhā, Hastimukhā, Gajānana. This made Vināyaka truly representative of evil spirits: Skanda, Mātṛs especially Jyeṣṭhā and Alakṣmī (and later also of *navagrabas*, nine planets).

22, Nilakantha (8th century A.D.); No. 16, Kailash (750-850 A.D.), depicts *aṣṭamātṛkās* with Gaṇeśa. R.S. Gupte & B.D. Mahajan, *Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves*, Bombay 1962.

(ii) Bhubanesvara: The Parasuramesvara Temple (7th century A.D.) and the Vaital deul (750-730). Debala Mitra, *Bhubanesvara*, New Delhi 1958, pp. 27, 33, 34.

The Navamunigumpha (Cave No. 7) (11th century A.D.) of the Khandagiri caves depicts seven *sāṭana devīs* of the seven *tīrthakkaras* with the figure of Gaṇeśa preceding them. Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri & Khandagiri*, 2nd ed., New Delhi 1975, pp. 60-61.

The Bārabhūjigumpha (Cave No. 8 of the Khandagiri caves) (11th century A.D.) depicts seven *yakṣīs* preceded by Gaṇeśa. A. Ghosh, ed., *Jain Art and Architecture*, Delhi 1974, Vol. I, p. 4.

(iii) Khajuraho: The basement niches of the Viṣṇunatha and Kandarīya Mahādeva temples (10th-12th centuries A.D.) and the *saptamātṛkā* panel in the Śaiva gallery of the Khajuraho Museum. Krishna Deva, *Khajuraho*, New Delhi 1965, p. 27; and Krishna Deva & B.S. Nayal, *Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho*, New Delhi 1973, pp. 9, 10. In the case of the Viṣṇunatha and Kandarīya Mahādeva temples, nine niches of their faces represent images of dancing *saptamātṛkās* with Gaṇeśa at one end and Virabhadra at the other. Krishna Deva, *The Temples of North India*, New Delhi 1969, p. 63. In the Maladevi Temple, Gyaspur (8th-10th centuries A.D.) the *saptamātṛkās* flanked by Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra are represented on the lintel of the northern doorway of the ambulatory, Ghosh, ed., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 175.

(iv) In the Chalukyan temples at Aihole (6th-8th centuries A.D.) Tarabasapa, Huchchimalligudi and Ravan Phade, the *mātṛkās* are flanked by Gaṇeśa and Śiva. R.S. Gupte, *The Art and Architecture of Aihole*. See also (early) Chalukyan temples (5th-6th centuries A.D.). Havur temple: H. Cousens, *The Chalukyan Architecture in the Kanarese Districts*, ASI, Calcutta 1926, p. 87, fig. 28, (later) Chalukyan temple (11th-13th centuries A.D.) Kasivisvesvara.

(v) Siliyamman Temple, Tondaimandalam, Alandurai Mahadeva Temple, Kalappaluvur. The South Indian temples generally have eight sub-shrines in a *mandapa* in front of the main shrine; these are, Sūrya, Saptamātṛkās, Gaṇapati, Subrahmanya, Jyeṣṭhā (Devī), Candra, Caṇḍeśvara, Bhairava. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Temples* (A.D. 907-985), New Delhi 1971; Netroddharaksvamin Temple, Panaitvaram. S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Middle Chola Temples* (A.D. 985-1070), Faridabad 1975.

In the early mediaeval temples of Maharashtra Gaṇeśa is placed along with the *saptamātṛkās*. It appears that in the later mediaeval period, Gaṇeśa (and Virabhadra) who flank the *mātṛkās*, are dropped. G.B. Deglurkar, *Temple Architecture and Sculpture of Maharashtra*, Nagpur 1974, pp. 124, 150.

It appears that in endowing Vināyaka with an elephant's head, it was sought to emphasize that Vināyaka was a *grāmadevatā*, folk deity *par excellence*, a set which comprehended the subsets of *grāmadevatā mātṛs*, Skanda before he became the *devasenāpati* and later *navagrahas*. This is also borne out by the sculptural representation of the early *grāmadevatā* phase of Vināyaka — he is represented as having disproportionate body, short stumpy legs with a developed trunk. The elephant face emphasized the non-Vedic and non-Brahmanical character of Vināyaka. In fact, it would have been anomalous to fashion it in the image of the Brahmanical gods.

It is true that the *saptamātṛkās* were conceived as possessing heads of various birds and animals; but elephant is the most powerful, intelligent and useful of animals, hence the selection of the elephant's head for fashioning Vināyaka was natural. It found confirmation in the Indo-Greeks endowing Demetrios (2nd century B.C.) in his coins with an elephant scalp above his helm.

Foreign influences also appear to have played a part in the evolution of an elephant-headed deity in the Indian pantheon.

In Indian iconography the theriomorphic beings like *Kinnaras*, *Nāgas*, *Vidyādhara*s have usually been represented with a human head on an animal body. The only exceptions are certain *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, where the god is either an animal — *Matsya* (fish), *Kūrma* (tortoise) or *Varāha* (boar) — or is shown with an animal head over a human body such as *Narasimha* (man-lion), *Hayagrīva* (horse-headed Viṣṇu). Sometimes *Varāha* is depicted as having a human trunk with a boar's head. Demons (*asuras*) can be depicted as animal-headed such as *mahiṣāsura* (buffalo-headed monster) or *gaiāsura* (elephant-headed monster). Gaṇeśa with his animal head over a human body is also an exception to the Indian iconographical practice of essentially depicting gods with anthropomorphic features. There is no *avatāra* doctrine to explain this apparent iconographic 'aberration'. It may be that the animal (elephant) head is indicative of its demonical origins. Again its animal head as also the Puranic tales that Pārvatī made Gaṇeśa from the impurities (*mala*) of her body distinguished an originally folk deity from Vedic deities. But, there are also reasons to suggest that the concept of an elephant-headed god was an importation from Egypt *via* the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Middle East and the Indo-Greeks of northwestern India ⁽⁶²⁾.

According to ancient Egyptian zoology, the divine can manifest itself in animals and birds ⁽⁶³⁾. In Egypt the earliest divinities were frequently represented in animal forms: Khnum, god of fecundity, as a ram; Anubis, god of the dead, as a jackal; Thoth, god of learning, as an ibis or baboon; Sobek, god of waterways, as a crocodile; Bastet, goddess of joy and love, as a cat; Apis as the sacred bull. With the growth of the

⁽⁶²⁾ Krishan, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

⁽⁶³⁾ L. Casson, *Ancient Egypt*, Time-Life Books, New York 1965, pp. 71-72, 75, drawings on pp. 184-85.

concept of divinities in human form, these beings came to be conceived in therio-anthropomorphic guise, with animal or bird heads and human bodies. So Ra, the sun, could be animal- or bird- or reptile-headed; Seth had the head of a donkey; Thoth that of an ibis or baboon; Sobek that of a crocodile; Sekhmet, the war goddess, that of a lioness; Thoueris, the goddess protecting women in child-birth, that of a female hippopotamus.

It seems that the motif of an animal head was borrowed by the Hellenistic Greeks from Egypt, to emphasize that the king was a manifestation of divine power. The Seleucid monarchs, whose political and cultural power at its height extended from the Phoenician coast to the Hindu Kush, attributed an important symbolic role to the elephant head. The Bactrian general Demetrios, whose army won c. 180 B.C. a more lasting foothold in the Northwest than had Alexander's, had himself portrayed in profile on his coins with a kind of 'elephant scalp' at reduced scale above his helm ⁽⁶⁴⁾.

On some of Demetrios' coins which call him 'Supreme Being' (datable 190-171 B.C.), the figure of an elephant appears on the obverse with a caduceus on the reverse. In Indo-Greek coinage the obverse is usually reserved for a representation of the king who issued the coin, or the king whose memory it commemorates ⁽⁶⁵⁾. Thus the elephant on the obverse can be identified symbolically with the 'Supreme Being' Demetrios. The caduceus was the Greek symbol of power that, *inter alia*, produced wealth and prosperity, the special features of Gaṇeśa in Indian religious beliefs.

IV. VINĀYAKA OR GAṆEŚA AND THE NAVAGRAHAS

Grabas are planets which are both malefic and beneficent in their influence on human beings. In Indian astronomy and astrology, the number of *grabas* is nine; the sun and the moon, the five recognized planets — Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn and the two mythical plantes, Rāhu and Ketu, which cause eclipses. The word *graha* means 'seizing, laying hold of', 'a planet (as seizing or influencing the destinies of men in a supernatural manner)' ⁽⁶⁶⁾. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* I 294-308, the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* IV 13-14; the *Baudhāyanagrbyaśeṣasūtra*, the *Matsyapurāṇa* 93.1-105, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* I 93-105 and other *purāṇas* ⁽⁶⁷⁾, etc. enjoin the performance of *grabaśānti homa* for obtaining prosperity or removing evil or calamities.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Scythian Coinage*, Vol. I. *The Early Indo-Greeks and Their Antecedents*, London 1975.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ The exceptions are the coins of Apollodotos I, Antimachos II, Telephus, and some of Menander I and Hermaeus.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. It is also the name of particular evil demons or spirits who seize or exercise a bad influence on the body and mind of man (causing insanity etc.).

⁽⁶⁷⁾ See P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstras*, Vol. V, Pt. II, Poona 1977, p. 749.

There is some evidence that the Gaṇeśa cult is associated with the cult of the *navagrabas* 'nine planets' ⁽⁶⁸⁾, which is late in date, i.e. c. 5th century A.D. and clearly of foreign origin.

(i) *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 271 ⁽⁶⁹⁾ says that Vināyaka, for the purpose of causing obstacles in the performance has been appointed at the headship of *gaṇas* by Rudra and Brahmā. The word *gaṇa* also means a series or group of asterisms or lunar mansions classified under three heads (that of gods, that of men and that of *rākṣasas* or demons) ⁽⁷⁰⁾. Again, *Vīramitrodaya* a commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, always associates the worship of Vināyaka with that of the *grabas* ⁽⁷¹⁾.

(ii) According to the legends in the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, Gaṇapati lost his human head due to the gaze of Śaṇi or Saturn.

(iii) According to the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (800-1000 A.D.) ⁽⁷²⁾ at the close of the worship of Vināyaka, *inter alia*, the tutelary deities of the planets should also be propitiated with worship.

The sculptural evidence of the association of Gaṇapati with *grabas* is, however, limited and late. The temples at Bhubanesvara, Konarak and the Khandagiri caves ⁽⁷³⁾, the wheel from Khiching ⁽⁷⁴⁾ and the temple of Bṛhadīśvara at Tanjavur ⁽⁷⁵⁾ depict eight or nine *grabas* but no Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa in association with *grabas* is found on a fragment (late Gupta) from Sarnath (*aṣṭagrabas*) ⁽⁷⁶⁾ depicting the *mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, an architectural fragment (11th century A.D.) from Nālandā ⁽⁷⁷⁾ and in a slab from Kankandighi in West Bengal ⁽⁷⁸⁾.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ According to C. Sivaramamurti, *Art of India*, New York 1977, p. 84, the *navagrabas*, eight in number, until the end of the Gupta period when Ketu was added, appear on the lintels of almost all northern shrines.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Gharpure, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.; V.S. Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. It may be mentioned that eight *yoginīs* (derived from *mātṛkās*) are also associated with nine *grabas*. See Vidya Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, New Delhi 1986, p. 17.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Gharpure, *op. cit.*, pp. 540, 554.

⁽⁷²⁾ M.N. Dutt, transl., *Garuḍapurāṇa*, Calcutta 1908, p. 291.

⁽⁷³⁾ (a) Bhubanesvara, (i) Parasuramesvara, eight *grabas* on the lintel of a doorway: D. Mitra, *Bhubanesvara*, *cit.*, p. 24. (ii) Satrugnesvara temple, *grabas* carved on a lintel: D. Mitra, *ibid.*, p. 28. (iii) Muktesvara temple, *navagrabas*. (iv) Rajarani temple, entrance architrave carved with *navagrabas*: D. Mitra, *ibid.*, pp. 37, 45. (v) Brahmesvara temple, *navagrabas*: D. Mitra, *ibid.*, p. 48.

(b) Konarak, *navagrabas*: Debala Mitra, *Konarak*, New Delhi 1976, pp. 57, 73, 96.

(c) Khandagiri, *aṣṭagrabas*: D. Mitra, *Udayagiri & Khandagiri*, *cit.*, pp. 65-69.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX 1-2.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ C. Sivaramamurti, *The Chola Temples*, New Delhi 1960, p. 25.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ M. Bussagli & C. Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India*, New Delhi 1971, p. 33.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-45.

Skanda was called *grabādbipati* by Suśruta, where the word *graba* signified *bālagraha* 'disease afflicting children'. It is possible that the (*bāla*) *graba adhipati* of Suśruta was confused with (*jyotiṣa*) *graba adhipati* lord of planets. In other words Skanda was deemed to be *graba adhipati* both of *bāla* and *jyotiṣa grabas*. When the evil traits of Skanda were shed and assimilated by Gaṇeśa, Gaṇapati also acquired lordship of *jyotiṣa grabas* planets.

(iv) Serpent (*nāga* or *sarpa*) is an ornament of Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa.

Serpent is an omen of evil. Hence its association with Vināyaka was natural. In sculptures Gaṇeśa is shown as having a sacred thread (*yaññopavīta*), girdle (*kaṭibandha*), and stomach belt (*udarabandha*) of a *nāga*. It is relevant that the sacred thread in the form of a snake is called *vyālayaṣṭhropavīta*. The term *vyāla* means 'snake' as also 'mischievous', 'wicked', 'vicious'. So snake as an ornament of Gaṇeśa is a badge of Vināyaka being an imp, Vighnakartā.

In the course of his evolution Gaṇeśa was transformed from being *Vighnakartā* only to *Vighnabartā* also. Thus Gaṇeśa had come to acquire a double personality, a being who causes impediments as well as removes impediments. Iconography reflects this transformation very clearly ⁽⁷⁹⁾: early *dvibbujā*, two armed Gaṇeśa, more precisely Vināyaka, is an imp; the later *caturbbujā*, four armed, is a god. The Gāṇapatyas were perhaps aware of this anomaly. They considered Gaṇapati as the Supreme spirit, higher than Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā: the latter could not succeed in their enterprises if they ignored to worship Gaṇeśa beforehand. This metamorphosis in the nature and character of Gaṇeśa as a god is recorded graphically in a legend in the *Skandapurāṇa* and the *Mudgalapurāṇa* 4.50 & 51. It tells us of the subduing of *Vighnāsura* by Gajānana. King Abhinandana performed a sacrifice at which he did not reserve a share of the offerings for Indra. This angered Indra who ordered Kāla to destroy the sacrifice. Kāla assumed the form of a demon called Vighnāsura. He started hampering the religious rites. The ascetics sought the help of Brahman who advised propitiation of Gaṇeśa. So the texts record 'from that time, it was arranged that Vighna would make his appearance at any pious ceremony where Gaṇeśa etc. are not worshipped or invoked. Having made this stipulation Gaṇeśa put this Vighna nearby his own self' ⁽⁸⁰⁾.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ A. Sundara, 'Early Sculptural forms of Gaṇeśa in North Karnataka', *Kusumāñjali: C. Sivaramamurti Commemoration Volume*, ed. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, Delhi 1987, p. 261, observes: 'The distinction between Gaṇeśa as godhead (*caturbbujā*) and Vināyaka and other gaṇas (*dvibbujā*) was clearly understood by Chalukyan artists'.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ H.D. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. *Mudgalapurāṇa*, Bombay 1976: *Mudgalapurāṇa* 4.50 & 51. The *Vināyakapurāṇa* (Tamil) 71.18-118 contains the same myth: 'A king was performing a sacrifice to deprive Indra of his throne. Indra sent Vighna "obstacle" to put obstacles in the path of the king, but when Vighna ruined all sacrifices, the sages sought the help of Śiva, who sent Gaṇeśa to earth to help them. Gaṇeśa fought against Vighna who worshipped Gaṇeśa and was made one of his attendants, with an order to trouble all those who failed to worship Gaṇeśa Lord of Obstacles' (cited in W. Doniger O'Flaherty,

The *Padmapurāṇa Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* 40.458 narrates that Brahmā assigned the overlordship of the Vināyakas to Gaṇeśa. This also indicates the disassociation of the two mutually opposing traits of Gaṇeśa.

It is evident that Gaṇeśa had found the two roles, *Vighnakartā* and *Vighnabartā* as inconsistent. It shed the former to Vighnāsura and became *Vighnabartā* simpliciter from a malevolent deity as Vināyaka. Gaṇeśa had now become a deity of auspiciousness, success and prosperity.

SUMMARY

The line of development of the cult of Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa can now be summarized.

1.1. In the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, evil forces causing obstacles come to be called Vināyakas, those which misguide and cause confusion, afflict their victims with diseases and cause impediments in the fulfilment of human efforts to achieve his objectives. In other words, the Vināyakas are *Vighnakartā*.

1.2. In the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, the four Vināyakas of the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* are amalgamated into one Vināyaka. He is now *bbūtagaṇapati*, the leader (*patī*) of the troops or multitude (*gaṇas*) of *bbūtas*, evil beings, *mahāgaṇapati*. Since the term *gaṇa* becomes quite common and easily well understood, that is, a generic term, *bbūtagaṇapati* becomes mere *gaṇapati* or Gaṇeśa. In other words, Gaṇapati really speaking, is *bbūtagaṇapati*.

2. Skanda originally was a *laukika* or *grāmadevatā*, village or folk deity; and a *bālagraha* who caused disease, suffering and evil. He, however, became the commander of the forces of the gods, *devasenāpati* and, in consequence, was admitted into the Brahmanic pantheon. The transformation of Skanda from a *laukika* or *grāmadevatā* into an *alaukika devatā*, Brahmanical god, was an important stage in the development of the cult of Vināyaka inasmuch as he absorbs the evil-causing potentiality of Skanda.

3.1. Vināyaka is closely associated with the *saptamātṛkās*. The pre-Gupta *saptamātṛkās* are personifications of disease, hunger and evil. These are non-Vedic folk deities; they are represented with animal or bird heads, as distinct from Vedic deities, who, as a rule, are benign and endowed with well-formed and pleasing human shapes. There is functional identity between Vināyaka and the *Saptamātṛkās*.

3.2. One of the *Saptamātṛkās* is Gajamukhā, Hastimukhā, Gajānanā, being a form of the Vedic Jyeṣṭhā Alakṣmī.

3.3. Vināyaka as *Vighnakartā* and as a non-Vedic *laukika* or *grāmadevatā* appropriates to himself the elephantine features of another *laukika* or *grāmadevatā*, viz. the Gajānanā *saptamātṛkā* inasmuch as they have functional identity.

The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology, repr., Delhi 1988, p. 255. *Devīpurāṇa* 115 also records the killing of Vighnāsura by Vināyaka. It says that Vighnāsura was persecuting the *devas*. Vināyaka taking a weapon from Śaṅkara pierced Vighna and bound the Vighnas with his noose (*Vighnāpātana rodbittvā*).

3.4. The process of adoption of an elephant-headed god in the Indian pantheon appears to have been aided by certain foreign influences: ancient Egyptian gods were therianthropic — animal or bird heads on human bodies; the use of 'elephant scalp' as the crown in the coins of Demetrios when the dominion of the Hellenistic kingdoms of the Middle East and the Indo-Greek kingdoms of Northwestern India facilitated the penetration of Egyptian religious influences.

4.1. *Navagrabas* were believed to be responsible for ill-luck and suffering that might befall people. Their position in the horoscope or birth-chart was believed to affect a person's future. Both because of functional identity of causing evil and also as a successor to Skanda as *bāla graba adhipati*, lord of children's *grahas*, Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka came to be associated with (*Jyotiṣa*) (*nava*)*grahas*.

Thus Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa is originally a *laukika* or *grāmadevatā*, par excellence, a *mahāgrāmaṇī*. He is not only *vighnakartā* but also *vighneśvara* inasmuch as he combines in himself the evil-making and impediment-creating capacity of Skanda, the *māṭṛkās* and the *grahas*.

4.2. The serpent (*nāga* or *sarpa*) ornament also proclaims Gaṇeśa's evil character.

5. Gaṇapati as a leader of the *gaṇas* causing evil, could also remove evil if propitiated, appeased and pleased. In fact, this is inherent in Vighneśvara, lord of evils. Hence he could also play the role of *Vighnabartā*. As Pūrṇasarasvatī, a 15th-century commentator explained, 'Vināyaka is Gaṇapati so called because He puts down obstacles' ⁽⁸¹⁾. There was patent anomaly in this dual character of Gaṇeśa. So eventually Vighnakartā was deemed to be a separate entity, Vighnāsura, but under the control of Gaṇeśa.

6. As Vināyaka was a *grāmadevatā* and also of evil-influence, those who performed *gaṇayāgas*, sacrifices in honour of *gaṇas*, were excluded by *Manu* 3.64 from participating in *śrāddha* ceremonies. Govindarāja in his commentary is unambiguous on this point; he says: *Vināyakādi-gaṇayāgakṛta-varjya*, those who perform sacrifice *gaṇayāga* in honour of Vināyaka etc., are to be excluded from the *śrāddha* feast. No wonder, there is a popular belief that Gaṇeśa was the god of *śūdras*. A popular saying attributed to Manu, though not found in *Manusmṛti* brings out vividly the comparatively low position of Vināyaka or Gaṇapati in the hierarchy of gods:

The god of Brāhmaṇas is Śambhu (Śiva), of the Kṣatriyas is Mādhava (Viṣṇu),
of the Vaiśyas is Brahmā, and of the Śūdras is Gaṇanāyaka. ⁽⁸²⁾

⁽⁸¹⁾ Quoted by G.S. Ghurye, *Gods & Men*, Bombay 1962, p. 71.

⁽⁸²⁾ *Vipranām dāvatam Śambhu, Kṣatriyānām tu Mādhavaḥ /
Vaiśyānām tu bhaved Brahmā, Śūdrānām gaṇanāyakaḥ //*

Theory and Functions of the State The Concept of *aram* (virtue) in *Tirukkural*

by A.K. ANANTHANATHAN

The article will subject some aspects of Tiruvalluvar's political philosophy, and the notion of the *aram* (virtue) in Tiruvalluvar's *Tirukkural*, in particular, will be the focus of attention and analysis. My article will be divided into three sections. In the first section I shall confine myself mainly to give a very general political and philosophical explanation of the position of Tiruvalluvar. The second section will involve a definition of the *aram* and what its essential nature is in Tiruvalluvar's political philosophy. The rest of the article will include some observations about Tiruvalluvar's political ideas from a political philosophical perspective.

I must first enter on a brief consideration of political philosophy before I discuss the *Tirukkural*. What exactly is political theory? The word 'theory' cannot be easily defined, but it is usually employed to mean thought, ideas or speculation. Political Theory refers to ideas on the nature of the state or philosophising about the matters. It enquires into or reflects upon ends, goals or values, and on the concept of what is good and right. Ends or goals may be immediate, intermediate or ultimate, whereas value is normative and intrinsic, but neither deals with phenomenal reality. In this sense theory is part of philosophy. Vernon Van Dyke in his book *Political Science Philosophical Analysis* (1960: 144) classifies the types of political theory as the institutional approach, the legal approach, the power approach and the influence or value approach. These types roughly correspond to theories that give primary consideration to the form of government, to jurisprudence, to state craft and to philosophy. It is easy to recognise into what groups Plato, Aristotle, Yājñavalkya, Kauṭilya and Tiruvalluvar fit. In my view Tiruvalluvar falls into the category of those whose approach considers value (*aram*) more than any other thing as important. The focus of interest in the study of the state in the *Tirukkural* is not with the form or shape, the strategy or power, the law or jurisprudence but with value.

From the days of Plato and Aristotle western thought has turned its attention to questions about the origin of the state, the ideal form of government, and the basis of law, and politics has long been looked on as a branch of philosophy (Laski 1934: 33). Political Theory Sabine writes, has always been a part of philosophy; it is a reflection upon morals, economics, government, religion and law (*ibid.*: 40). Bosanquet says that the political life of man has a nature of its own, which is worthy of investigation

on its own merits and for its own sake. Bertrand Russel points out that philosophers are both effects and causes; effects of their social circumstances and of the politics and institutions of their time; causes (if they are fortunate) of beliefs which mould the politics and institutions of later ages (*ibid.*: 47). Cook holds the view that the political philosopher desires to transcend the environment as well as to remove the defects of political organisation. Coker remarks that political philosophy is not abstract speculation from political action (*ibid.*: 23). Tiruvalluvar writes as conversant with all these views of our contemporary political writers.

Political Philosophy deals with problems of perennial interest to the ruler and the ruled. The purpose and end of the state, the problem of human values, the basis of sovereignty, the scope of authority, the rights to freedom and revolt, the question of property, the justification for waging war and the necessity for a good foreign policy are some of the problems discussed today. Few of these vital problems escape the eyes of Tiruvalluvar. Further, he is fully aware of the fact that the problem of any government is the basic question of organization; of man as a social animal, however differently that life may be interpreted in different periods of history.

Tiruvalluvar is said to have lived in the early years of the first millennium of the common era. Tamilnadu is fortunate enough to have Tiruvalluvar as one of the foremost ancient poets. His is the immortal Tamil work *Tirukkural*. It transcends all the physical limits like clan, clime, creed and colour. His vast experience, deep penetration and quick conception have yielded *Tirukkural* which stands the test of time. It still remains a unique store-house of universal virtues. It has been translated into various languages, both western and oriental (Drew & Lazarus 1956: Foreward). The book of Tiruvalluvar is divided into three parts — *aram* (virtue), *porul* (wealth) and *inbam* (love). These roughly correspond to the Sanskrit terms *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. At any rate the commentators most of whom are Brahmanical or Jaina tend to interpret the text that way. Of the three parts the second one is a treatise on political philosophy and practice. It is addressed to a king or ruler. Regarding this second division of the *Tirukkural*, V.V.S. Ayyar (1984: Preface) writes:

The fact that this part is about twice the size of the first and thrice that of the third shows what importance the sage gives to politics in his scheme of life.

This part consists of 700 couplets, and is itself divided into three units, the first of which deals with the king, the second with members of the ministry, and the third with miscellaneous subjects (Parimelalagar 1967).

His erudition is well revealed throughout this masterpiece. He speaks about the worship of God, the importance of rain, the greatness of ascetics, the iteration of virtue's worth, the household life, the worthiness of wife, the blessing of children, the possession of love, the guest-service and similar virtues. Thus *Tirukkural* serves as the treasure house of wisdom. It has been acclaimed as such by scholars of various nations and cultures witnessing thus a note of universality of the Kural. The fact that it is the

second great work in the world that has been translated into numerous languages, numerous versions even in one language, bears illustrious testimony to the claim that the *Tirukkural* is indeed a veritable treasure house of knowledge and wisdom.

Tiruvalluvar did not regard polity as something fundamentally different from other human activities or virtues. In fact he did not set about to write a book on polity, but considered it one of the three main divisions of human endeavour, viz. *aram*, *porul* and *inbam* which are called the human ends about which he wrote in this book. This style of treatment gives balance and dignity to his views about the individual society and state. It should also be noted that Tiruvalluvar did not include in his book the fourth in the series of human aspirations, *vidu* (liberation). Had he included it some commentators have argued he becomes entangled in theology and religion, as things stand has freed his concepts of the individual and the state from the 'tutelage of religions' (Vaigapuri Pillai 1956: 181) and explained them in their own right. Therefore his work is sometimes rightly described as a study in *podu marai* (universal law) or *aram*. The intrinsic validity of this seems to transcend the limitation of any immediate age or country in which the author happened to write. The relevance of Tiruvalluvar for the present age is thus established and there is a need for his understanding to be brought to bear in an era when inspite of professed democratic ideals the state continues to become more and more powerful, if not authoritarian. It is immaterial whether authoritarianism is located in a monarch or an elected government for the underlying ethic which governs the relation of the ruler and the ruled, and the sense of values on which they functions will always be the same.

In the first four chapters of the *Tirukkural* (TK = Pope 1958: 1-12), considered a *Payiram* (preface), Tiruvalluvar does not put forth any ephemeral reason for writing his book. It is obvious that he did not write for any particular occasion or from any particular motive. The keynote of these chapters is the glory of *aram* (righteousness), for life here and hereafter, for the individual and for society, and the basic argument that there is no material happiness without the influence of good man, who have renounced personal good (*ibid.*: 6). It is obvious that Tiruvalluvar was influenced by the religious comments of his times when the Brahminical religion and Buddhism and Jainism were all trying to gain ascendancy through the help of the temporal power. He was, therefore, stating the fundamentals of a righteous life, of a good society and of an enlightened polity guided by men of *aram*. His work is not certainly conventional ethics in Arattupal, conventional economic and political theories in Porutpal, or conventional theory in Kamathuppal. He was stating the highest values as demonstrable by reason and moral judgement.

So far as Porutpal is concerned, with which we are concerned in this article, it is my thesis that Tiruvalluvar is setting out a theory of political values, a philosophy of politics, and his work includes a clear concept of individual and social happiness, of morality and love, and wealth and the good state. His aim was not to write a book on politics or state-craft, which would have as its basis and objective discussions of the use of power and force to maintain social order. He did not like Kauṭilya in

the *Arthaśāstra*, conceive of the state as an embodiment of force which was intended to control individual conduct and social behaviour even if that meant to subserve moral good.

In the society to which the author of the *Tirukkural* belonged there was a single but all-pervasive umbrella concept, known as *aram*, under whose command and protection, religion, the state, trade, agriculture, charity and other manifestations of public and private life functioned. Nothing was exempt from the point of view of *aram*, and its negative counterpart *maram* (vice) (Subramanian 1974: 134). The two concepts together constituted the do's and don'ts of private and public life, issued by an invisible authority, whose origins are not known and to sceptically investigate which would constitute high impertinence, and in fact sin. The king's (i.e. the state's) function was to unquestionably implement *aram*; to protect those who followed its injunction and punish those who did not. The king could not legislate against *aram* and call his laws *aram*. He could not add to or subtract from the corpus of the *aram*, which was interpreted by the priests and the purohitas i.e. those who were somehow deemed competent to do so, and the king was not one of them. The king was a human agent for implementing the supra-human *aram*. There was no political (or for that matter any human) authority capable of questioning the correctness or competence of the *aram* texts (*ibid.*: 134). In this sense the society which Tiruvalluvar addressed was a pluralist society but it was encased in a dharmic (*aram*) totalitarian capsule. Of course it was possible to cut up *aram* into its component parts of *aram*, *porul*, *inbam*, where *aram* stands for personal ethics, *porul* for public ethics, and *inbam* for pre- and post-marital love. Each of these practical ethical expositions the underlying mandate of *aram* understood as lawful behaviour for man and woman as individuals and as members of society. Each of these systems has its respective place in human life, but *porul* and *inbam*, though apparently autonomous, are ultimately subject to the dictates of *aram*. The poet Kovurkkilar made this point clear when he said 'wealth and pleasure are to be subject to the requirements of *aram*' (*ibid.*: 134; *puram* 3). This means that according to the *Tirukkural* the individual is but a fallible human who has to be lured into the path of *aram*. He and she may be permitted a share of *porul* and *inbam*, provided the latter does not conflict with *aram*.

The point I am labouring to make is that it is in the *Tirukkural* that we find the advent of a rationalistic concept of politics, based on an analysis of virtue and wealth, '*aram* and *porul*', and not governed by class duties such as those laid down in canonical books like *Manu*, which are obviously particular to a certain class structure and are not valid for all time. Prof. Keith has stated the point clearly when he said that the *Arthaśāstra* and *Nītiśāstra* were different from the *Dharmaśāstra* in as much as they are not codes of morals but deal in the main with action in practical politics and the conduct of the ordinary affairs of every day life. Both Kauṭilya and Yājñavalkya gave precedence to *Dharmaśāstra* over *daṇḍa* (punishment) *nīti* (justice) and said that when there was conflict the injunction of the former should prevail (Ayyar 1925: xi). Tiruvalluvar gives importance to *aram* out and out, but in the case the precedence

goes not to the canonical law, and not even ethical law, but to moral value and goodness. Consider for example the following *kural*s (couplets):

The greatness of those who have discovered the properties of both states of being, and renounced the world, shines fourth on earth [beyond all others]. [TK 23]

That conduct is virtue which is free from these four things, viz, malice, desire, anger and bitter speech. [TK 35]

Virtue will burn up the soul which is without love, even as the sun burns up the creature which is without bone, i.e. worms. [TK 77]

If a man, while seeking to speak usefully, speaks also sweetly, his sins will diminish and his virtue increase. [TK 96]

It may be noted that Tiruvalluvar uses two different words '*aram*' and '*aran*'. The latter refers to ethical merit, conformity to ethical law, or the unalterable fruit of action. '*Aran*' is of a lower order than '*aram*' which is absolute goodness. This is clear from the following *kural*:

Let him who does virtuous deeds be of spotless mind; to that extent is virtue; all else is vain show. [TK 34]

For more examples, in the *Tirukkural* we notice the word '*aram*' in the following lines:

The wealth acquired with a knowledge of the proper means and without foul practices will yield virtue and happiness. [TK 754]

Understand the qualities [of your hearers] and then make your speech; for superior to it, there is neither virtue nor wealth. [TK 644]

He is the best helper [of the king] who, understanding the duties of the latter, is by his special learning, able to tender the fullest advise and is at all times conversant with best method [of performing actions]. [TK 635]

Let [a king] ponder well its value, and secure the friendship of men of virtue and of mature knowledge. [TK 44]

He is a king who, with manly modesty, swerves not from virtue, and refrains from vice. [TK 384]

'*Aran*' apparently refers to ethics whereas '*aram*' is goodness. In Arattuppai (virtue section) Tiruvalluvar lays stress on '*aram*' more than '*aran*' (Pope 1958).

The state morality must be based on a concept of goodness, whereas individual morality is usually subordinated to social ethics, convention and religious injunctions, all of which may have only limited foundation in the concept of 'goodness', although they are conventionally considered meritorious. Tiruvalluvar transcends both the

conventions and prejudices of his age and thus presents a true theory of values based on 'aram'.

Turning to the Porutpal (wealth and politics) we note that it consists of 70 chapters (700 couplets), and as earlier stated it is divided into three sections viz, 1. Kingship, 2. Body politics, 3. Miscellaneous. The first section Arasiyal, consisting of 25 chapters deals with the king, his duties, qualifications, his pursuit of just government, and so on. The second section Angaviyal, consisting of 32 chapters, deals with the elements of the state, the first ten dealing with ministers and ambassadors, the next five dealing with territory, fortresses, wealth, and army, the next six dealing with friendship and allies, and the final eleven dealing with follies and dangers. The third section, consisting of thirteen chapters, is appropriately called the Appendix, for it deals with common virtues essential both for the ruler and the citizen, virtues such as honour, worth, righteousness, sensitiveness to shame, husbandry and avoidance of degradation (*ibid.*).

We shall discuss here a few selected maxims characteristic of the *Tirukkural* to show how it described the state and its basis in *aram*. The first chapter in Porutpal (wealth and Politics) deals with the greatness of a king, and the first *kural* therein starts with an enunciation of the elements of the state:

He who possesses these six things, an army, a people, wealth, ministers, friends and a fortress, is a lion among kings. [TK 381]

For Tiruvalluvar, the king, thus, is the focus of the theory of the state. Dr T.V. Mahalingam (1961) says:

The *Tirukkural* makes the king the most important of the seven elements of sovereignty and considers the rest as subordinate to him. This significant distinction by the great author of the *Tirukkural* throws much welcome light on contemporary political thought. The king was the main pivot of the administration, and the strength and durability of the government very much depended on his personality.

A more ancient Tamil text, but one which reflects the same ethos as the *kural* is *Purananuru* (a song sung by *Kiran* of *Mosi*). In it the king is described as the life of the country and the people:

The world does not exist because of rice, or water, but because of the king. Hence a powerful king should always feel that he is the life of the people. [*Puranam* 186]

This is the traditional conception of the Tamil world view. God and the soul are regarded as vowels and consonants. The souls have real existence, but are not absolute except as they are linked with God, just as consonants although not derived from anything else, can exist only with vowels. This view is already formulated in *Tolkappiam*, the early Tamil grammar which coins the expression of the inherent interdependence of vowels and consonants.

The *Tirukkural* speaks of many necessary qualities of the king like diligence, valour, learning, courage, alertness etc. which we may perhaps skip over as they are commonplace in a leader. There are however, some qualifications which deserve attention:

The sceptre of the king is the firm support of the vedas of the Brahmin, and of all virtues therein described. [TK 543]

If the guardian [of the country] neglects to guard it, the produce of the cows will fail, and men of six duties viz; the Brahmins, will forget the vedas. [TK 560]

As is the world without rain, so live a people whose king is without kindness. [TK 557]

Although in possession of all the above mentioned excellences, these are indeed of no use to a country, in the absence of harmony between the sovereign and the subjects. [TK 740]

He is a king who, with manly modesty, swerves not from virtue, and refrains from vice. [TK 384]

The king shall not fail in *aram* and shall abolish *maram* (unrighteousness), he shall guard his honour jealously, but shall not sin against the laws of valour. It is to be noted that the king has to stand by *aram* himself, as well as seeking to eliminate that which is not *aram* in his state. *Purananuru*, the text referred to earlier, also speaks of *arasaneri* (justice or virtue) as the basis of the king's power. The '*aram*' is more powerful than elephants, horses, chariots and warriors. The bard of Madurai *Maruthan Illanakanar*, compares '*aram*' to the unique third eye of Lord Śiva, which gave victory to the Devas. *Jīvaka cintāmaṇi* (2361), a late Jaina Tamil text, says that a king who guards his valour only, will not do. Kautilya also speak of an unrighteous king as the worst enemy, but one of the elements of unrighteousness in his view is not to be born of a royal family (Murugesu Mudaliar 1971: 572).

It is in the commentary on the *Tirukkural* mentioned above that Parimelalagar reminds us that, according to customary usage state is defined kingdom. It cannot therefore be said that there is no abstract theory of state in the *Tirukkural*. Dr N. Subramaniam's view that the abstraction known as the state was not known to the *Cangam* Tamils is therefore open to argument. Another important element of polity is contained in the following *kural*:

He is a king who is able to acquire [wealth] to lay it up, to guard, and to distribute it. [TK 385]

The king shall know how to develop the resources of his kingdom and how to enrich his treasury, how to preserve his wealth and how to distribute it worthily. Tiruvalluvar here strikes a profound key concerning the political economy of the state. In referring to the resources of the state he does not speak of the taxes alone but of all the resources

of the state, and he uses a very significant word '*jeyata*' which means 'production of wealth', a concept familiar in modern economics. Tax alone is not the wealth of the state, it is not the 'national product'. Tiruvalluvar thinks about issues in a fundamental way. It will be remembered that in *Arathuppal* (virtue section), he has placed the chapter on the glory of rain next to opening invocation to God. He understands that the creation of wealth comes about by the utilisation of natural resources and production. Tiruvalluvar assigns to the king in the state the essential functions of public finance without which no polity could exist. If taxes alone were to be the strength of the state it would become tyrannical for it would only be extracting from the people.

The request [for money] of him who holds the sceptre is like the word of a highway robber who stands with a weapon in hand and says 'give up your wealth'. [TK 552]

The demand of the king for what is not due is like the bandit who demands, 'stand and deliver', on the other hand the real wealth of the state is indicated in the *kural* as follows:

Escheats and derelicts, customs duties and prizes acquired in war, all these contribute to the wealth of state. [TK 756]

Tiruvalluvar lays stress on the necessity for the king, to be graceful, loving and liberal besides being impartial in justice.

That king will be esteemed a God among men, who performs his own duties, and protects [his subjects]. [TK 388]

To examine into [the crimes which may be committed], to show no favour [to anyone], to desire to act with impartiality towards all, and to inflict [such punishments] as may be wisely resolved on, constitute rectitude. [TK 541]

The king defends the whole world; and justice when administered without defect, defends the king. [TK 547]

In guarding his subjects [against injury from others], and in preserving them himself; to punish crime is not fault in a king, but a duty. [TK 549]

For a king to punish criminals with death, is like pulling up the weeds in the green corn. [TK 550]

The country of the king who does not daily examine into the wrongs done and distribute justice, will daily fall to ruin. [TK 553]

Severe words and excessive punishments will be a file to waste away a king's power for destroying [his enemies]. [TK 567]

He is the light of kings who has there four things: beneficence, benevolence, rectitude, and care for his people. [TK 390]

'*Murai*' (justice) is not merely technical justice according to the law of the land. In all lands governed by civil law, whether ancient or modern, that kind of justice can be found. Parimelalagar interprets '*murai*' as not only must the king enforce the law, but also render natural justice. That is true *murai*, the basis of constitutional order.

The idea of political justice also finds ample expression in the *Tirukkural*. It is stated that the world will follow the king who rules his subjects having their interests at heart.

The world will constantly embrace the fact of the great king who embrace or encompasses his subjects, and rules over his subjects with love. [TK 544]

Tiruvalluvar says that the king must not be averse to criticism if he wants his people to be happy and loyal.

Behold the king who has *aram* to bear with words that are bitter to the ear; his subjects will never leave the shadow of his umbrella. [TK 389]

This truth may have more relevance to the modern times than to the age of kings. We constantly hear that men in power in a democracy prefer yes-men around them and resent criticism, whether from parliament, and the press popular forums. Tiruvalluvar suggests that the king must put up with criticism even if it is bitter and unjust. This is a truly democratic concept.

It will not be irrelevant to compare Tiruvalluvar's ideas with those of Plato in his *Republic* for both are philosophers. Plato lived in the first half of the 4th century B.C. in Greece. He was a young man when power in Athens was taken by the democrats, and he was a pupil of Socrates, who was put to death by the democratic government. Plato, therefore turned to Sparta for a model of the ideal state. Being an admirer of Socrates, his approach to political problems was more teleological than rational. He considered the God state to be the one which 'most nearly copies the heavenly model by having a minimum of change and a maximum of static perfection and its rulers should be those who best understood the eternal good'. Like the Pythagoreans, he believed that only a man who knew the 'good' could be a good statesman, and those who did not have a combination of intellectual and moral discipline, if allowed a share in government, would corrupt it. He, therefore, insisted on much education in a ruler. I shall later on refer to Tiruvalluvar's concept of learning and wise counsel for the king, a concept very much akin to the ideas of Plato.

In his *Republic* Plato deals with three topics. The first is the construction of an ideal state, the second the concept of the philosopher-king, and the third different kinds of constitutions and their merits. His main task is to define what justice is and because the state is a magnification of the individual, he deals with the attributes of a just state.

Tiruvalluvar's concept of kingship appears to be somewhat similar to the concept

of a philosopher ruler in the *Republic*. The philosopher ruler represents the highest talent, which is given the highest training both by education from books and instruction by wise men, and is put at the disposal of the state. Although Tiruvalluvar contemplates hereditary succession, he concludes:

All human beings agree as regards their birth, but differ as regards their characteristics, because of the different qualities of their actions. [TK 972]

The philosopher kings of Plato's ideal do not serve the state because they want to, but because they have the supreme vision and have a duty to their fellow men to discharge the work of government. They are dedicated minority. The perennial attraction in this conception is that it puts the highest talent at the disposal of the community, a ruler whose heart is in heaven but who dedicates himself to the service of society. One criticism against this concept is that a self-perpetuating minority of experts is undesirable and undemocratic. There was to be no democratic election because Plato thought that method of choosing was as bad a way as choosing by their wealth. Another criticism is that the ideal of a philosopher-ruler is more an ideal than a reality to be found in practical life because no one has yet solved the moral problem of power corrupting the ruler who was expected to be the ideal. The argument against Plato's system is that it trusts the rulers too much. Tiruvalluvar differs from Plato in this respect.

The world will constantly embrace the feet of the great king who rules over his subjects with love. [TK 554]

Tiruvalluvar devotes three chapters on king to learning, neglect of instruction, and listening to the advice of the wise, and then he crowns them with a chapter called 'understanding' (TK, chap. 43). The insistence on providing a proper education for the king is in conformity with the views of other ancient philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. Learning in a king is desirable, but what is most essential according to Tiruvalluvar is that he should act in accordance therewith. Such learning and conduct are necessary even for a person of high birth. The power of a king who is unlettered is dangerous and it will soon vanish. Even if a king's learning is not perfect he must improve it by enquiry and listening to the wise. Without such discipline, says Tiruvalluvar, the king does not acquire humility of speech. The end of all learning and enquiry is wisdom which is a fortress and defence which no one can storm or take by surprise. In the chapter on learning Tiruvalluvar does not mention any particular *Śāstras* as does Kauṭilya. It is safe to infer that Tiruvalluvar wants the king to learn all that is worth knowing as he implies in. Otherwise how TK 397 in the chapter on learning?

All lands and places are acceptable for those who wish to learn them, why not continue to learn till life lasts?

asks Tiruvalluvar.

Yatanum natamal uramal enoruven santhunaum kalathavaru. [TK 397]

Tiruvalluvar's prescription is universal and is valid for all times. His concepts transcend the limitations of geo-politics which are circumscribed by factors of location and environment both in place and time. Lack of fullness of knowledge, Tiruvalluvar holds, is like playing at chess without squares:

To speak in an assembly [of the learned] without fullness of knowledge, is like playing at chess (on a board) without squares. [TK 401]

Finally, the above analysis shows that the *Tirukkural* deals with the following ideas in the main. The ideal king and his characteristics are discussed, he is warned against oppression and injustice, but is not told what secular consequence will follow if he pays no heed; the instruments which the king employs for government like the spies, are then described; the aids to government like the minister, the ambassador and the army are then considered and their ideal virtues and functions enumerated. The sources of revenue for the king are mentioned and the ways to provide security for the kingdom are narrated. The overall emphasis is on ideal virtues (*aram*) relaxable only in the light of the imperfections of human nature and the exigencies of the public office. Non-killing is an absolute virtue (*aram*) in the *Arattuppai* (the glory of virtue section), but the army's duty is to kill in battle and the king has to execute a number of criminals in the process of justice. In these cases the violations of the *aram* are justified in virtue of the special duties cast on the king and the justification is that 'a few wicked must be weeded out to save the general public' (TK 550). To conclude, the political ideas embodied in the *Tirukkural* are neither adaptations nor fresh creations but a general picture of some of the major institutions found operating in the Tamil society with which the author of the *Tirukkural* seems personally acquainted.

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Shamanic Rites of the Terai Chepangs

by DIANA RIBOLI

The Chepangs are one of the least studied ethnic groups in Nepal. The first scholar to turn his attention on them was B.H. Hodgson, a courageous, erudite Englishman who ventured upon notable, largely philological, studies on many of the tribes living in the Himalayan area for the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the mid-19th century. In 1848 Hodgson dedicated an entire work to two of what he defined as the 'broken tribes' of Nepal: the Chepangs and the Kusundas. Hodgson (1848) had this to say of the former:

Amid the dense forest of the central region of Nepal, to the westward of the great valley, dwell in scanty numbers and nearly in a state of nature, two broken tribes having no apparent affinity with the civilized races of that country, and seeming like the fragments of an earlier population [...]. They have bows and arrows, of which the arrow-heads are procured from their neighbours, but almost no other implement of civilization, and it is in the very skilful snaring of the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air that all their intelligence is manifested.

Therefore they were — and to some extent still are — a scanty ethnic group of hunter-gatherers dwelling in the forest and still very close to what Hodgson described as 'the state of nature'. However, the English scholar set them a grade above the Kusundas, a still largely unknown ethnic group who share the mythological origins of the Chepangs. The myth relates that Sita, the heroine of the Hindu Ramayana epic, brought up two sons — Lhoari and Kushari — who were to become enemies as they grew up and eventually to found the two ethnic groups, i.e. the Chepangs and the Kusundas ⁽¹⁾. An interesting point is that while the Chepangs seem to go

(¹) In Nepal it is very common to trace back the origins of ethnic groups to various brothers. An article by Michailovsky (1973) on the Hayu or Vayu, the third of the 'broken tribes' examined by Hodgson, includes an interesting myth on the origin of four different tribes. The myth also features a sacred drum with probable shamanic attributes:

The Hayu claim that their remote ancestor carried the sacred drum (*dbol*) from Lanka to Palanka in the South. Palanka is said to be on the hill next from Lanka. Brought to Mursjor, the sacred drum made the 'ting-ting-ting', indicating that it would go no further. The original Hayu was the youngest of several brothers; some say that there were four, and that the other three went on ahead leaving the Rai, Limbu and Sunwar as their descendants.

in great fear of the Kusundas, the Kusundas deny both the alleged relationship and feelings of hostility between the two. Unfortunately, as we have already seen, there is extremely little material available on the Kusundas who, together with the Rautes, seem to be one of the last groups of nomad hunters in Nepal. The most recent article dates on them back to 1969 (Reinhard), and it seems all too likely that the Kusundas are now extinct.

Returning to the Chepangs, however, we must stress that their origins are still unclear. In his short article Hodgson points out that he had long been convinced that the Chepangs, Kusundas and Hayus were the primitive inhabitants of the country. It was only later, after various linguistic tests, that he detected what he took to be a relationship between the Chepang and the Bhutanese tribe of the Lhopa (Hodgson 1847):

I therefore turned to the other or lingual text and I found that with the southern Aborigines there was not a vestige of connexion, whilst to my surprise I confess, I discovered in the lusty Lhopas of Bhutan the unquestionable origin and stock of the far removed, and physically very characterised, Chepangs!

Although it is practically impossible to document a Lhopa incursion in Nepal, Hodgson (1847) held it reasonable to conjecture that:

[...] some special clan or sept of the Bhutanese was ejected by an ethnic cataclysm from the bosom of that nation and driven westward under the ban of its own community alike, and of those with which it came in contact in its miserable migration, for misfortune wins not fellowship.

About thirty years later another English scholar, F.S. Forbes (1878) carried out linguistic research on a tribe assumed to be of Tibeto-Burmese tongue and, at least as far as the Chepangs, Kusundas and Hayus were concerned, confuted Hodgson's conjectures:

Hodgson has clearly shown the connexion of the Chepang with the Tibetan and Lhopa races [...]. But by far the greater number of coincident words are derived from roots common to all or nearly all the cognate dialects of Tibet, Nepal and High Asia. These variations of the simple roots for such words as eye, fire, day moon, dog, fish, sun, road and several other which he gives, are common to a dozen other dialects besides the Chepang and Tibetan or Lhopa, and are found in Nepal, in Sifan, in Burma, in Siam, and do not prove a closer affinity between the former and the Newars, the Manyak or the Burmans.

By drawing up vocabulary lists and applying linguistic tests Forbes was able to place the languages of the 'broken tribes' of West Nepal, as of the Arracan hill tribes and the races south and east of Brahmaputra, within one linguistic group, and went on to demonstrate the filiation of these languages from Burmese.

It is a real pity that these two mid- and late-19th century scholars showed hardly any interest in the religious aspects of the life of the Chepangs. As far as we know, their writings were followed by a long silence and no further study was carried out on these small but interesting tribes of Nepal. It was not until the latter half of our own century that further contributions to the study of these ethnic groups were made by western and some Nepalese scholars. However, all this material amounts to just a few articles and essays written mostly around the '60s. While there is unanimous agreement in placing the Chepang language in the Tibeto-Burmese family, the origin of the ethnic group remains somewhat obscure, although there is a tendency to consider the Chepangs one of the aboriginal groups of Nepal. They themselves have rather confused notions of their own origins: for example, the Chepangs encountered by Dor Bahadur Bista (1967) traced their origin back to the Kiranti (Rai-Limbu) living in Sunathali, east of Dolkha; on the other hand, Corneille Jest (1966: 171) wrote of the Chepangs he had studied:

Les traditions orales des Chepang citent le Mahabharat comme leur lieu d'origine. Les documents historiques nepalais ne portent aucune trace de leur existence. Le royaume de Gurkha ne devait pas s'étendre jusqu'aux cités du Mahabharat et ne comprenait sans doute que les vallées peuplées du centre du Népal. Les Chepang vivent d'ailleurs toujours en marge de l'histoire et ne sont pratiquement pas intégrés à la vie de la nation.

The Chepangs we came into contact with lived in the Chitwan district, but there are also very likely to be small groups living outside this area. We must remember that this ethnic group lived a nomadic, and subsequently semi-nomadic, life until just a few tens of years ago. It is by no means easy to establish when they became sedentary since, among other things, the Chepangs live in small isolated groups and the transition most probably did not affect all at the same time. However, the fact that the Chepang language has no terms concerning agriculture or crop-growing is probable evidence of just how recent this transition was; in fact, the terms were introduced from Nepali and, in part, from the Tamang language. Moreover, the impression we received in the two villages we observed was that building techniques were still very crude, due in part, admittedly, to the poverty of the ethnic group, but also to a penchant to build temporary huts rather than proper, permanent dwellings.

Transition to the sedentary life and thus to agriculture was undoubtedly hastened in 1977, when the Nepalese government launched its Praja Development Program. The term 'Praja' (i.e. 'subjects') is ousting the original name of the Chepang, which is now felt to be degrading and offensive (Turner 1980: 394). With its 'Praja Development Program' and subsequent ban on hunting the Nepalese government has obliged the Chepangs to become sedentary: they have been given barren land that is hard to till and yields scanty crops for a few months a year, while a Hinduization campaign has also been launched to eradicate the primitive religious beliefs. Given

their abject living conditions, the 'Hinduized' Chepangs automatically become 'untouchables' — social outcasts. Ten years before the Development Program was actually launched, Corneille Jest (1966: 178) has already observed that:

Dans la stratification sociale du Népal, les Chepang se situent au même niveau que les Tamang et les Gurung. Ces derniers les considèrent comme une 'caste' inférieur, proche des Kami, ou Sarki. De fait, il n'y a pas commensalité entre Tamang, Gurung et Chepang, et ceux-ci ne peuvent entrer dans une maison tamang ou gurung. De plus, ils élèvent des cochons, trait distinctif des castes inférieurs népalaises. Les Bahun et les Chetri appellent les Chepang *pubun*, intouchables, et les traitent comme tels.

The Importance and Role of Shamanism for the Chepangs

Shamanism plays an absolutely fundamental role among the Chepangs, the shaman standing as a key-figure within the ethnic group. Despite Hinduizing pressure from the Government, the Chepangs have as far as possible maintained their beliefs and original, exclusively shamanic religion.

In the Chepang language the shaman is called *pande* ⁽²⁾, apparently a somewhat recent term most probably deriving from *pandit* ⁽³⁾. Interestingly enough, many tribes in north and central India including the Baiga and Gond feature among other figures a ritual specialist of somewhat recent origin whose attributes are in part shamanic and who is, in fact, called a *panda* ⁽⁴⁾.

One last point worth mentioning is that the term *panda* occurs in relation to shamanism in two texts of the Yellow Uighurs recorded by Mavlov in the early 20th century and translated by Ugo Marazzi (1984: 379, 389). One in particular (the '*susu* prayer') includes two invocations to a Panda divinity, which Marazzi conjectures was one of the initial levels of the Lamaist hierarchy before becoming a shamanic divinity. It also appears significant that this prayer, uttered to invoke the divinity's blessing, is addressed largely to Yerliq, described by Marazzi (1984: 389) in the 'yellow Uighur form of the Lord of the underworld (in Siberia, Arlix), originally Uighur interpretation of the Indian Yama'.

(2) A term adopted both by the Chepangs we observed and those studied by other anthropologists, with the exception of the Chepangs observed by von Nebeaky-Wojkowitz, who wrote:

The tribal priests of the Chepangs are called *pbalabi* [...]. A *pbalabi* is usually summoned in order to cure illness [...] (1059: 77-84).

(3) It is also worth noting that according to Ralph Lilley Turner's *Dictionary of the Nepali Language* the term is also used for the hereditary priest presiding over a temple.

(4) *Pande* is also the term used in Java and Bali for smiths, who are closely bound up with shamanism. However, the term was probably adopted as a consequence of Hindu influences (Eliade 1977).

In fact, the two Chepang shamanic rites we observed sought to obtain the divinity's protection and featured Yama Raja as protagonist, which — as we shall see — lends support to the conjecture that an eminently chthonic type of shamanism existed within Chepang society.

The *pande*, called *jbakri* (T. 231b) in many other parts of Nepal, is the figure who celebrates all type of rites for the Chepangs. In fact, the shaman is still the one ritual specialist in this ethnic group of such peculiar interest to scholars of shamanism. While shamanism exists alongside and often mingles with other religions in most of the other ethnic groups in Nepal and northern India, the shaman being one of the various ritual specialists, the *pande* alone still has the privilege of holding all relations whatsoever with the supernatural for the Chepangs. In this connection it is worth recounting an episode we witnessed in a remote village in the Chitwan district of southern Nepal.

On arriving in the village of D. we were immediately struck by the presence in a town remote from any other built-up centre of two masters who looked decidedly Indian although they had Nepales citizenship. They appeared to be government emissaries rather than actual teachers. In the evening the men met up in the school and once we had explained our interests and studies we asked one of the elders, a *pande*, to perform a rite, or *puja* (?).

Despite the considerable diffidence reigning, and possibly flattered by our request, the man accepted readily. Immediately, however, another, much younger member of the village who was in fact the former head of the local *panchayat* vehemently reasserted that it was absolutely impossible to perform a shamanic rite for no specific reason (6). All we were able to obtain was a *Kalikopuja*, a ceremony to the goddess Kali which was performed the following morning. The rite was celebrated by another village *pande* to ask the goddess to grant success to our expedition. The ceremony lasted just over half an hour and was permeated with a distinctly Hindu character. First the altar was prepared and purified, after which a long invocation to Kali and Visnu was followed by the sacrifice of two chickens with the attendant aspersion of the altar with blood and subsequent blessing of the persons present.

Although only relatively interesting in itself the rite acquired particular significance from the fact that it was performed by a shaman and not a Hindu priest. We thus have an example of deep-rooted shamanism prepared to celebrate rites from other

(?) The term *puja* refers not only to shamanic rites but in general to the vast number of not necessarily shamanic cults and rites (Turner 1980: 385b).

(6) As a matter of fact not all shamanic rites are performed for the benefit of a sick member of the community; some are held solely to honour the divinities, invoking their goodwill and giving up offerings to them. The Chepang shamanic rites we shall be looking at are precisely of this type. Actually, there was a general atmosphere of diffidence and trepidation in the village of D. due to the strong government control, as witnessed by the fact that no-one agreed to talk to us about shamanic practices or show us the paraphernalia necessary for a rite.

religious contexts for the sake of survival. Moreover, during the long, extremely rapid and cadenced invocation we had the impression that the officiating *pande* was in a pre-trance state, which is in fact an absolutely necessary condition for shamanism although not exclusively shamanist.

The rhythmic, cadenced use of the voice together with a certain regular left-right swaying of the head, gaze fixed but eyeballs mobile when the shaman closed or half-closed his eyes ⁽⁷⁾, suggested that the *pande* was about to cross the threshold of normal consciousness. We should also remember that even deep trance can at times occur without necessarily involving any particularly striking physical phenomena. One of the few Nepalese studies on the Chepangs (Gurung 1989) stresses the fact that the shaman, or *pande*, remains among the most 'Hinduized' Chepang groups to celebrate, among other things, the various, distinctly Hindu transitional rites such as the first solid meal consumed by a child or the first haircut. All types of transitional rites are celebrated by the *pande*, and it is again he who is approached when a new house is to be built (Gurung 1989: 98-100); in this case, after examining the chosen sites the shaman performs divinations and not infrequently the site has to be changed on account of the negative influences of the souls of the dead who have not yet found peace ⁽⁸⁾.

The actual shamanic rites are performed mostly by night and for various reasons: they may be curative rites if there are one or more people suffering from illnesses caused by spirits; divination rites; or rites that have the sole purpose of offering blood sacrifices to the divinities to obtain fortune and prosperity for the village or even simply to prevent the unappeased divinities from sending catastrophes and disasters. Funeral rites are also probably carried out by night, but we shall be dealing with this aspect at greater length below. At any rate, a necessary condition for shamanism, and not only for the Chepang version, is trance. This heightened state of consciousness mostly occurs unpredictably and uncontrollably when the spirits summon the shaman and during initiation; it is gradually dominated by the shaman himself, who eventually gains total control over his trance.

Many theories, psychiatric and otherwise, have been advanced on ecstasy ⁽⁹⁾ and the magic flight of shamans in trance, but unfortunately most are somewhat reductive and seek out links between shamanism and mental illness. In any case, we must stress our conviction that the shamans we observed in Nepal, whether Chepang or from other ethnic groups, displayed no signs of anything like a pathological condition. By day the Nepalese shamans lead perfectly normal lives, sharing in the work, getting

⁽⁷⁾ A video was made of the rite, and it was only possible to detect this far from obvious state of heightened consciousness after long, repeated examination of the recorded evidence.

⁽⁸⁾ The Chepangs often abandon houses where a member of the family has had nightmares if many people have already died in the house or even if noises considered unnatural seem to come from a wall or the wooden posts. This seems to be further proof of the precarious feeling the Chepangs still have, considering their houses as temporary lodgings rather than established dwellings.

⁽⁹⁾ For extensive treatment of these theories see Mastromattei (unpublished).

married and having children. Admittedly, this 'normality' would probably repay closer examination. For example, we had the impression that even during his everyday tasks the shaman's sense of time and events differs from that of the people around him, were it only for the fact that the shaman knows far more than the common man and can arrive at different, deeper interpretations of reality. Returning to the question of building a new house in a Chepang village, for example, of all the villagers only the *pande* is able to 'see' whether the chosen site is suitable or infested with evil presences, while the common man sees nothing more than a piece of bare ground differing in no way from the land around it.

The Chthonic Nature of Chepang Shamanism

Before going on to analyse the ways in which the Chepang shamanic rites are carried out and describing the paraphernalia required, we must point out one peculiarity distinguishing this from the cultural-religious domains of the other ethnic groups in Nepal.

In the course of several expeditions in southern Nepal we came into contact with a small Chepang group that included three shamans. The first two we met were husband and wife, both somewhat advanced in years. The presence of a female shaman and, moreover, of a female shaman playing a distinctly guiding role not only among the villagers but also with the other two male shamans is indeed surprising. During the first expedition we also had the opportunity to attend a rite of no very clear intent celebrated by another female shaman of the Tamang group, who had a particularly strong and, indeed, charismatic personality. Cases of female shamanism are little documented in Nepal but seem rather more common among other ethnic groups in north and central India ⁽¹⁰⁾, while both countries have numerous records of women possessed by spirits. However, these states of possession show no correspondence to the shamanic type of trance.

The few scholars who have dealt with the Chepangs (without, however, ever having carried out specific research in the religious sphere) rule out the existence of any female shamans. Thus, for example, Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1959: 83) wrote with reference to the Chepang shaman he called a *phalabi*:

Only men can become *phalabi*, and the function is inherited from father to son. Preferably it is the eldest son who succeeds his father. Should there be no sons then the brother or even a more distant male relative may become the new *phalabi* [...].

⁽¹⁰⁾ Rahmann (1959) reports cases of female shamans, e.g. among the Savara and Gadaba.

Apart from the presence of a female shaman, the fact that the two elderly *pande* were man and wife also calls for comment. Two similar cases are described in Hitchcock & Jones 1976. The first is reported by Philippe Sagant (1976: 73) in his essay on the Limbu:

In Fimkin, in the Tamur Khola, two *bijuwu* [one of the two categories of Limbu shamans] are husband and wife. The sign of the *bijuwani*'s vocation came while she was pregnant.

The second case concerned the Sunuwar ethnic group living — like the Limbu — in east Nepal and was thus described by Alain Fournier (1976: 105):

It is possible for both partners of a marriage to be possessed. I have heard of a case of a Sunuwar couple in Pirti where the husband was a *puimbo* and the wife a *ngiami* [*puimbo* and *ngiami* are the two categories of shamans to be found among the Sunuwar].

However, even more surprising is the very peculiar nature of Chepong shamanism, focusing mainly although not solely on the underworld. Here we must distinguish between chthonic shamanism and what we shall define as 'black' shamanism. The dividing line between black and white shamans is in fact somewhat vague and elastic, and in dealing with it we must be careful to avoid the tendency to separate or, even worse, set in diametrical contrast any type of witchcraft and other religious practices. In most cases (not only in Nepal, but among many widely scattered populations) the shaman is in contact with both the underworld and the celestial sphere, and there is no good reason to assume that the former is a realm of absolute negativity.

As Mircea Eliade (1974: 211) pointed out:

La technique chamanique par excellence consiste dans le passage d'une région cosmique à une autre: de la Terre au Ciel, ou de la Terre aux Enfers. Le chaman connaît le mystère de la rupture des niveaux. Cette communication entre les zones cosmiques est rendue possible par la structure même de l'Univers. Celui-ci en effet, on va le voir dans un instant, est conçu, en gros, comme ayant trois étages — Ciel, Terre, Enfers — reliés entre eux par un axe central.

Broadly speaking, movement between these three levels is a prerogative extending to the Nepalese shamans, and what we call white shamanism is undeniably accompanied by a black component. Actually, there does also appear to exist an exclusively black type of shamanism (or type of witchcraft incorporating shamanic features?), but it is obviously very difficult — and not particularly desirable — to obtain information on it.

Chepong shamanism cannot be defined as black shamanism since, although preoccupied with the underworld, the *pande* has the same characteristics as the other

Nepalese *jbakri*, and similar functions ⁽¹¹⁾. We first suspected we were dealing with a rather special type of shamanism when, in the course of the first Chepang rite we attended, we saw both the female shaman and her husband sitting down with crossed legs, continually bowing down to touch the floor with their foreheads. The action was repeated a number of times during the rite and was in particular performed in the direction of the altar and the threshold of the mean dwelling.

This bowing and genuflecting before the divinity is something which has no place in the shamanic complex, nor ever could. During a rite the god descends on the shaman who himself becomes a divinity and is thus able to speak the language of the gods. However, it is the shamans, including the *pande*, who are truly responsible for and, in a certain way, masters of this exclusive relationship which can only come about through a heightened state of consciousness or, in short, trance. Total command of this state of trance, which any shaman may enter and leave at will ⁽¹²⁾, is one of the factors (indeed the key factor) that distinguish shamans from the possessed. In other words, the shaman himself dictates the terms and length of agreements with the supernatural, not only inducing possession by one or more divinities but actually travelling in the celestial sphere and the underworld — and not as divinity incarnated but in his own person.

We were therefore very curious to find out about the significance of this bowing when we interviewed the *pande* the day after the rite, and received the following explanation:

We don't fly, we don't ride, Tamangs do fly. We are chthonian ⁽¹³⁾. We call the king of the nine levels, Indra. We ask for help from *Patal-nagbini* ⁽¹⁴⁾. We walk only in *Patal*. We bow our head to *Patal devta* ⁽¹⁵⁾: some to the shrine ⁽¹⁶⁾.

⁽¹¹⁾ For example, the *pande* is often called to perform a rite to save a patient whose sickness has been induced by a witch or some evil spirit. We assume that a shaman dealing exclusively in black shamanism is not sent for in such cases, but rather will be asked to send sickness to some person against whom there is a particular grievance. Nevertheless, we should not see the shaman as some sort of social worker dedicated solely to the good of the community. In itself shamanism remains an exclusively individual phenomenon, experienced dramatically in the first person by the shaman, and the benefits accruing to the community are mere consequences, never causes.

⁽¹²⁾ Here we must stress that the Nepalese shamans make no use of stimulants (drugs or suchlike) to induce trance. Thus on emerging from a heightened state of consciousness, and before returning to it, the *jbakri* has a perfectly normal appearance.

⁽¹³⁾ The shaman used the word '*patal*': *patal* is the Nepalese term for the underworld (Turner 1980: 362e).

⁽¹⁴⁾ The female snake divinities of *patal* (Turner 1980: 338b).

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Devta* is divinity in Nepalese (Turner 1980: 317e).

⁽¹⁶⁾ (We have chosen to leave all extracts from interviews in English to avoid further translation). During the interviews the *pande* spoke Nepali (although they often interpolated Chepang terms, especially with reference to the names of divinities). The texts were translated from Nepali into English as faithfully as possible and may therefore appear somewhat stilted.

Again, after the second Chepang rite we attended some months later — also held in the house of the two elderly *pande* but performed by their nephew this time — we were curious to ask the young celebrant the meaning of this repeated bowing. Just as his aunt had before, he explained that ‘The meaning of the bowing to the floor is to ask for help from all gods below [...]’.

Thus, to judge by the words of the *pande* themselves, it seems that the Chepang shamans (in Nepal considered the most proficient and powerful in the country) can only travel in the underworld. The mode of travelling also appears peculiar, since the *pande* revealed to us that the Chepang shamans neither fly nor ride the drum (17). The repeated bows should not therefore be interpreted as a sign of subjection to the divinities, but rather as a means necessary to seek out the divinities themselves with a peculiar faculty of sight that can penetrate underground.

At this point we must take a look at the various divinities summoned during the rites we attended. Actually it is quite probable that Chepang shamanism often employs names of divinities borrowed from the Hindu religion, although the real reference is to divine beings of a different sphere. An exclusively Chepang pantheon most certainly still exists, and is largely inhabited by divinities whose ties with hunting and forest lore are still strong (18). As for the Hindu divinities summoned during the rites, constant reference seems to be made to Indra who, as we have seen, is called ‘the king of the nine levels’. By and large the other Hindu figures invoked relate back to Indra. In fact we have Jaya and Jayanti, respectively Indra’s son and daughter; the five Pandu or Pandava brothers and sisters, three of whom were offspring of Kunti according to the *Markandeya Purana* myths, while the other two were twins born of Madri, both Kunti and Madri being married to Pandu. Indra’s wife thus appears to be reincarnated as Kunti, making Indra himself an incarnation of his three offspring. Subsequently Indra took on the features of Yama and in this shape copulated with Madri, who gave birth to twins. Thus the five Pandava must clearly be an incarnation of Indra. In the tradition associated with the epic poem *Mahabharata*, although not exclusively offspring of Pandu the five princes are nevertheless closely related to Indra whose infallible javelin they possess and to whom they pay tribute with frequent offerings. Another name often repeated during the rites was Bhimsen (T. 478a), who is in fact the second of the five Pandu brothers (19).

(17) Unfortunately we received no further information on this point: on the evidence of direct observation and, in particular, other parts of our interviews, we can only conjecture that it is a question of entering into a state having the same nature as the Chepang dream state (here it is worth recalling that this dream state should not be seen as an unreal world contrasting with the real, waking world, but rather as a door opening the way to another dimension and other cosmic levels).

(18) According to Ganesh M. Gurung (1989: 92), the most important Chepang divinity is still the hunting god Namrung, who not only assists in the capture and killing of prey by making the animals visible, but also protects the community from various types of epidemics and disasters.

(19) Bhimsen, or rather Bhima, is also one of the eight fundamental aspects of Rudra, corresponding to his terrifying form. However, a more probable interpretation of this divinity is, in our opinion, as one of the Pandava, since the young *pande* addresses him as Paach Pandi Bhimsen.

Alongside the figures that can be traced back to Indra's circle various others appear, including the goddess Kali and Mahakal, or Siva in his terrifying aspect. However, the true fulcrum around which the rites revolved was the lord and judge of the dead, Yama raja, which again confirms the eminently chthonic nature of Chepang shamanism.

As we have seen, both rites were performed in the absence of patients to cure with the sole purpose of calling upon the divinities, giving them blood offerings and praying them not to bring various types of calamities upon the village. Thus many of the divinities described above were called upon for help and protection during the invocations. In reality, however, the true protagonist of the rites was the figure of Yama; although his name was never uttered. Also during the interviews the *pande* only made the most fleeting references to the lord of the kingdom of the dead, probably because the mere mention of Yama is enough to bring trouble.

Returning to the actual performance of the rites, the climax came on both occasions with a drawing traced out on the ground in coloured powders, which was explained to us thus:

This is a picture of Yama raja, who takes away our vital air; drawing Yama and sacrificing to him, in order to make him happy and save troubles.

The drawing traced out during the second rite was very much like the first but considerably more complex, the form being constructed with double lines of colour. We were subsequently told that this was a double Yama or, more precisely:

It was Yama raja and Yana rani ⁽²⁰⁾. We say: 'If sometimes our soul comes to you, don't destroy it'.

In both cases the first sacrifice of a chicken, subsequently followed by others, was made to the drawing on the ground; by so doing the *pande* offered blood to Yama to appease and gratify him. Thus, in both cases the *pande* had to embark upon a journey to the underworld and intercede with the lord of the dead for the peace and safety of the village ⁽²¹⁾.

To conclude this rapid survey of the supernatural beings called upon during the rites we must also briefly mention the evil spirits that, together with the witches, bring the *pande* up against further struggles and intercessions. They include many of the spirits belonging to Siva's train ⁽²²⁾, and in particular the *bir* (T. 445b), i.e. male spirits; the *pret* (T. 398a), i.e. souls of the dead who trouble the living while waiting to join their ancestors; the *bhut* (T. 479b), i.e. evil, carnivorous demons; the *bayu* (T. 427b),

⁽²⁰⁾ King and queen of the kingdom of the dead, according to the Chepangs

⁽²¹⁾ For a fuller description see the section in this volume entitled 'A Brief Analysis of Two Chepang Rites', *infra*.

⁽²²⁾ For further details see Daniélou 1985: 302.

i.e. evil spirits in the form of winds; the *pisac* (T. 383a) who, like the *bhut*, are evil, carnivorous beings living in the vicinity of cemeteries who move into abandoned houses by night, traverse the highways or lurk in doorways; the *sikari* (T. 604b) and the *bansikari*, hunting spirits living mostly in the woods.

Description and Analysis of Chepang Shamanic Paraphernalia

A Chepang shaman's paraphernalia do not differ greatly from those employed by the *jbakri* of other Nepalese ethnic groups. Below we describe the implements necessary to perform a rite.

As far as dress is concerned, only the female *pande* wore a long white skirt while the male shamans always remained in their everyday clothes. However, the two officiating shamans, i.e. the woman and young nephew respectively, wore turbans throughout both rites; white for the woman and red for her nephew. The turban is of fundamental importance and it is impossible to perform a *puja* without one, since it represents the essence of the god and *guru*, i.e. master-spirit of each individual shaman.

The choice of the two colours — red and white — also appears significant. Interesting evidence ⁽²³⁾ was offered by a Tamang *jbakri* who pointed out that the turban he was wearing consisted of two strips of cloth, one female-white, one male-red, and that the two strips combined in one turban denoted a particularly powerful shaman.

The Chepangs do not use turbans consisting of pieces of cloth of different colours but the colour white is nevertheless attributed with female, red with male connotations. Moreover, we have evidence of male shamans wearing turbans of red cloth during rites (Rahmann 1959: 713). Thus, for example, among the Maler:

The trademarks of the *demano* [one of the Maler shaman figures] were a red silk thread to which cowrie shells were fastened, and a red turban.

A fundamental instrument not only in Chepang shamanism but in shamanism in general, and not only in Nepal, is the drum known as *rin* or *ring* in the Chepang language. As Francesco Giannattasio (1988: 187) points out:

The sound-producing objects used in shamanic ritual are seen by the direct protagonists as instruments of mediation between the human and the supernatural; as intermediaries between the heavens and the underworld; as apotropaic agents able to drive and keep away the spirits; as generators of signals or calls to them.

⁽²³⁾ Recorded by Romano Mastromattei, it is included in the sound-track of a documentary shot in January 1988 entitled 'A Shamanic Ritual in a Tamang Village'.

The observation made by A. Schaeffner (1978: 131) is still relevant:

Whether it attracts or repels, or at any rate subdues, the sound is directed to the spirits, to the forces of nature and to men. It excites, arousing the attention of both the spirits and the faithful.

It is in fact to the sound of a beaten drum that the shaman goes into trance: rhythmic beating corresponds to a particular divinity and in fact amounts to calling upon the divinity, inviting it to the rite and, quite often, to enter the body of the shaman who is visibly shaken with jolting tremors as he ceaselessly beats out precise rhythmic patterns on the drum-skin. The beating of the drum carries the shaman into a heightened state of consciousness during which the god takes possession of the man, and thus it is in fact the incarnated divinity that continues to beat out the rhythm distinguishing it from the other supernatural beings and so making it readily identifiable as long as it remains in the world of men and women.

After a number of shamanic rites the impression grew that it was not so much the actual sound of the drum that carried the shaman into a state of trance as the rhythmic movement of beating it; in fact, we have records of shamans capable of entering into heightened states of consciousness with the mere rhythmic movement of a fan or incense stick (in which case olfactory stimulation may also come into play) (Lee Jung Young 1981). In these cases in particular the simple act of cleaving the air with a part of the body (see Rahmann and the many cases he describes of shamans in various Indian tribes who go into trance with repeated turning of the head) or with an implement representing an immediate prolongation of the shaman's arm can itself produce, if not music, at any rate a rhythm — a subdued sound perfectly audible to the supernatural beings.

In the specific case of the Chepangs the drum is of the 'Siberian' type, i.e. with only one face and a chain fastened to the inner part of the rim on the other side, from which hang a number of other small chains with iron pendants of various shapes attached at the ends. The stick, or *gajo* in Nepali, is not s-shaped like the sticks used by the Tamang shamans but straight with a short section at right-angles serving as the actual striker. Seated on the ground with legs crossed, the shaman holds the drum by the cross-sticks on the reverse side and rolls it along his thigh making the iron pendants rattle. The beating itself seems almost more incidental than fundamental, and one gets the distinct impression that the *pande* go into trance above all through the rolling movement they perform with the drum. The *ring* is manufactured by a novice *pande* under the supervision of a flesh-and-blood *guru-pande*. The shaman gave us a long and interesting account of how the drum is manufactured, and we have therefore chosen to quote this important evidence in full:

Normal trees are not used for the *ring*; only *sandan* [Chep. term] trees. In these trees the roots touch the leaves. There is one bird and the bird finds the tree. [The *pande*

sings:] 'There is a forest, over the forest a bird flies and we play a one-sided drum. The soul of a human being can be taken by *boksis* (24); you are a bird, you recognize the upper and the lower part of the tree'. We say these lines to the bird, and the bird will reply by pecking the tree seven times with its beak and so that is the right tree. Now the soul is safe and we thank the bird: 'thank you, thank you'. After going through this process, we go with the student to find this tree and the *guru-pande* will make the tree shake, and one leaf will fall down from the top, and nobody is allowed to look up. Then, they begin to fell it. Only one *sandan* in the forest is right for the *ring*. All this takes place in a dream. Among the Magars, the dreams are induced by a *bayu*, among us by a bird. After the dream, during the daytime, the student cuts the tree; the guru is not allowed to do it. As soon as the tree begins to shake the student must fell it. During the felling process, nobody looks up. These *sandan* trees are available also in this area. During the cutting process, the tree seems to bleed, which means that the tree is good for the *ring*. If yellow sap comes out, it means it is not so good.

One of the most significant points in this description is the fact that the preparatory phase before the tree destined for the drum is actually felled takes place in a dream induced by the bird-spirit, which enters into a sung dialogue (25). At another point in the interview the shaman had also stated that the drum dream came from Patal, which suggests that the bird-spirit may also be a dweller of the underworld; but this is after all hardly surprising if we remember the chthonic nature of shamanism in this ethnic group. We shall be considering the importance of dreams for the Chepangs at greater length in the following section, which deals with the spirits' summons and initiation.

The method adopted by the Chepangs to select the tree for their drum finds few analogies among the other ethnic groups. However, there are at least two worth mentioning here. The first appears in an essay by Fournier (1976: 110) on the Sunuwar shamans:

The *puimbo* had a dream. He was walking in the forest when suddenly his attention was called to a particular tree. He felt his spirit ordering him to cut this tree and make a drum from it [...].

The second analogy is offered by Michael Oppitz (1981: 124-25) and concerns the Magar shamans, among whom the ancestral spirit communicates in dream to the novice the location of the tree to be felled to make a drum. The novice then sets off into the forest in the company of nine other shamans and here receives from the source spirit confirmation of the site where the tree actually stands. Unlike the Chepangs,

(24) Witches in Nepali.

(25) It is a striking fact that musical support is always necessary to address the spirits and divinities, whether the sound of a drum or unaccompanied singing voice. Similarly, when the supernatural beings address men they are identified by a particular musical rhythm or, as in this case, they sing.

the novice takes no part in the felling of the tree or manufacture of the drum. This is the task of the nine other shamans, who literally ride down from the mountain on the newly felled trunk to the place where it is to be worked on. The sound-producing implements also include various types of necklaces and a bell-bandoleer. As also for the Tamang shamans, the necklaces are of two types: the *rudraksba mala*, made of *Elaeocarpus ganitrus* seeds, and the *kala mala*, or black seed necklace. The latter is very important for the *pande* and is very rarely worn during ceremonies. Only at the end of the ceremony officiated mainly by the woman was the *kala mala* employed in particular movements, and the *pande* whispered certain *mantra* secrets over it. This black seed necklace is probably a strictly personal object, and in fact none of the other shamans apart from the *pande* ever touched it. We also conjecture that the black seed necklace is the only ritual implement the woman always has on her person, as evidenced the fact that, in an interview held on the day following the first rite we had observed and in a different place, the female *pande* who had been explaining the significance of the various ritual implements suddenly took out the *kala mala* to show it to us and, in particular, to show us a small circular object almost hidden to sight between two of the seeds. Apparently it was part of the head of a fish that had fallen from the sky, but no further explanations were forthcoming on this point.

Both the *rudraksba* and the *kala mala* are used to protect the shoulders, chest and the upper part of the back from *boksi* attacks while at the same time serving to send requests for help to the divinities. All this was summed up in the answer the young *pande* gave to our question on the significance of the two necklaces:

The *kala mala* and the *rudraksba* have the same purpose to protect from the attacks and ask for power [...]

No certain explanation was forthcoming on the bell-bandoleer although, on the strength of direct observation, we may state that the bells make no sound until the *pande* goes into trance, upon which the typical jolting movements of his trunk announce that the divinity has arrived in the shaman's body. In some ways they have a similar function to the drum which indicates with its various rhythmic patterns the descent of the various supernatural beings.

All the objects so far listed are common to the shamans of other ethnic groups, particularly the Tamang shamans ⁽²⁶⁾, while the peculiarly Chepang objects include two small knives with doe-horn handles, although they have a similar function to the wooden knives of the Tamang *jbakri* (*phurbu*). As well as the two small knives there are two small horns, all four implements serving as real weapons against the evil spirits and in particular against the *boksi*, *bbut* and *pret*. The implements listed above are prescribed and necessary for the performance Chepang shamanic rites. In one way

⁽²⁶⁾ It should however be noted that the Tamang drum is twosides, and that the shaman holds it by means of a handle consisting of a *phur-bu*, i.e. sacrificial knife in carved wood.

or another, they also all produce sounds, which shows how absolutely impossible it is to ignore the rhythmic-musical aspect when describing a *puja*.

A table is provided below to give a general picture of the objects in various ways necessary for a rite.

A. Sound-Making Objects (necessary for rites)

<i>Sound-making object</i>	<i>Way of making sound</i>	<i>Main functions</i> ⁽²⁷⁾
Drum (<i>ring</i>)	Beaten with striker or simply rolled to a rattle the chains.	The <i>ring</i> is at first a means to call up supernatural beings.
Bell bandoleer	The bells tinkle when the shaman in trance is shaken by jolting of the trunk.	Both implements announce the arrival of a divinity and indicate the length of its presence among men.
<i>Kala mala</i>	Rubbed and twirled in the air.	Protect from attacks of evil spirits and means to invoke the aid of the divinities.
<i>Rudraksha mala</i>	Worn across the bell bandoleer, makes sounds when the shaman is in trance.	
Two small knives (<i>karda</i>)	In various phases of the rite, blades often crossed and struck together.	These four objects are weapons to be used against evil spirits.
Two small horns	In various phases crossed and struck together.	

B. Non-Sound-Making Objects (rite accessories)

Apart from the above, a whole range of objects (leaves, flowers, water, rice, incense, coloured powders, eggs, etc.) are necessary, mainly to deck the altar; being perishable, they must be renewed for each rite. They are used in various phases of the rite (e.g. the coloured powders in the drawing phase; the rice as an offering or for divination, etc.) and usually handled by the shaman when he is *not* in a state of trance. The fact that they do not make sounds brings out even more strikingly the sound-trance, rhythm-trance connection fully evidenced in category A.

⁽²⁷⁾ Obviously the functions are not so strictly separated, and all these implements most probably have other functions not revealed to us.

The Spirits' Call and the Initiation

In order to acquire shamanic powers a summons must come from the spirits, during and after which the novice shaman learns how to practise the shamanic profession.

The call has a peculiar character for the Chepangs not observed among the other ethnic groups of Nepal; the *pande* does not fall ill on discovering his vocation, and the initiation he receives from the spirits is not at all painful, nor particularly traumatic. The call comes in a dream, and the dream is sent by an ancestor. In fact, on being asked how he became a shaman the *pande* replied:

From a dream, coming from an ancestor (male) [...] I became a *pande* thanks to a dream coming from a *pande* ancestor.

This connection with the world of ancestors is hardly surprising since, according to the *pande*, the world was created by a supreme god (whose name was not specified); from the very moment of creation there have existed the *boksi*, dangerous witches who feed preferably on children, foetuses torn from pregnant women and human hearts. The *pande* came from the underworld ⁽²⁸⁾ and acquired their status after the creation. The shaman told us that the first *pande* to appear on the earth was a forefather of his, and more precisely his great grandfather. His story went:

The first *pande* was my forefather: his son, my grandfather, was a *pande* too: the first one disappeared in the night, after dinner; his wife was in the same room. He went out, locking the door with a *mantra*; through the window his wife saw him disappearing in the night. He became a stone ⁽²⁹⁾ and was the first *pande*: we are just his soldiers.

The young *pande*, nephew of the elderly couple of shamans and officiant at the second rite we attended, also gave us a description of his initiation which tallied closely with that of his aunt. According to the young shaman his vocation and subsequent initiation with the relevant instruction came during his dreams, which were repeated for seven consecutive nights. Jaman (this was his name) only became a *pande* at the end of the seventh night when he began to tremble, thus revealing that the divinity could descend into his body. Jaman went through all this without experiencing the

⁽²⁸⁾ Not, however, Patal in this case, as the *pande* pointed out. We received no further explanations concerning the underworld the *pande* hail from.

⁽²⁹⁾ Probably the first *Kuldevata* of the clan. Khem Bahadur Bista (1972) carried out detailed study of the *Kuldevata*:

Les divinités tutélaires sont appelées communément *Kuldevata* en népal. Les *Kuldevata* ne donnent lieu à aucune représentation iconographique connue, ils sont représentés symboliquement par des simples pierres [..].

slightest physical suffering, and the *pande* himself asserted that he had never heard of Chepang shamans being afflicted with illness or physical pain in the period when the vocation was revealed. This description is in fact quite surprising since the vocation usually manifests itself violently in Nepal, mostly in the form of mental and physical crises that do not always correspond to serious illnesses but are experienced as such. During the crisis the young person 'called' displays strange behaviour like talking aloud to himself, trembling alarmingly, etc. Many tell of abduction by the spirits, who bear the future shamans to their dwellings during this phase of illness and give him much of the instruction he will need for his future work as a shaman. Generally the young novice actually disappears from the village during these abductions, returning subsequently to complete his training with an elder shaman. In any case, the call is a truly fearsome experience implying both physical and mental suffering. For example, the various categories of Limbu shamans distinguish between two types of ecstasy practitioners (Sagant 1976: 66): the *thapmura*, whose calls was not excessively violent, and the *muke*, who underwent exceptionally traumatic calls. The former are not considered powerful shamans but the latter, whose vocations are accompanied by serious illnesses, sudden trances and violent, uncontrollable fits with loss of consciousness, become extremely powerful and revered shamans.

For the Chepangs, however, calls and initiation come exclusively in dream, as is also the case with certain northern tribes in India. For example, the Savara women destined to become shamans are called during a dream, while an experienced female shaman instructs them in the practices. The Bilor show a similar picture, with the shaman forging a bond with an auxiliary spirit or tutelary divinity during a dream ⁽³⁰⁾.

During the sequence of seven dreams in his week of initiation Jaman came into contact with divinities called simply '*deva*' and '*devi*' (corresponding to 'male divinity' and 'female divinity') as well as other beings defined as similar to humans. During these dreams Jaman was also taught the *mantra*, partly by the supernatural beings similar to humans and partly by his *guru*, who we found out was actually his aunt ⁽³¹⁾. In reference to her nephew's initiation this *pande* told us:

I'm his guru; I taught him in the dream and my *deuta* rides him. [During the dream] I'm not in front of him, in the meantime I'll be in the house, only my mind goes to visit him. [During the dream] when he needs my help, I help him in a not visible way.

Here we are faced with two quite extraordinary facts. In the first place, we have extremely little evidence of female shamans able to initiate young men ⁽³²⁾: the nearest

⁽³⁰⁾ For further details see Rahmann 1959: 695, 698.

⁽³¹⁾ Shamanism is *de facto* if not by right hereditary among the Chepangs. As well as having uncle and aunt *pande*, Jaman told us that his father and grandfather had also been shamans.

⁽³²⁾ In this long, valuable account of the vocation and initiation of Gobind Prasad, a Muglan shaman, Macdonald (1976) tells of instruction by a female shaman once the vocation had been revealed.

thing we can find are a — limited — number of accounts of female shamans initiating other young women, as in the case of the Indian Savara tribe mentioned above. The second anomalous point emerging from our contact with the group of *pande* concerns the way vocation and initiation are revealed through repeated dreams and, more generally speaking, the role dreams appear to play in Chepang shamanism.

During the dream phase all borders and barriers with the supernatural world melt away: it is possible to come into contact with the divinities and spirits and, as the above evidence reveals, it is even possible to create telepathic communication between an expert shaman and a young person whose vocation has been revealed, which implies among other things that the dream dimension can be controlled and handled perfectly.

Moreover, as we have seen, the bird-spirit shows the young *pande* the tree to cut down to make a drum during a dream that also includes sung dialogue between the two. Previously we had occasion to conjecture ⁽³³⁾ that the trance state is in many ways similar to the state of the Chepang shamans during dreams. In fact, the *pande* asserted that they neither fly nor ride between the various cosmic levels ('We don't fly, we don't ride [...]') and, when asked whether she played the role of psychopomp during funeral rites, the female shaman told us:

We send our souls and we have the same feeling that we have when we are dreaming, that's all.

Chepang Funeral Rites

The Chepangs observed by Ganeshi Gurung (1989: 94-95) in the Kandrangkhola area are accustomed to bury their dead. Before being taken to the burial place the body is laid on the earth and anointed with oil; the children place coins in its mouth so that the soul can pay the toll to cross the river beyond which lies the kingdom of the dead. Personal articles belonging to the deceased are set out in the burial place, and the body must be touched neither by pregnant women nor by rats, cats or non-Chepangs. If these bans are not respected the soul of the deceased will return in the form of a tiger to bring harm to the members of the family. However, cremation appears to be more common among the Chepangs. On the thirteenth day after a cremation, the village *pande* performs a rite which Bista (1976: 105) describes thus:

The *pande* invokes the spirit of the dead person and requests it to join the group of other dead people. He offers a ball of boiled rice and beer. The family invites

(³³) See fn. 17.

all the collaterals, the affinal kin, and the villagers, who are all given a feast of boiled rice, buffalo, goat and chicken's meat, beer and spirit [...] Once the funeral is done in the name of a dead person, the spirit is supposed to go and join the group of dead people and from that time onwards the spirit is offered food along with the others only on *mvagi* days.

Held in the first week of September and celebrated by the Chepangs alone, this *mvagi* feast serves to offer the ancestors crops from the new harvest before they are consumed by the members of the tribe who are still alive. The *pande* officiates throughout the feast while, in the group we met, the female shaman takes on the guide-role for the various villages needing counsel. The harvest festival lasts several days and nights, during which the *pande* continually beats a drum and offers sacrifices. According to the female shaman this is also the only time of the years when it is possible to call upon not only the *sikari*, the hunter spirits, but also a tiger spirit variously described as the *guru*-spirit's mount or a divinity that goes through metamorphosis.

Returning to the funeral rites, we must point out that despite Hindu pressure from the government they are performed solely by the *pande* in the Chepang ethnic group, without involving the presence of any Hindu ritual specialists. Here again we were struck by the fact that the female *pande* was able to celebrate these rites, which are normally performed only by men.

According to Chepang beliefs, the soul of the deceased turns into a bird after death, and must then take on eighty-four different forms before it can once again enter a human being. The process was described to us thus:

People used to say that after death the soul has to take eighty-four different forms of life and then becomes a human being again. After death the soul goes out from the body and wanders around for seven days and seven nights. At the end of the seventh day the soul enters into a female body for a new rebirth. The corpse has to be cremated and it is at that moment that the soul enters into a new body. If a man dies, in the next life he becomes a woman. If this man does not transform himself into a woman, his life will be very short.

84 is a key number for the Chepangs: not only must a soul undergo 84 reincarnations but 84 coins must also be offered during the rite ⁽³⁴⁾ for 84 different *gurus*, as also for the 84 Yamas and the 84 Kalis. This multiplication of divine figures also plays an important part in Hinduism, but we were given no explanations regarding the different forms of the divinities; similarly, even the numerical correspondence

⁽³⁴⁾ In reality we never saw more than ten coins used during the rites, although they probably symbolize a greater amount of money.

between reincarnations and forms of a divinity was denied and passed off by the *pande* as mere coincidence ⁽³⁵⁾.

Seven is another fundamental number (not only in Chepang culture, of course). It would seem to apply to the phases of transition, since the young novice summoned by the spirits takes seven nights to progress from the condition of a normal man (or woman) to that of a *pande*. Similarly, the soul must wander seven days and seven nights taking on eighty-four different forms before it can return into a new human being.

The *pande* do not accompany the souls of the deceased into the kingdom of the dead in person but simply send them on their way. If the deceased had in fact also been a *pande*, then the shaman must go through a complex ritual during which he calls upon all the divinities that had relations with the deceased and sends them back to their underworld or chthonic dwellings; alternatively, the divinities may pass on to another shaman. The path the soul of a deceased *pande* must follow to reach the kingdom of the dead is exactly the same as the path followed by the souls of common mortals, with the one difference that the *pande*'s soul will have less difficulty in passing the obstacles lying in its way.

During shamanic rites the souls of the dead *pande* come to assist the officiating *pande*, thus keeping alive and everpresent the close link between the world of the living and the world of ancestors. This link has an extremely important role in the Chepang ethnic group since it anchors the people to their cultural origins and renders them more impervious to the changes the government is attempting to impose.

A Brief Analysis of Two Chepang Rites

We have reserved description of the two Chepang rites for the end of this paper since it contains all the peculiar features and elements emerging in the considerations above. There is little point in attempting to draw conclusions from study that is still in progress and can only be presented in provisional, introductory form, and the aim of this final section is therefore to verify and summarize the characteristics of Chepang shamanism.

We have therefore chosen to present comparative analysis of the two rites, which were separated by an interval of about one month and a half and had as main officiants the woman *pande* and her young nephew respectively. The two rites were in fact very similar, both held in the absence of patients to cure with the aim of calling

⁽³⁵⁾ Obviously, we did not find this version very convincing, but a certain reticence on the part of the shamans in general is perfectly understandable when dealing with subjects that may seem readily approachable to westerners but are in fact reserved for the initiated in the world of shamanism.

upon the divinities, offering them blood and, in exchange, asking them not to bring disasters on the village.

The rites were held by night and lasted about four hours, which is not so very long if we consider that the Tamang *jbakri* rites last a whole night ⁽³⁶⁾. Moreover, both rites reached their climax when the lord of the dead, Yama raja, was fed with an offering of sacrificial blood.

The similarity of procedure in the two rites brought out the difference between the two *pande* (aunt and nephew) or, rather, the different quality of the two shamanic performances: one expert and assured, the other still in training. The fact that, as we have seen, the elder woman *pande* (Krishora) was the *guru* of her young nephew (Jaman) lent special interest to our analysis; obviously their training must have been very similar, and this gave us the opportunity to study the shamanic path followed by a novice to become an expert *pande*.

The initial analysis hastily performed on the spot was obviously subject to error, and our first impression was that although Krishora was a respected shaman, she was not such a powerfully ecstatic figure as Jaman seemed to be. Reserved and taciturn as he is, Jaman was at times visibly embarrassed by our presence: he actually gives the impression of living poised between earth and the supernatural world and thus seems to live in an intermediate state between normal and altered consciousness. Observation of the two rites only confirmed this impression. During the first rite the woman shaman, who did not seem to experience a particularly violent state of trance, entered and returned from the heightened state of consciousness with extraordinary ease, which gave the impression that Krishora kept part of her consciousness alert and aware of reality even during possession. In contrast, Jaman was shaken by violent tremors throughout the second rite, continually beating the drum and singing without showing the least concern for the world around him. Even when he set down his drum during the few pauses he still seemed to be in another dimension: it was as if his body were a mere container whose contents wandered through other cosmic spheres; extraordinarily reddened, staring eyes, slow movements and scant awareness of the sounds around him revealing the absence of the *pande* from the world of men and women.

Further confirmation of these two differing attitudes came from examination of the positions the two shamans adopted during the rites, which were held in the same house. Apart from the few slight movements Krishora had to make to turn towards the altar and the dance itself, Krishora remained seated throughout the ceremony with her legs crossed and her back against the wall of the house, thus facing the public frontally. In contrast, Jaman kept his back to the people attending the ceremony,

⁽³⁶⁾ Actually, the Chepangs also appear to hold night-long rites. We assume this happens in the case of patients in particularly serious conditions or in the special case of the *nyugi* feast, which lasts several days and nights.

who were seated on the floor and thus at the same height as the *pande*, keeping his face turned resolutely to the altar except for the moments of dance. During the pauses Krishora returned to the world of men and women, but Jaman decidedly did not.

Only later, and thanks above all to the analysis we were able to carry out with videos of the two ceremonies, were we able to appreciate the fact that Jaman's shamanism was still in the stage of development. Difficulty in emerging from and temporarily abandoning the ecstatic experience, possibly returning to it a few minutes later, denote a shaman who has not yet acquired the expertise to master his trances completely. In short, once the spirit had entered Jaman's body he had great difficulty in freeing himself from it, which shows that relations between man (or shaman) and god had not yet come into balance, weighing more on the side of the latter. An expert, fully developed shaman is absolute master of his heightened states of consciousness, and it is he who dictates the rules for relations with the divinity. Such was the case with Krishora, a woman *pande* who is able to exert perfect control over her relations with the supernatural and can move from one cosmic zone to another without any difficulty. Again, although the woman *pande*'s trances were less evident than her nephew's, we cannot assume they were any less profound since there is no necessary connection between depth of trance and its physical manifestations.

For the sequence followed in these rites we refer to the points lined up by Romano Mastromattei, which can be summarized thus:

1. Decision to organize the rite;
2. Preparation and staging (choice of sacrificial victim and place to hold the rite, decoration of the altar, etc.);
3. Beginning of the rite itself (after some moments of concentration the shaman begins to sound the drum);
4. The shaman announces the arrival of the spirits;
5. The shaman may travel in the Heavens or underworld once the assistance of the auxiliary spirits has been secured.

When Chepang *pande* officiate the decoration of the altar is still closely associated with the forest background this ethnic group emerged from only a few tens of years ago and, of course, with hunting: in fact, the objects set out on the altar are mainly of plant (leaves, flowers) and animal (two small horns, the two small knives with doe-horn handles) origin. When preparations are completed and the officiating *pande* has donned turban, bell-bandoleer and *rudraksha mala*, he begins to beat the drum, first restrainedly, then with increasing vigour and determination. The woman *pande* preceded this action with a long, complex purification ritual which did not actually develop into dance but involved a great many ritualized gestural movements performed in the direction of the altar, the public and the four points of the compass. While performing these movements, mostly with arms and hands, the shaman held certain of the ritual objects present. In particular, she took a bunch of flowers with the corollas drenched in water and shook them in all directions for the purpose of purification.

In contrast, Jaman began sounding the drum from the very first and throughout

the rite, hardly coming into any contact with the ritual objects apart from the bell-bandoleer and *rudraksba mala* he was wearing.

It was always the others who handled the ritual objects and especially his aunt, who assisted her nephew at various points. In view of the fact that Jaman was still an apprentice, we deduced that he might be unfamiliar with or not yet empowered to perform certain shamanic practices necessary for the rite.

Once the divinities and spirits had been invoked and invited to the rite, the culminating phase was approached by drawing on the ground with coloured plant powders. The drawing depicting Yama raja was made by the young *pande* and woman shaman in the first rite and by Krishora alone in the second. The *guru*-disciple relationship between the two was very evident, as was the similarity in their training, and became all the more manifest when we observed them exchanging roles, officiating shaman acting as assistant and vice-versa ⁽³⁷⁾. This created a sort of 'ritual complicity' thanks to which the two *pande* were able to communicate with slight, fleeting, almost imperceptible signals.

As a non-realistic art form depicting the divinity summoned to descend among men and accept their offerings, the drawing itself would merit detailed treatment apart. In the brief span of time between completion of the drawing and its destruction the god — Yama in this case — descends (or rather rises) upon the lines of coloured powder depicting him and thus becomes not only audible, through the beating of the drum, but also visible. Once the victim (a chicken in both rites) has been killed, its blood is run onto the drawing and is thus soaked up by the divinity. As soon as Yama has been fed and appeased he must be removed from the scene with the utmost haste since he could become a danger for the men and women if no more blood were forthcoming. The *pande* therefore dances on the drawing, wiping it out with his feet to close the means of access Yama had used to enter the world of humans.

In both rites the sacrifice and this particular dance were performed by men and, more precisely, by Jaman in the rite he officiated at and by the woman *pande*'s husband in the first of the two rites. This implies real differences between male and female shamanism and therefore that, while following analogous patterns, they contain distinctly disparate qualities at the core.

The fact that female shamans cannot perform ritual killings was confirmed by a Tamang woman *jbakrini* in an interview held after a rite we had observed:

I never kill chickens, that's why I called my uncle. We women never kill, it is possible, but I never do it: I don't like to have a sin on me. Also other *Ama Bombo* (Mother-*Jbakri* in the Tamang language) do not kill, ideally one must have a man around who can kill. If there is no killing involved, I do everything by myself: if there is, I call a man to help me.

⁽³⁷⁾ Again, it is very rare to see female shaman-assistants.

Thus sacrifice remains an apanage for men, while any woman who killed for sacrifice would bring guilt upon herself and lose her purity. In fact, the woman *pande* herself pointed out that the divinities would not accept the sacrificial offering if it were made by a woman and therefore, powerful as she may be, she could never incarnate a form of complete shamanism.

Once the climax of blood-offering to Yama was over, both rites went into the *decrecendo* phase when further sacrifices were offered to the evil spirits lurking about the house in which the ceremonies were held. These offerings were made outside the house, possibly because the evil spirits were held back from entering by the presence of the *pande* and the ritual weapons the shaman can wield against them.

The *pande* then took leave of the divinities with a long invocation and a dance during which the supernatural beings involved were thanked and sent back to the celestial or underworld dwellings from which they might once again be summoned for further ceremonies. Actually, every shamanic rite represents a perfect, closed cycle, a tale recounted from beginning to end to renew the myths and bring the man-god relationship dramatically to the forefront once again. Every ceremony opens the way to a new dimension that totally subverts the reality dimension but does not stand in diametrical opposition to it; rather, it implies the dawning and disclosure of a new and profoundly touching reality that takes on life and substance in the shaman's body.

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Antler and Tongue

New Archaeological Evidence in the Study of the Chu Tomb Guardian

by PAOLA DEMATTÈ

1. Introduction

The Chu (*) tomb guardians ⁽¹⁾ (hereon TG), theriomorphic wooden ⁽²⁾ statues with protruding tongue and deer antlers (Figs. 2-12, except 11), were first discovered in the early 1930's in tombs of the Warring States period (c. mid 5th century-221 B.C.) of the Changsha area, Hunan Province (south-central China. See Cox 1939, and Rugafiori 1968: xvii). Later on, many other TGs were unearthed in Warring States tombs of Hubei, Hunan, and Henan provinces. During the Warring States period this area was the location of the ancient Chu kingdom (11th century-223 B.C.) (Fig. 1). All the graves from which TGs have been excavated have been proven to belong to the nobility of the Chu kingdom. So far no funerary object of the kind has been retrieved outside of Hubei, Hunan, and Henan provinces. As such the TG can be considered first and foremost a Chu funerary object.

These statues, about which apparently nothing is recorded in the classical Chinese ritual texts, at the time of their first discovery were given the name 'tomb guardians'. This name was chosen due to the crucial position they occupied in the overall arrangement of the grave, and to their supposed protective function which was assimilated to that of later 'tomb guardians' (Figs. 19-20) ⁽³⁾.

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This paper is an ideal follow up to Alfred Salmony's pioneer study: *Antler and Tongue. An Essay on Ancient Chinese Symbolism and Its Implications*. See Salmony 1954. I wish to thank Prof. Hung-hsiang Chou of the East Asian Dept. University of California, Los Angeles, Dr Adam T. Kessler of the Los Angeles County Natural History Museum, and Dr Audrey Spiro for their invaluable help and support. All opinions here expressed are however my sole responsibility.

⁽¹⁾ In Chinese Zhengmu Shou ^(b), Tomb-guarding Beast.

⁽²⁾ According to Wu (1989: 46) there are also a small number of Chu TGs made of clay, which however I have been unable to locate.

⁽³⁾ These later TGs start to exist from the Eastern Han period onwards, but they are very common in the period comprised between the Three Kingdoms and the Tang dynasty, c. 3rd-10th centuries A.D. On the subject see: Fong 1991: 159-94, figs. 14-42; 1991a; Kuwayama 1987: 77 f., figs. 6, 52, 57, 59,

The deer antlers, the tongue protruding from the mouth of these unusual sculptures, and their generally monstrous appearance have been interpreted by scholars as the representative features of a supernatural creature who served to ward off evil spirits which might disturb the peaceful sleep of the interred. Although the above interpretation may be valid, a more thorough explanation of these artifacts' meaning, stylistic development, and use will help shed more light on the burial practices and local cults of late Zhou China not recorded in the ritual texts that have reached us today.

While the problem of the significance and symbolism of the TG and its relation to Chu culture has been investigated in various ways by Chinese (Shang 1939; Wang 1979; Chen & Yuan 1983) and foreign scholars ⁽⁴⁾, however, many questions await further investigation. In this paper, in order to give a satisfactory interpretation of the meaning of the TG, I classify the statues typologically, analyse their stylistic evolution, and interpret relevant archaeological evidence.

2. *Morphology of the Tomb Guardian*

The TGs are wooden funerary sculptures which are often lacquered, and possess deer antlers and a protruding tongue. They are usually assembled of at least three parts: i) the base; ii) the body; iii) and the antlers ⁽⁵⁾. While these statues vary a great deal, nevertheless they all share a rather 'primitive' look. The majority are roughly carved out of the wood timber, so that they retain a square-like appearance. A few are however carved in the round and thus are stylistically more sophisticated. From the massive amount of archaeological evidence now available, we know that the Chu had the technical ability to create high quality wooden or lacquered objects ⁽⁶⁾, but they only rarely employed it in creating the TGs. Probably these statues were thought of as objects specifically for the dead and therefore not worth much refined work ⁽⁷⁾.

64, Wang 1987: 52-54. For the excavation reports on specific tombs in which these TGs have been found see: KG, 4, 1973, and WW, 3, 1972, both dating to the Northern Wei dynasty; KGWW, 2, 1981, dating to the Western Wei; KG, 10, 1959 dating to the Sui dynasty; WW, 7, 1972 dating to the Tang dynasty.

⁽⁴⁾ Salmons 1954 is a specific study on the subject, while Barnard 1972, 1972a, and Loewe 1978 are more general inquiries about the nature of Chu art and symbolism.

⁽⁵⁾ In few instances only two pieces: the body and the antlers.

⁽⁶⁾ That Chu woodwork was technically very advanced is clear from the thousands of other wooden and lacquer artifacts recovered archaeologically. See especially Mackenzie 1987, and Lin 1981.

⁽⁷⁾ Regarding the funerary goods, the chapter 'Lilun' of *Xunzi* states: '[...] The wooden articles should not completely carved out [...] This shows that these things are not to be used'. From Dubs' translation (1966: 228).

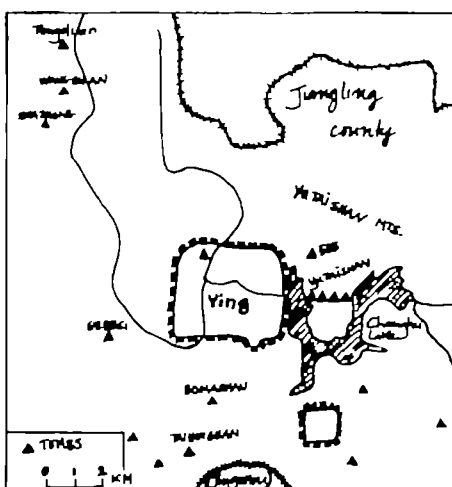
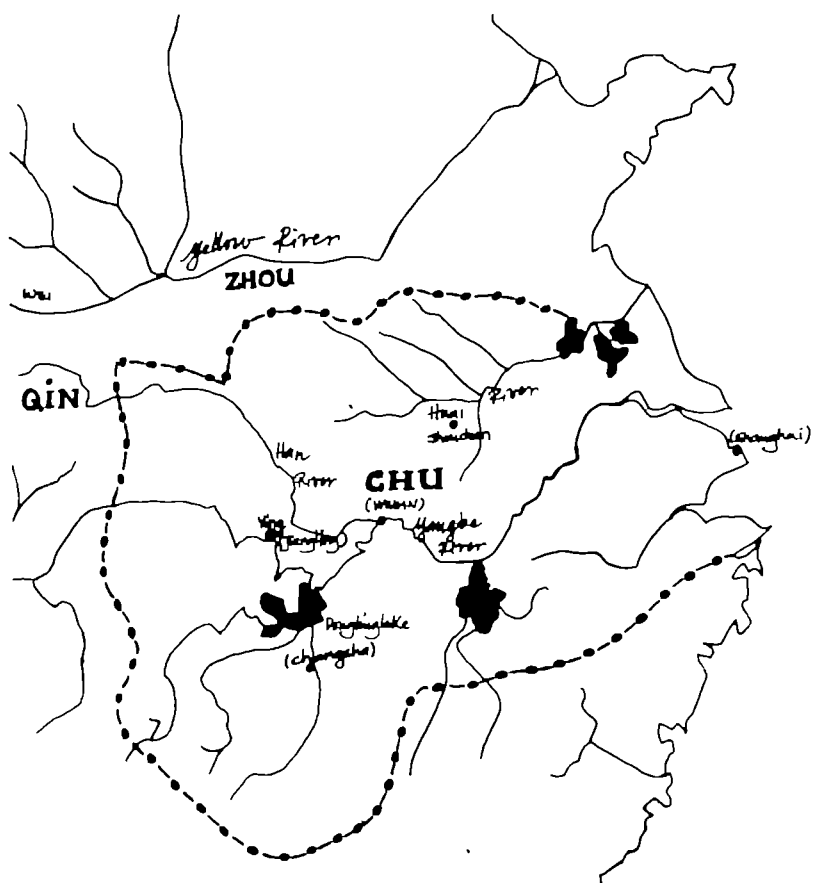


Fig. 1 - a. The Chu kingdom during the Warring States period (5th-3th century B.C.); b. the site of Ying, the Chu capital from 689 to 278 B.C., and the nearby graves in Jiangling county, Hubei.

The antlers⁽⁸⁾, the most visible of the TG attributes, have been identified as that of a variety of the spotted deer⁽⁹⁾. In one TG however, a bark-made structure shaped as deer antler was used as a substitute (Fig. 8. See Salmony 1954: 13, figs. 16-17). Before being placed on the head of the statues, the antlers had to be prepared. First, they were scraped so to create a base for the decoration. Next, the lower extremities were whittled to fit into the holes carved at the top of the statue. Finally, they were decorated with engravings or painted designs (or both).

The drawings, which cover all or just part of the antler surface, are arranged in circular bands and usually include geometric and abstract patterns (curls, straight and broken lines, and spirals in the shape of lozenges, etc.). The tines of both the main antler and the branches are instead painted in a homogeneous dark color⁽¹⁰⁾ (see Figs. 4c, 7a).

In form and decoration, the body and the base of the TGs vary. The differences of the TGs can be related not only to the time of manufacture, but also to the wealth and the geographical position of the tomb from which they have been retrieved.

The lower part of the base of the TG is ordinarily shaped like a cube, while its upper part resembles a truncated pyramid. In the middle of the base is a hole into which the body of the statue was inserted. The size and the shape of the base have changed through time. It appears that whereas in the early times the truncated pyramidal part was taller, it shortened later on. In some cases, in the later pieces the pyramid-shaped part is almost flat, while the cube-shaped section has grown to become the main component of the base (Chen & Yuan 1983: 64). Finally, the base can be carved with square patterns in high relief and painted in fine details, or be smooth and covered with lacquer painted designs⁽¹¹⁾.

The upper part of the statue which is inserted into the base includes the body, the head, and in some instances the arms and other attributes of the creature (such as the tongue). The body of most of the TGs appears to have developed along three main stages: i) at first it is straight (Fig. 2); ii) then it acquires a winding (Figs. 3-4) or square shape (Fig. 6); iii) and finally it returns to an almost straight line (Fig. 12).

The decoration, either painted or carved (or both) (Chen & Yuan 1983: 64), is another factor upon which it is possible to make typological and stylistical distinctions

⁽⁸⁾ In some instances the antlers are lacking, because they either rotted away or they were lost. Their former presence is however witnessed by the existence of two holes carved on the top of the statue which served for their insertion.

⁽⁹⁾ According to Salmony (1954: 4) the *Pseudaxis Hortolorum Swinhoe*.

⁽¹⁰⁾ One set of antler recovered from Changaba and now in the American Museum of Natural History of New York was treated in a slightly different way. The upper tips were severed to expose the hollow inner part of the horn, and apparently animal hairs were inserted in the cavity as a decoration (Salmony 1954: 4, fig. 1).

⁽¹¹⁾ In some cases the base is neither carved nor painted. However it is not clear whether the paint had disappeared or simply never existed on those statues.

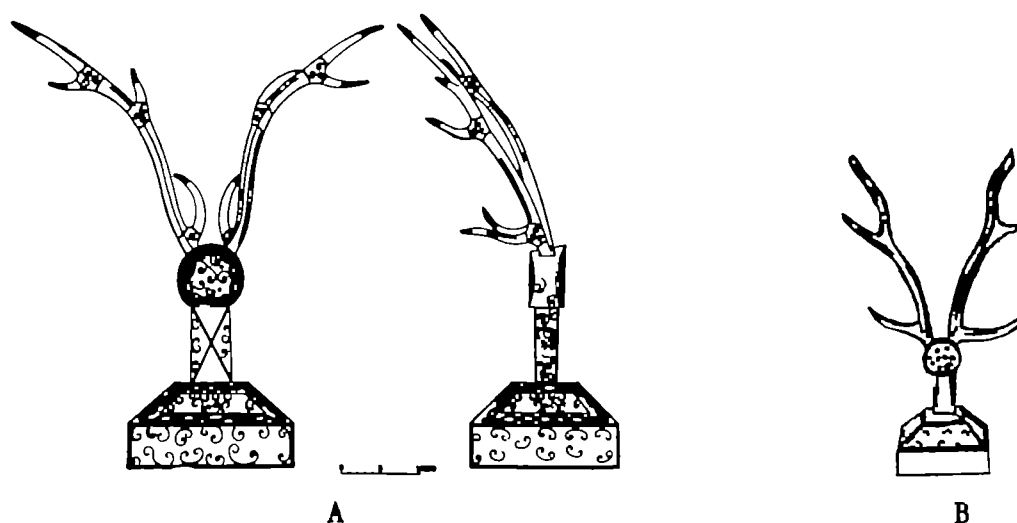


Fig. 2 - TGs type I: a. from Yutaishan 142, Jiangling county, Hubei (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 88.1); b. provenance unknown, probably Jiangling county (after Chen & Yuan 1983: fig. 2).

among the various kinds of TGs. Painted decoration, which is also evident on some very simple and old TGs, covers the entire statue including the antlers with a variety of multicolored drawings (Fig. 2). Some rather old TGs are decorated with geometric or abstract patterns (curling, interlacing, dividing lines; Fig. 2). Others, perhaps of a later era, display many sophisticated drawings, which however tend always to be of a geometric-abstract type; that is, stylized dragons and phoenixes, simplified *taotie* (𪛗), spiral lozenges (◈), drops (♾), small double circles (⊙), thunder patterns, clouds or cirri, and curls (Fig. 7a). Both types of patterns were widely used by the Chu in the decoration of other lacquer ware, and therefore do not seem to be an exclusive characteristic of the TGs (see Lawton 1982: 178-90, figs. 134-35, 137-38) ⁽¹²⁾.

While in some cases painting was also used to depict facial features, most often it was employed merely to decorate the already carved features (i.e., eyes, teeth, tongue). On the wooden parts of the statue, drawings were painted in yellow, red, and gold colors (of a lacquerous composition) over a black lacquer base. On the antlers the decoration was instead applied directly to the surface without a lacquer base (Chen & Yuan 1983: 64).

Carved decoration appeared on the TG probably slightly later than painting, and

⁽¹²⁾ This type of decoration was employed also for bronzes of the late Zhou period in various parts of China, and thus appears to be typical of the time rather than typical of the Chu area. See Weber 1968: 115-73, figs. 41-48.

is apparent on the relatively smaller surface ⁽¹³⁾ of the statue base and 'face'. In the statues which have carved decoration, the base is covered with relief square patterns, while the 'face' exhibits tridimensional facial features (i.e., eyes, mouth, teeth).

The formal stylistic differences described above are not to be taken as absolute guidelines for dating, since different shapes and decorations depend on various factors, such as, for example, the provenance of the statue or the status of the owner. These factors cause the intermingling and overlapping of the various types. Below, I will however propose an overall classification of the main known TGs based on stylistic and formal criteria that shows also some chronological and geographical significance.

3. A Typological Classification

In the past, Chinese scholars have classified the existing TGs in various way (Chen & Yuan 1983, and *Jiangling* 1984), however due to the limited number of pieces studied or the deficiencies of the analytic criteria employed, none of the existing classifications are today completely acceptable.

This classification is based mainly on the data available from the report of the archaeological excavations at the necropolis of Jiangling Yutaishan, Hubei (Fig. 1b) (from here on referred to as YTS ⁽¹⁴⁾). Out of a total of 558 tombs excavated, 156 TGs have been retrieved. Since the report of YTS examines only a few types of TG, our study will also include specimens from other Chu tombs ⁽¹⁵⁾, and TGs found in the 1930's and 1940's in graves of the Changsha area (pieces which are now housed in Western collections; Salmony 1954: 7-13).

⁽¹³⁾ Except for the two completely zoomorphic statues of Xinyang Changtaiguan, Hebei, which are completely covered with reptile scales. See Fig. 9.

⁽¹⁴⁾ YTS is a slightly hilly area about ten kilometers north of the county town of Jingzhou. The tombs are situated on the southern slopes of YTS, to the east of Jinan Cheng, the site of the ancient Chu capital Ying, and are surrounded on three sides by the Changhu Lake. The tombs are clustered in four groups on four hillocks following each other from west to east. The bigger grave are usually at the center of each hill. *Jiangling* 1984: 1-2.

⁽¹⁵⁾ A complete summary of all the tombs in which TGs yet were found does not exist, and would also be very hard to compile because not everything is published. However the most important graves or cemeteries where TGs were unearthed besides YTS are:

a) in Hubei province: Tianxingguan 1, Wangshan 1 and 2, Shazhong 1, Tengdian 1, Gebeisi 34, Taihuiguan 6, 18, & 50, one from Chengxi and ten from Bomashan (Jiangling county); two tombs at Baixitan (Echeng county); two tombs at Xiaohuangjiatai (Qianjiang county).

b) in Hunan province: Liuchengjiao 1, Liufangling 3, Nanjiao 17, Yangwuling 3 (Yinong county) and Yangjiawan 6 (Changsha); Niuxingshan 1 & 2 (Xiangxiang county); Deshan 47 (Changde).

c) in Henan province, Xinyang county: Changtaiguan 1 and 2.

For more information, see *Chu* 1984.

Fig. 3 - TGs type IIA: a. from Yutaishan 516 (after Jiangling 1984: fig. 88.5); b. provenance unknown, possibly Jiangling county (after Chen & Yuan 1983: fig. 4).



By analysing the shape it is possible to categorize the TGs into three different types: 1) statues without facial features and tongue; 2) zoomorphic statues; 3) anthropomorphic statues.

Type I

The TGs have been previously described as statues bearing deer antlers and a protruding tongue. In Type I we see however some TGs which lack a tongue⁽¹⁶⁾ and a well-defined 'face'. These specimens are decorated with a relatively simple painted design and show no carving in relief. The antlers are fixed on a disk-like head. The

⁽¹⁶⁾ Some of the simplest and probably oldest TGs did not have a tongue (Fig. 2), while some other originally had a tongue which was subsequently lost (Fig. 7). As to the object in Fig. 2, it is to be considered merely a deer antler stand. We will return to this later on.

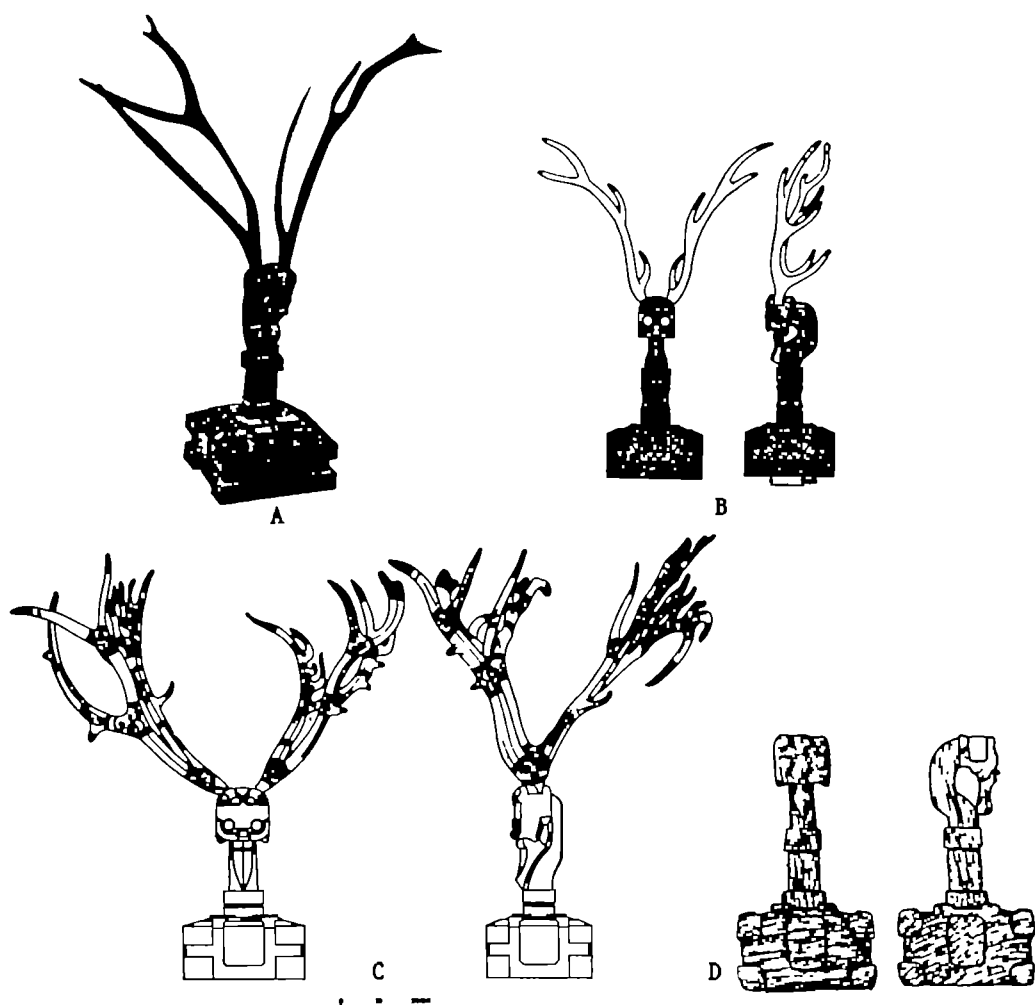


Fig. 4 - TGs type IIB: a. from a Yutaishan grave (after Zhang 1987: pl. 13); b. from Yutaishan 264 (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 88.2); c. from Yutaishan 354 (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 89.1); d. from Taihuiguan 6, Jiangling county, Hubei (after KG, 6, 1973: 343, fig. 9).

body is straight and inserted in a low and smooth pedestal which has the prominent feature of a truncated pyramid (Fig. 2).

At present we know of nine such statues. Seven of them come from the YTS necropolis (*Jiangling* 1984: 107), while the remaining two were recovered from a double burial tomb at Xiaohuang Jiatai, Qianjiang county, Hubei (Fig. 15) ⁽¹⁷⁾. All of them are datable to the early Warring States period.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Tomb no. 6. For the excavation report, see JHKG, 4, 1988: 33-42.

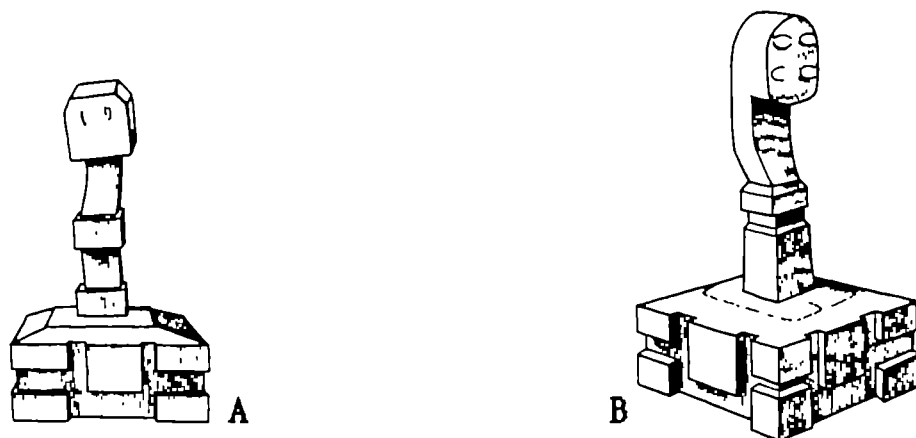


Fig. 5 - Two poorly preserved type IIB TGs: a. from Bomashan 4, Jiangling county, Hubei (after Barnard 1972: fig. 8.12); b. from Gebeisi 34, Jiangling county, Hubei (*ibid.*: fig. 8.13).

Type II

Type II includes all of the TGs with a beast-like appearance that always exhibit antler and tongue. These can be sub-divided into six (A-F) typological sub-groups according to decoration, shape of the body, and various secondary attributes⁽¹⁸⁾. Some odd statues belonging to this category come from the peripheral Chu area of Hunan (IID-III-E-III-F).

Type II, Group A: The main characteristics of the statues of this group (Fig. 3) are: a sinuous shape in the upper part of the body⁽¹⁹⁾, and a rather low pedestal base with a short truncated pyramidal section. The whole statue is covered with very simple waving-line designs arranged in geometrical portions and created by means of painted decoration only. Besides these decorative patterns, the head also has painted facial features. At least twelve examples of this kind are known, all excavated from the YTS cemetery (Jiangling 1984: 108; Chen & Yuan 1983: 63 f.). This type of TG was adopted from the time of the early Warring States and persisted until the end of this period.

Type II, Group B: The upper parts of the Group IIB statues bodies are sinuous in appearance and are decorated both with painting and carving (Fig. 4). As such, they can be considered a more complex form as opposed to those of the previous group.

⁽¹⁸⁾ The secondary attributes (usually the arms, the snake, and sometimes the teeth of the beast) appear only in highly elaborated TGs (groups II-B, II-C, II-F).

⁽¹⁹⁾ An early tendency toward a bending body is already visible in one TG of type IA (Fig. 15, right), which can be considered a transitional type (from IA to IIA).

A further advancement can be seen in the pedestal which is covered on the surface and on the sides with square patterns in carved relief that almost completely obscure the pyramidal shape. Carving is used also to shape the protruding eyes and other features of the statues face (20).

Besides the statues shown in Fig. 4, which are complete and well preserved, two other TGs dating to the middle Warring States period can be included into Group IIB (Fig. 5) (21). Their overall structure is the same as that of other IIB TGs. While they have a sinuous body and a base carved in relief, they lack antlers and tongue, and their facial features are quite indistinct. This is very probably due to bad preservation. Unfortunately, the graphic reproductions of the publication are poor, and therefore it is unclear whether antlers, tongue, and facial features were originally part of the piece.

The great majority of TGs so far discovered can be included into Group IIB. 38 have been excavated from the necropolis of YTS and a large number come from other Chu tombs of both Hubei and Hunan, spanning the length of the entire Warring States period. This type was therefore very popular in Chu (22), and it is then very likely that it underwent some stylistic evolution on its own during the over 200 year long Warring States period. I suggest that the most useful features for tracing the stylistic changes of the statues of Group IIB and arranging them chronologically are as follows:

- 1) the degree of bending of the body (from less to more sinuous),
- 2) the height of the pedestal (from lower to higher),
- 3) the amount of carved relief on the base (from less to more abundant).

In order to test the above, one would need reproductions of all the TGs of Group IIB so far discovered as well as the dates of the tombs. Unfortunately, not all this material is available (23).

Type II, Group C: The common feature of the TGs in Group IIC is the square body of the statue created by the conjunction of head, neck, arms (or tongue) and back of the beast (Fig. 6a-d). In these TGs the body rises from a short socle set as a reverse pyramid over the low base.

(20) For more information on the tombs from which these TGs were excavated, see *Jiangling* 1984: 108; KGXB, 1, 1982: 104; Barnard 1972: 17-22; Salmony 1954: 7-13; Zhang 1987: 196-98.

(21) The tombs in which these TGs were found are Bomashan 4 and Gebeisi 34, both in Jiangling county (Hubei). See WW, 9, 1964: 29 f.; and KG, 3, 1973: 151-61.

(22) Although specimens have been recovered from Hunan tombs, it appears from archaeological evidence that typology IIB had been more widely adopted in Hubei rather than in Hunan, where instead IIC, and other unusual forms, were more common.

(23) Chinese archaeologists rarely publish a reproduction of every artifact they discover. Besides, unpublished artifacts from China are not available for study to foreign scholars, and many TGs have already disappeared.

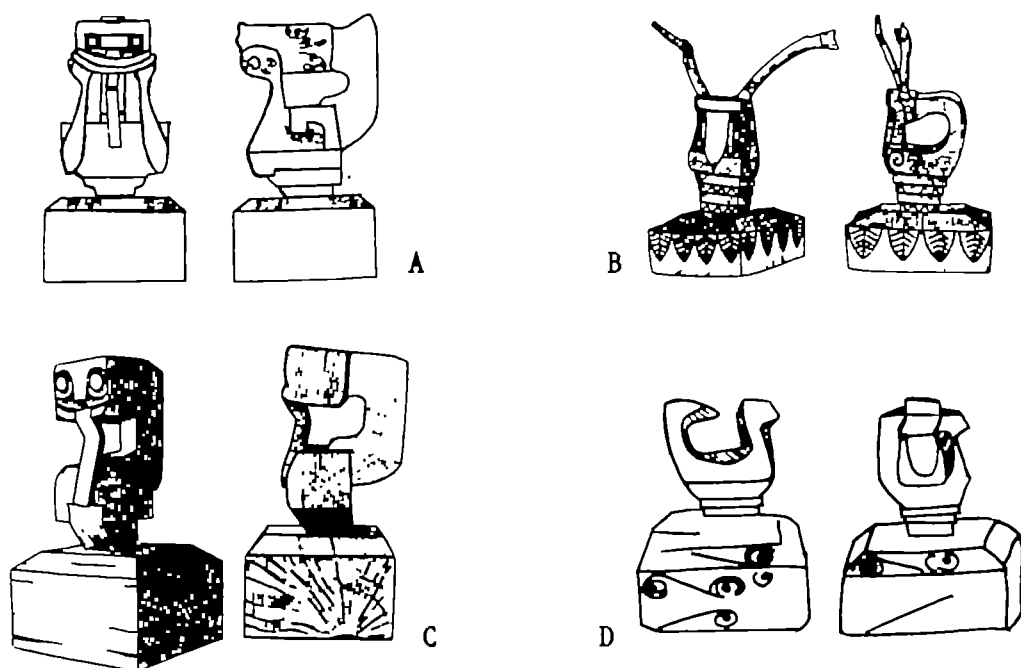


Fig. 6 - Type IIC TGs: a. from Liufangling 3, Changsha, Hunan (after HNWW, 1, 1986: 63, fig. 7); b. from a Changsha grave discovered in the 1930's (after Barnard 1972: fig. 8.3); c. from a Changsha grave discovered in the 1930's (*ibid.*: fig. 8.9); d. from Niuxingshan 1, Xiangxiang county, Hunan (after WWZLCK, 3, 1980: 112, fig. 42.10).

These pieces are decorated with carving and painting. The carved decoration is present more often on the body of the statue than on the base which is often left uncarved. Detailed carving is especially apparent on the face of the creature whose features are first excavated and then painted over. Some of these statues (Fig. 6a-b, d) also have carved features, such as arms, and fangs, which are absent in most TGs.

At least four examples of this type are known all coming from Hunan Province. Only two of these can be dated reliably: i) the specimen shown in Fig. 6a from tomb 3 at Liufangling, Changsha, which is datable to the late Warring States period ⁽²⁴⁾; ii) the piece in Fig. 6d, from tomb 1 at Niuxingshan, Xiangxiang county, datable to the early middle Warring States (WWZLCK, 3, 1980: 98-112). The other two (Fig. 6b-c) were uncovered prior to 1949 and the excavation lacking scientific accuracy, have no certain dates (see Barnard 1972: 31-33; Salmony 1954: 11-12, figs. 14-15).

⁽²⁴⁾ For the report on this tomb (Changsha Liufangling), see HNWW, 1, 1986: 58-64.

Double-Bodied TGs, IIB1 and IIC1

In some of the richest Chu tombs of both Hubei and Hunan a small number of double-bodied TGs have been retrieved (Fig. 7a-d). They have elaborate structures and decorations, but their shapes have nonetheless roots in the single-bodied pieces described above in IIB and IIC. These pieces can be subdivided in two groups:

IIB1: Double-bodied TGs as elaboration of the single typology IIB (Fig. 7a-c);

IIC1: Double-bodied TGs as elaboration of the single typology IIC (Fig. 7d).

As with the pieces of the sub-types IIB and IIC, these two groups can be differentiated from each other by the shape of the body and the presence of additional elements (such as the arms, and the fangs of the IIC1). Both types have two bodies stemming out from a single base which separate above the socle, cross-section, and end as two heads facing opposite directions. The structures of these two types are, however, different in that IIB1 is created by the conjunction back to back of two S-shaped bodies, while IIC1 is formed by two square bodies back to back.

These types of TG were used especially during the middle Warring States period. There is, however, at least one statue dating to the early Warring States (25). Type IIB1, as IIB, is common in Hubei, while IIC1, like IIC, appears to be special to the Hunan area.

Type II, Group D: The only statue of this group has a solid and sinuous body, a large base covered by simple carved patterns, and a set of ram instead of deer antlers (Fig. 8). These now little antlers which contrast sharply with the powerful structure of the statue were originally much larger. However due to the long period of time the statues were buried they have decayed and shrunk. Evidence for this process of decay are the two holes on the top of the statue, which are clearly too wide for the present size of the antlers (Salmony 1954: 13, figs. 16-17).

This TG has neither painted nor engraved facial features. The few remains of painted decoration throughout the statue suggest however that they may have originally been present.

Due to its peculiar shape and the ram rather than deer antlers, this TG can be said to be a regional variation of the more common typologies we have so far examined, and maybe a provincial transformation of the common IIB type. Unfortunately not much is known about its provenance and its date. There is some reason to believe that this piece (now in a Western collection) was recovered during a pseudo-archaeological excavation in the area of Changsha, Hunan, prior to 1949.

(25) The one example dating to early Warring States comes from a tomb of the necropolis of Jiangling Yutaishan. While at Yutaishan there are no double-bodied TGs dating to the late Warring States, it is possible that they were still in use elsewhere.

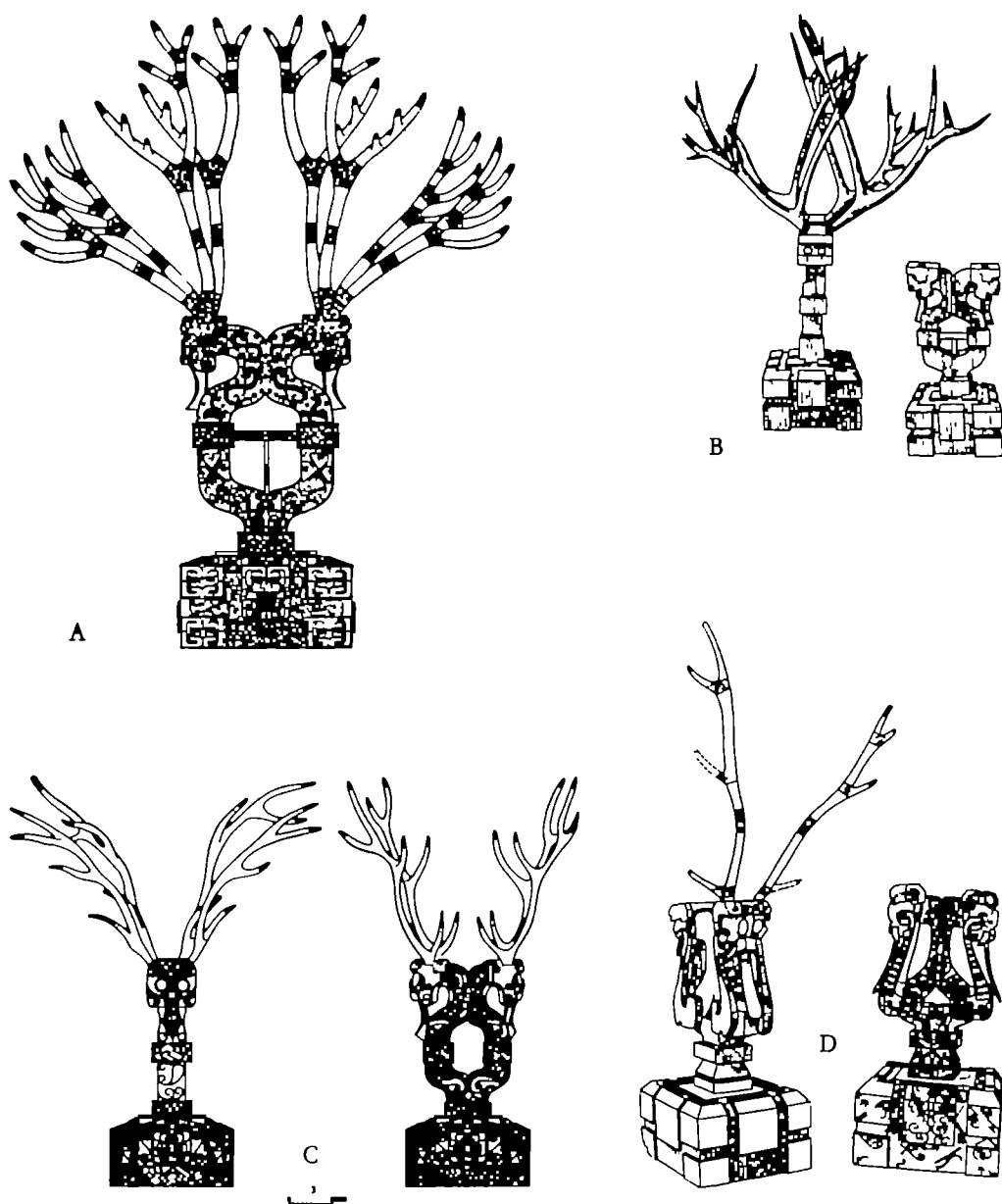


Fig. 7 - Double-bodied TGs: a. type IIB1 from Tianxingguan 1, Jiangling county, Hubei (after KGXB, 1, 1982: 102, fig. 28); b. type IIB1 from Wangshan 1, Jiangling county, Hubei (after Barnard 1972: fig. 8.1); c. type IIB1 from Yutaishan 174, Jiangling county, Hubei (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 88.3); d. from an unspecified Changaha grave (after Barnard 1972: fig. 8.2).

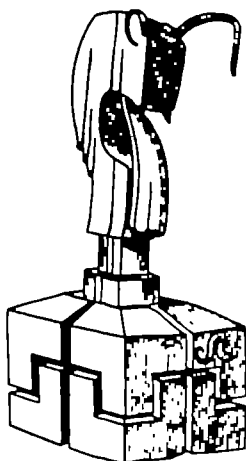


Fig. 8 - Type IID TG from an unspecified grave of the Changsha area, Hunan (after Barnard 1972: fig. 8.4).

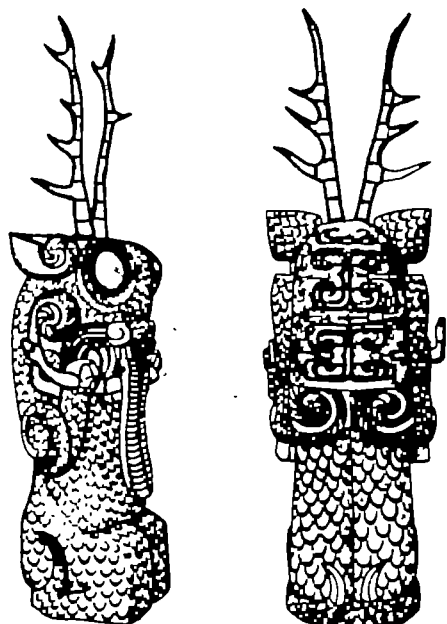


Fig. 9 - Type IIE TG from Changtaiguan 1, Xinyang county, Henan (after Barnard 1972: fig. 8.6).

Type II, Group E: These TGs are fully zoomorphic statues carved in the round and decorated with very detailed painted and engraved designs (Fig. 9). They represent a composite animal creature standing upright on the hind legs with the front legs grasping a snake that hangs from the mouth⁽²⁶⁾. Besides the protruding tongue and the deer antler, these pieces also have feline ears, and large and round insect eyes. The surface of the statue is covered by scale-like carvings.

Only two pieces of this type are presently known. They were excavated from tombs 1 and 2 of Changtaiguan, Xinyang county, Henan⁽²⁷⁾, and both date back to the early Warring States period. The unusual shape of these TGs might perhaps be explained in terms of regional traditions: the present region of Henan, being closer to the Central Plain, is rather peripheral to the center of classical Chu culture located

⁽²⁶⁾ About snake-devouring creatures, see Wu 1989; Loewe (1982: 124) suggests that the presence of a snake devourer was perhaps considered desirable as a means of protecting the body by consumption by vermin.

⁽²⁷⁾ For details on the tombs and their TGs, see Xinyang 1986: 60-61, 114.

in Hubei ⁽²⁸⁾. The two statues from Changtaiguan are the only TGs known so far to carry a snake in their mouth ⁽²⁹⁾.

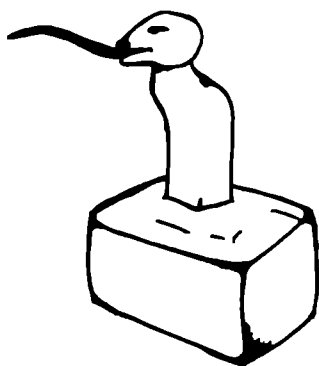


Fig. 10 - Type IIF TG from Yangwuling 3, Yiyang county, Hunan (HNKGJK, 2, 1984: pl. 15.3).

Fig. 11 - Substitutive ritual statuette of a servant from Yutalshan 186 (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 91.3).

Type II, Group F: The single piece of Group F has a rather unusual shape compared to the rest of the known TGs (Fig. 10). Although the photographic reproduction of this piece is not good ⁽³⁰⁾ one can make out an arched body and a dog-like head with finely carved facial features. Other than this the statue does not appear to bear any painted or carved decoration. Only a first-hand examination of the piece could reveal whether there are any traces of former decorative paintings or carvings ⁽³¹⁾.

The two main features of the TG, the antler and the tongue, are in an unusual position. Instead of flowing down from the mouth along the body, the tongue is pushed forward like a weapon. From the presence of two holes into the body of the statue we can deduce that the no longer extant antlers were fixed on the shoulders rather than on the head of the beast. The statue comes from a recently excavated tomb in Hunan province datable to the late Warring States period ⁽³²⁾. Once again, Hunan seems to provide the most intriguing of the TG types.

⁽²⁸⁾ Influences from the Central Plain cultures should be considered as potentials for causing this unusual shape, that seems close to animal design decoration employed in the ritual bronzes.

⁽²⁹⁾ Few other TGs carry something in their mouths, but it is unclear whether these are snakes as well. See Figs. 6a-b, d, and 7d.

⁽³⁰⁾ The original reproduction from the Chinese journal HNKGJK, 2, 1984: pl. 15.3, is very badly printed, and the explanatory text is rather laconic.

⁽³¹⁾ However due to the problems pointed out above, this is at the moment impossible.

⁽³²⁾ The tomb is: 80 Yinong M3. See HNKGJK, 2, 1984: 70.

Type III

Type III groups the TGs with anthropomorphic facial features. These TGs (Fig. 12) have highly stylized and slightly sinuous bodies, but are equipped with realistic-looking human heads, whose faces, except for the tongue flowing down from the mouth, very much resemble some ritual substitutive statuettes of servants (Fig. 11) commonly found in the tombs of Chu noblewomen and noblemen ⁽³³⁾.

Even with their human-looking faces, these statues still bear the terrifying aspect of the other TGs. This effect is brought about by the presence of an extremely long tongue which flows out of the mouth lying abandoned along the body, and by the lack of eyes which are described only by means of a thin eyebrow.

These simple statues belong to the last stage of the formal development of the TGs. We know of five examples coming from both Hubei and Hunan and datable to the middle and late Warring States period (for reference, see Salmony 1954: 7-8, figs. 5-7; Rawson 1980: 166, fig. 140; Barnard 1972: 17-22; Chen & Yuan 1983: 64; Jiang 1946: pl. 33b, 34b & d). The carving on these five figures differs in quality. It is hence possible that they represent different stages in the development of type III. The one with straight body and slightly carved face in Fig. 12d could be considered the oldest, while the British Museum specimen (Fig. 12c), which shows a curved neck and a head almost carved in the round can be relegated to a later date.

4. *Analysis of Typological Use*

To analyze the stylistic development of the statues cited above it is important to have exact provenance and clear photographic reproductions of all the TGs, as well as complete archaeological information regarding all the tombs from which a TG has been retrieved (such as date, gender of the deceased, orientation, type of grave, etc.). However, due to the fact that some TGs were found at an early date in less than scientific excavations and that several tombs were badly damaged we have incomplete information.

To mitigate these deficiencies, the following analysis will be based upon the results of the excavation of the Chu necropolis of YTS in Hubei province ⁽³⁴⁾. Here, reliable

⁽³³⁾ These ritual statuettes were used to represent the servants of the deceased so that her/his rank would be recognized as s/he entered the underworld. In the more distant past (Shang) it was commonplace to have the servants of the deceased sacrificed and buried with him, but by the Eastern Zhou period this habit was dying out, and the living servants were more often substituted with figurines. This tradition was common among the northern as well as southern states, but in Chu the statuettes were made of wood, while in the north terracotta was more commonly employed.

⁽³⁴⁾ Unfortunately also this archaeological report is not very detailed: not all the discovered TGs are reproduced and other information such as the gender of the deceased is lacking.

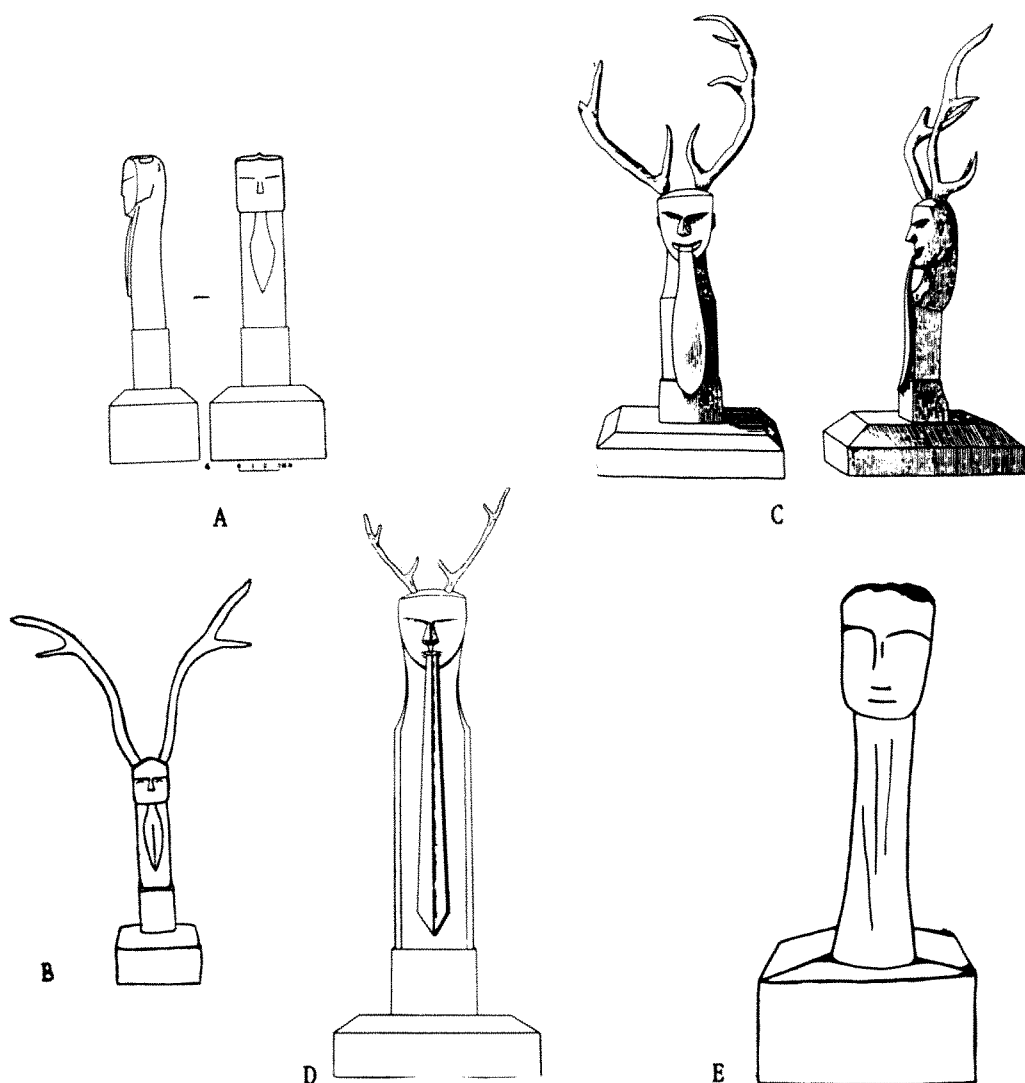


Fig. 12 - Type III TGs: a. from Yutaishan 555 (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 88.4); b. from unknown grave (after Chen & Yuan 1983: 65, fig. 6); c. from a tomb of the Changsha area. The piece is now in the British Museum collection (after Barnard 1972: fig. 8.5); d. from a tomb of the Changsha area (*ibid.*: fig. 8.7); e. from Niuxingshan 2, Xiangxiang county, Hunan (WWZLCK, 3, 1980: 112, fig. 42.5).

dates and other information are available for the majority of the graves, a number of which yielded one TG each ⁽³⁵⁾.

⁽³⁵⁾ 156 TGs out of 558 excavated graves, which equals to 28%.

Of the 558 excavated tombs at the YTS site, Chinese archaeologists have been able to date and classify on the base of the funerary articles and pottery seriation, 423 of them ⁽³⁶⁾, into six periods ⁽³⁷⁾. The remaining 135 tombs, which due to bad preservation do not have a clear-cut dating, have been generically termed 'Eastern Zhou'. The TG's typologized above are listed according to seven periods (Table 1).

Although this table only presents results limited to YTS, it still provides a base for an interpretation of the stylistic development of the TGs. From the above it is possible to see the frequency of use of the TGs in the YTS tombs through the different time periods. This pattern appears to be valid for other Chu graveyards as well. Notwithstanding the high number of TGs of unclear shape excavated from the YTS site, the sample still appear to be quite representative.

TGs were not retrieved from Spring and Autumn tombs in YTS ⁽³⁸⁾, whereas they abound in the tombs of the subsequent Warring States period. In Period III (early Warring States) the predominant TG was type I which is characterized by a simple shape and the lack of tongue. The TG of the next greatest frequency are the zoomorphic TGs (sub-type IIB). In periods IV and V of YTS (middle Warring States) type I and the statues of type II (zoomorphic), particularly of group IIB (carved decoration), predominate. In the last YTS period (late Warring States) the TGs of type II and, in general, the number of TGs and that of the tombs of YTS, drop vertically (i.e., only one painted decoration example and no carved ones), while the first and only type III TG (anthropomorphic) makes an appearance.

The evolution indicated by the table for the last period (late Warring States) is of limited usefulness, since during the late Warring States period the area of the Chu capital Ying ^(d), in whose surroundings the YTS necropolis lays, was almost abandoned by the Chu people, who moved southward (toward Hunan and therefore Changsha), and later eastward towards Shouchun ^(e) in Anhui to the last Chu capital, under the impending threat of a Qin invasion.

As such, the archaeological findings from Hunan (and especially from the Changsha area) of the middle late and late Warring States period (Chen & Yuan 1983) are of particular significance in studying the final stages of the development of the TGs. Three of the five anthropomorphic TGs of type III come from Hunan. Though the tombs from which they were excavated are generically considered to be Warring States, it is known that the graves of central Hunan often date to the middle late and late

⁽³⁶⁾ The remaining 135 tombs are badly damaged or do not contain items that allow a reliable dating, and have therefore been classified as 'Eastern Zhou'; see: *Jiangling* 1984: 145. In these graves there have been discovered 15 TGs, one was of typology IIB, while the remaining 14 were too damaged to allow for a classification. See *ibid.*: 119 f.

⁽³⁷⁾ The six periods are: I middle Spring Autumn (S.A.), II late S.A., III early Warring States (W.S.), IV early middle W.S., V late middle W.S., VI late W.S.

⁽³⁸⁾ There is however at least one case of a late Spring Autumn tomb with a TG. See below.

Warring States (Zhang 1988: 430). This appears then to confirm the typological development shown by the TGs of YTS.

In sum, the above analysis makes it possible to delineate three stages in the development of the TG types for the area of YTS, which can also be applied to other Chu cemeteries:

Stage 1, Early Warring States:

Type I predominates.

Characteristics of these statues are: i) upright body; ii) formal and decorative simplicity; iii) tendency toward abstraction; iv) presence of antlers, lacking of tongue and facial features.

Stage 2, Middle Warring States:

Sub-type IIB predominates.

Characteristics of the statues are: i) winding body; ii) completely developed bestial appearance through an extensive use of painted and engraved decoration; iii) antlers, tongue, and facial features.

Stage 3, Late Warring States

Type III predominates.

Characteristics of the statues are: i) simple anthropomorphic face; ii) presence of antlers and tongue; iii) scanty decoration; iv) simply carved facial features.

From this sequence, that considers for each period/stage only the category with the highest number of statues, it is possible to visualize an ideal development for the TG, which goes from a primitive simplicity of the sculptures without tongue and facial features, to a complex bestial form, and finally develops into the essential simplicity of a human expression. Basic to this development in the appearance of the TG is the face, which in the earlier examples is undefined and later becomes elaborately rendered.

This development can be considered from the point of view of a change of taste, which led the Chu in each specific time period to prefer one type over another type of TG. Formal development was also taking place within each type group ⁽³⁹⁾.

The scheme in three stages proposed above, suggests a key to discerning the formal development of the statues of the central Chu area (Hubei). Although the three-stage scheme has interpretative value, it is clear that the situation was at each stage more complex (see Table 1). During the early Warring States despite the predominance of very simple statues without tongue and facial features, the zoomorphic TGs were already present with their completely developed structure. In Henan (Changtaiguan

⁽³⁹⁾ It is though possible to suggest that in some sense types IA, IIA, and IIB are different phases in the evolution of the Hubei region TG.

tomb 1 and 2) we also find a zoomorphic TG carved in the round (Fig. 9). By the middle Warring States, it appears that all the statues belonged to type II (zoomorphic TGs). In Hubei they bear a classical winding shapes, and in Hunan they employ a square body or other new forms typical of the local regional styles. Lastly, during the late Warring States together with a larger number of anthropomorphic TGs (type III), there appeared, especially in the Hunan region, some peculiar TGs with unusual beast-like shapes. Following this, we propose a summary of the various interpretations of the meaning and function of the TG that have been previously suggested.

5. Previous Interpretations

In the past, various scholars have tried to define what the TG represents, and what it meant. Salmony (1954) described the TG as an elaboration of the *taotie* motif, but strangely saw its origin in India. Hayashi (1972: 123-86) has instead identified the TG with Jiangliang (𧈧), a monstrous creature described in the *Shanbaijing*. His interpretation, however, is difficult to accept since Jiangliang is described in this text as having a human body and a tiger head (40), which is not the shape of the TG. Mizuno (1937) and lately Wang Ruiming (1979) suggested that the TG is Shanshen (𧈧), the Spirit of the Mountains. Again the starting point for this explanation is a series of descriptions contained in the *Shanbaijing*, which give details as to the appearance of a number of mountain spirits, none of which really matches the shape of the TG (41). Yet another interpretation sees the TG as the tridimensional representation of the dragon (Peng 1988). However, in this case as well there does not seem to be any particularly convincing relation between the TG's appearance and that of the Chinese dragon.

More recently, Chen Yaojun and Yuan Wenqin (1983) have proposed that the TG represents Tubo (𧈧), the Lord of the Underworld, by pointing to both its position in the head compartment of the tomb, and its monstrous appearance. In ancient China the tomb was considered the underground residence of the deceased (42), and its

(40) The 'Da Huang Bei Jing' chapter of *Shanbaijing* says: 'In the middle of the Great Desolation [...] there is also a spirit who eats and grabs snakes; it has a tiger head and a human body, four hooved legs and long elbows; its name is Jiangliang (𧈧)' (Yuan 1985a: 285).

(41) The 'Nan Shan Jing' chapter of *Shanbaijing* states '[...] From Mount Ju to Qiwu, there is a total of seventeen mountains, [...] all of their spirits have a dragon body and a bird head (𧈧)' (Yuan 1985a: 6); and '[...] From Mount Tianyu to Nanyu, there is a total of fourteen mountains, all of their spirits have a dragon body and a human face (𧈧)' (*ibid.*: 9). In the 'Zhong Shan Jing' chapter it is said: '[...] From Mount Shou to Bing, there is a total of nine mountains, all of their spirits have a dragon body and a human face (𧈧)' (*ibid.*: 137; see also Wang 1979: 85).

(42) In the chapter 'Lihun' of *Xunzi* it is said: 'Hence the appearance of a tomb and its tumulus is like a house' (Dubs 1966: 238). Also worth noting is the fact that in Han times the grave was called house (*ju*) (𡩺), home (*jiu*) (𡩺), private dwelling (*shizhe*) (𡩺), everlasting residence (*qianmoan suishi*) (𡩺), everlasting cottage (*wanmian lushi*) (𡩺); see Cheng 1983: 145-272.

Table 1

PERIOD	Number of Tombs	% of TOT*	Tombs with TG	TG%**	TG Type
I middle S.A.	9	1.61%	—	—	—
II late S.A.	65	11.65%	—	—	—
III early W.S.	115	20.61%	33	28.69%	18 uc*** 7 I 2 IIA 5 IIB 1 IIB1
IV early middle W.S.	139	24.91%	89	64.02%	53 uc 5 IIA 26 IIB 5 IIB1
V late middle W.S.	56	10.04%	16	28.57%	4 uc 4 IIA 7 IIB 1 IIB1
VI late W.S.	39	6.99%	3	7.69%	1 uc 1 IIA 1 III
SUBTOTAL	423	75.81%	141	33.33%	76 uc 7 I 12 IIA 38 IIB 7 IIB1 1 III
'Eastern Zhou'	135	24.19%	15	11.11%	
TOTAL	558	100%	156	27.95%	

* Calculated on the total of 558 tombs.

** Percent calculated on the total number of the tombs belonging of the period.

*** Unclear shape.

structure was thought to mirror that of the earthly dwelling (Loewe 1982: 26-27; Guo 1982: 37). The various compartments of the wooden chamber are thus equated by Chen Yuejun and Yuan Wenqin (who base their interpretation on the YTS evidence) with the rooms of the aristocratic villa ⁽⁴³⁾. The front end compartment where the TG is usually found, is thought to correspond to the front hall, *tang* of these mansions, the place where *Tian* (天), Heaven, was worshipped. Since the tomb is the underworld representation of the house, the head compartment corresponding to the *tang* should have been dedicated to the worshipping of Tubo, the counterpart of Heaven in the world of the dead, which the TG is thought to represent.

Chen and Yuan also quote the description of this god given in the poem *Zhaohun* of *Chuci* as supporting their interpretation:

O soul, come back! Go not down to the Land of Darkness,
Where the Earth God lies, nine coiled, with dreadful horns on his forehead,
And a great humped back and bloody thumbs, pursuing men, swift footed;
Three ⁽⁴⁴⁾ eyes he has in his tiger's head, and his body is like a bull's.
O soul come back! Lest you bring on yourself disaster (灾).

(From Hawkes 1985: 225)

Chen and Yuan argue that the above is a very close description of the actual Chu TG. This does not appear to be so. Although some TGs may be said to have a tiger-like head, none has a nine-coiled body resembling that of a bull. Also, this description does not mention any protruding tongue. Furthermore it is unlikely that a figure such as Tubo, which was clearly considered harmful to the *hun* (魂) soul, would be chosen to protect the tomb and the deceased. The explanation ought therefore to be sought elsewhere.

In order to suggest a new explanation for the TG it is crucial to take a closer look at the archaeological evidence pertaining to the TG and the tombs from which this statue has been excavated.

⁽⁴³⁾ This is the development of a theory already put forth some time ago by Yu Weichao (1979: 332-37, esp. 334, & 333, fig. 1), who equated the front, the coffin the side, and rear compartments of the funerary chamber respectively with the *tang* (厅), the *shi* (室), the *fang* (房), and the *beitang* (甬) or *xiashi* (下室) halls of the aristocratic residence.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ According to Zhang (1987: 197-98), who agrees with Chen's and Yuan's interpretation, the character 'san' (三) should not be read as referring to the number 'three', but as referring to the asterism *san* (参宿) (参), one of the 28 lunar asterisms, which with other six of its kind make up the Tiger Constellation (one of the four seasonal polar constellation of Chinese astronomy). 'San san' would thus mean 'tiger eyes' and not 'three eyes'.

6. The TG and the Tomb: Archaeological Evidence

The 156 TGs of YTS have been excavated from an equal number of Warring States tombs, and, except for one case ⁽⁴⁵⁾, they were always found in the front case of the funerary chamber, usually in the middle ⁽⁴⁶⁾, with the face turned inward, towards the coffin (Fig. 13.11).

The 156 tombs of YTS equipped with TGs have very specific characteristics which distinguish them from the rest of the graves of the necropolis. They always have a wooden structure that includes at least a funerary chamber (*guo*) ^(4b) and a coffin (*guan*) ^(4c), and either a set of ritual bronzes or one of substitutive terracotta vessels (*Jiangling* 1984: 148). The features of the tombs at YTS equipped with TGs occur also in other Chu cemeteries ⁽⁴⁷⁾, and from their analysis it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

1) In a tomb there could be only one TG per single burial, or no more than one per person in case of multiple burials (QUANTITY);

2) By being placed in the middle of the front room, the TG occupies a very important position in the tomb (POSITION);

3) The TG was a ritual object placed only in the tombs of the nobility (SOCIAL VALUE);

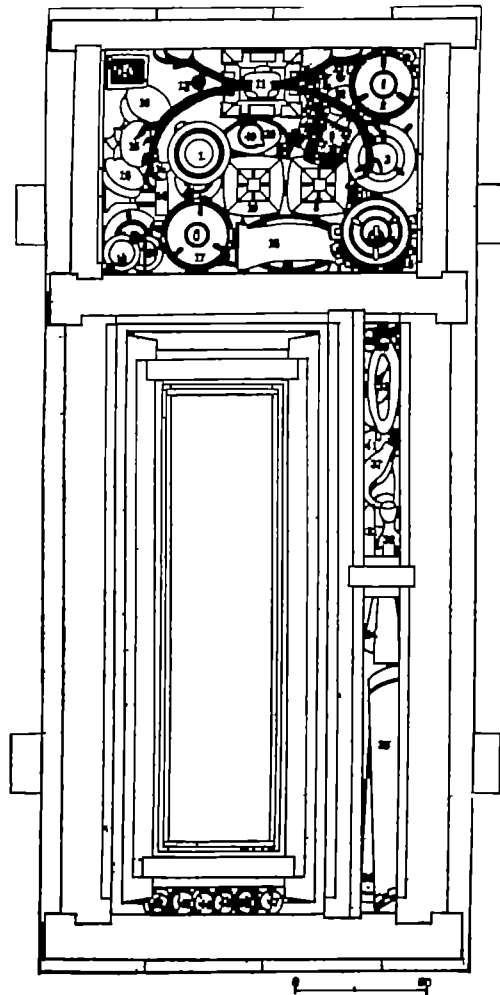


Fig. 13 - The wooden burial chamber (*guo*) of Yutaishan 354: note the TG in the middle of the front compartment (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 40).

⁽⁴⁵⁾ In YTS tomb 555 the TG was placed in the side compartment. See *Jiangling* 1984: 49-53, fig. 43.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Most of the YTS tombs had only three compartments: the coffin, the side, and front compartments. Since the coffin compartments was completely filled by the coffin, and the side one was too narrow for such a large statue as the TG, the front compartment was the only possible alternative.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Cfr. the catalogue of Chu tombs and sites: *Chu* 1984.

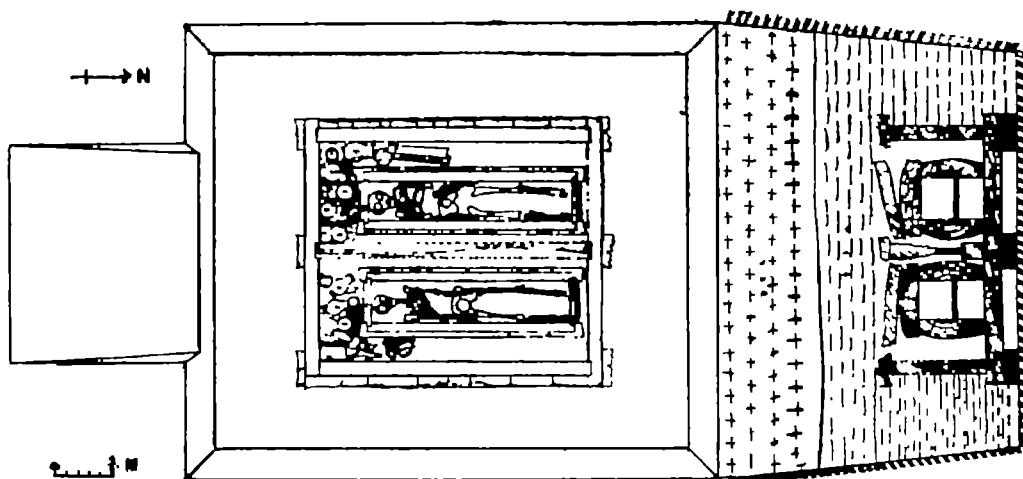


Fig. 14 - The joint burial (*bezang*) at Xiaohuang Jiatai 6, Qianjiang county, Hubei (after JHKG, 4, 1988: 36, fig. 4).

4) As far as we can judge the classical Chu TG came into being around the early Warring States period (or late Spring Autumn), and was used mostly in that period only (TIME).

These four pieces of information make up a starting point for interpreting the meaning of the TG.

The fact that there is only one TG per Chu tomb is significant, and constitutes a point of departure to study the symbolic meaning of these statues. The tombs of YTS⁽⁴⁸⁾ show that the Chu consistently placed only one TG per tomb. It is also worth noting that rather than putting two separate TGs in the same tomb, the Chu adopted instead the more complex double bodied statue for the wealthiest graves.

In other cemeteries of Hubei there are examples of multiple burial graves (either *xunzang*^(4d), sacrificial burial, or *bezang*^(4c), husband and wife joint burial)⁽⁴⁹⁾, in which more than one TG per tomb is present. This indicates that the number of TG is related to number of corpses per tomb.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ The TG tombs of YTS are all single burials.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Generally *xunzang* and *bezang* are distinguished on the base of the size and arrangement of the coffins in the grave. If the coffins are of the same size, and placed side by side they are considered *bezang*, while if a larger coffin is in the middle and the others are smaller and on the side that is considered *xunzang*. In the *bezang* the wife was not killed and interred at the same time of the husband, the grave could in fact be reopened and the corpse be placed in at a different time. Comments on the practice of *bezang* are contained in the 'Tangong' chapter of *Liji*. See Couvreur 1950: vol. 1, 109-10.

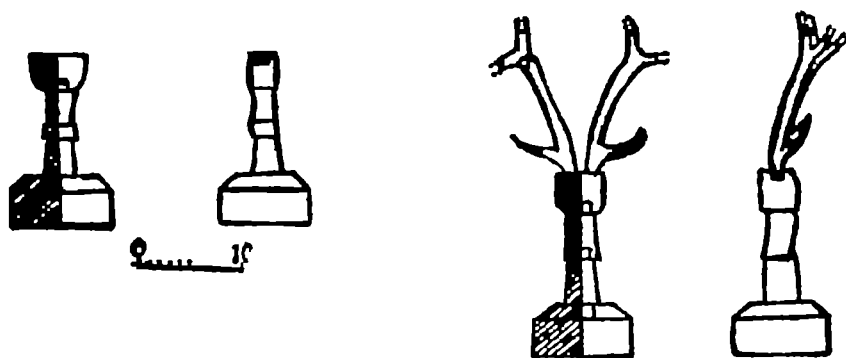


Fig. 15 - The two type I TGs recovered from Xiaohuang Jiatai 6. On the left the one from the female burial, on the right the one from the male burial (after JHKG, 4, 1988: 39, figs. 7.9-10).

Tomb 6 at Xiaowang Jiatai, Qianjiang county, is a husband and wife joint burial with two TGs (JHKG, 4, 1988: 33-42). Two coffins of approximately the same size were placed side by side in the wooden chamber, which is divided into two equally large sections (Fig. 14), each containing a good number of funerary goods. Since the skeletons were well preserved, it has been possible to determine that the one on the east side belonged to a woman, and the other to a man. Although more funerary goods were placed on the man side (fifteen versus eleven), in both compartments there was a TG. Both the TGs recovered from tomb 6, which is datable to the early Warring States period (*ibid.*: 41), belong to type I (Fig. 15), and thus are consistent with the pattern of typological evolution we have deduced from the YTS excavations.

From the evidence of Xiaohuang Jiatai tomb 6 it is also clear that the TG was used in both male and female burials. Women as well as men enjoyed the company of these protective statues in their tombs. The types of statues used for both sexes are equally complex. For example, in a rich grave, Taihuiguan no. 50, Jiangling county, where the skeleton of the interred was identified as that of a woman, a double bodied TG was retrieved ⁽²⁰⁾.

Another Hubei tomb, Baizitan no. 5, Echeng county (KGXB, 2, 1983: 223-53), is instead a *xunzang* or tomb with sacrificial burial. This is evident because of the disposition of the three coffins and of the funerary goods in the wooden chamber (Fig. 16). The main burial (one outer plus one inner coffin) is placed at the center of a six-compartment wooden chamber, while the two smaller coffins are positioned one in the eastern side and the other in the northern side compartments. Since in the grave there were only two TGs (in the west compartment), we have to suppose that one of the *xunzang* victims was not provided with a TG. Archaeological evidence

⁽²⁰⁾ The tomb dates to the middle Warring States period. See KG, 1, 1977: 61, fig. 7.

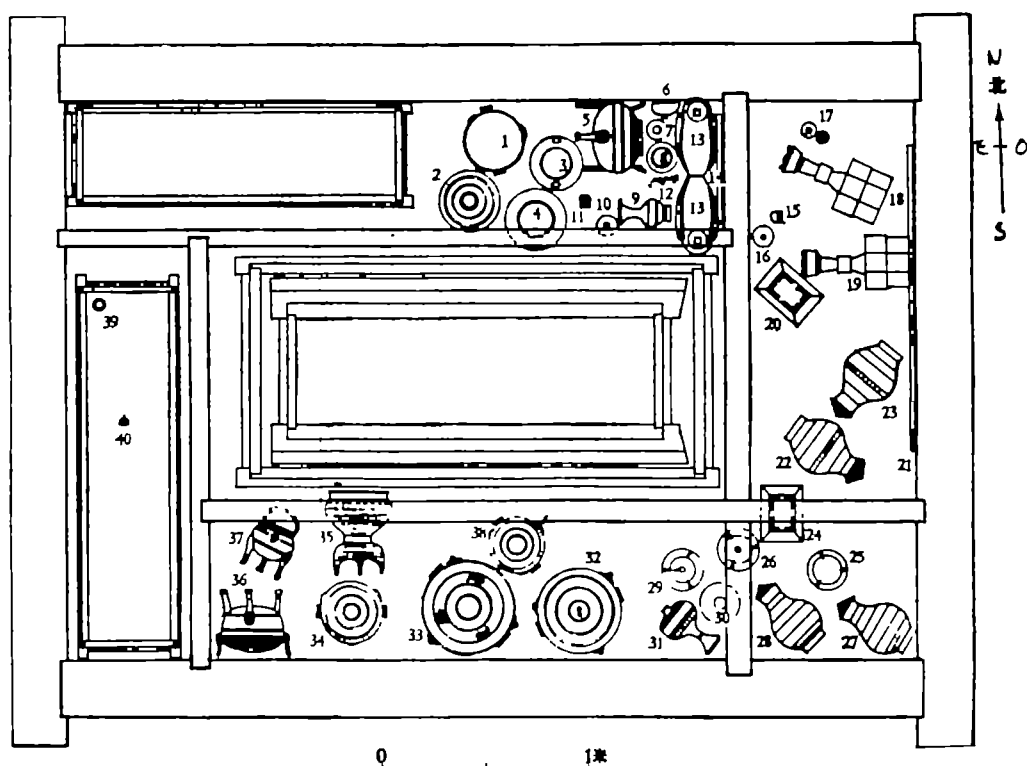


Fig. 16 - Tomb with sacrificial burial (*xuzang*): layout of Baixitian 5, Echeng county, Hubei. Note the TGs in upper left compartment, nos. 18-19 (KGXB, 2, 1983: 226, fig. 4).

suggests that the TG is associated only with the upper class, thus we can infer that perhaps one of the two victims was not of aristocratic status. This is, however, only a tentative explanation, since we know of upper class tombs without TGs.

Baixitian tomb 5 dates to the early middle Warring States (corresponding to YTS period III). The two TGs unearthed there, are poorly reproduced, and it is unclear to what category they might belong. They appear to have an upright body, square in cross section, with some relief carving on the base and on the head. They could thus be considered a variation on the IIB theme due to regional influence (Echeng county is relatively far from the center of classical Chu culture in Jiangling county).

A well preserved example of the classical position the TG occupies in the tomb structure is offered by the layout of tomb 354 of YTS (Fig. 13). From this plan it is easy to see how the TG, with its deer antler extending from the centre over most of the front case, appears indeed to protect the grave, and to be the master among the funerary objects.

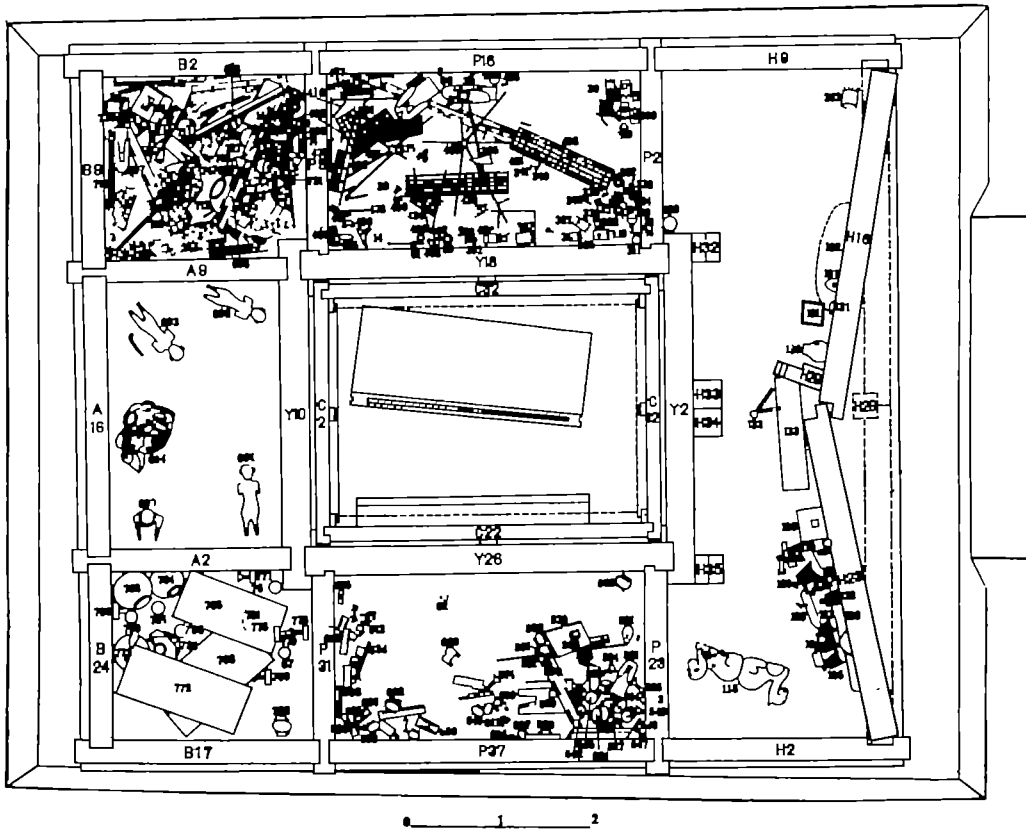


Fig. 17 - The burial chamber of Changtaiguan 1: note the TGs in the rear compartment surrounded by four ritual statuettes (after *Xinyang* 1986: insert).

Although this arrangement appears to be quite common in the medium size graves of the YTS cemetery (where the front end compartment is the only one wide enough for the TG), in tombs larger than those of YTS (i.e., having more than three compartments), the TG position may vary. The statue is sometimes placed in the front compartment ⁽²¹⁾, and sometimes in the back, such as in Baizitan 5 (Fig. 14), and Changtaiguan 1 (Fig. 17; *Xinyang* 1986: insert). Although placed in the back compartment, the TG of Changtaiguan tomb 1 remains always in a central position surrounded as it is by four wooden statuettes of attendants; two women at the east and two men at west side.

As we have seen above (§ 5) the crucial position that the TG occupies in the front end compartment of most Chu tombs has been used by two Chinese scholars to interpret the meaning and the function of these statues (Chen & Yuan 1983: 39).

⁽²¹⁾ Such as at Jiangling Tianxinguan, Hubei. See KGXB, 1, 1982: 81, fig. 10.



Fig. 18 - The female clay monster at the entrance of the Han tomb at Huaiyang, Henan (courtesy of prof. Cao Guichen, Henan Wenwu Yanjiusuo).

Although their interpretation is interesting, it is important to remain aware of the fact that the position of the TG in the wooden chambers of YTS, and other medium size graves, seems to be motivated not only by symbolic, but also by practical reasons (see above § 6).

The association of the TG with tombs equipped with: (A) at least one wooden chamber and one coffin; (B) one or more sets of bronze or pottery ritual vessels, clearly indicates that the TG-graves ought to belong to the aristocratic class (Peng 1982). The classical texts ⁽⁵²⁾ are very explicit regarding the rules of grave organization. They state the exact number of coffins and funerary chambers, and the type of ritual vessel that could be interred in a tomb according to the rank of the deceased. The reliability of the texts has been proved by comparing textual prescriptions to archaeological evidence from tombs whose owner's status was known ⁽⁵³⁾.

⁽⁵²⁾ Especially the 'Tangong' chapter of *Liji*, the 'Tianzi' chapter of *Zhuangzi*, and the 'Lilun' chapter of *Xunzi*.

⁽⁵³⁾ Such as at the Marquess of Dai tomb, Mawangdui 1, Changsha; see WW, 9, 1972: 52-73; and the King of Yan tomb, Daobaotai 1, Beijing, see WW, 6, 1977: 24.

The last point concerns the dates of use of the TG. From archaeological evidence it appears that the statue was used almost exclusively during the Warring States period. The TG tradition died out with the overthrow of Chu by Qin (223 B.C.), and the subsequent unification of China under the Qin empire (221 B.C.). In the Qin and Han period tombs of the Hubei, and Hunan areas there are in fact no traces of the classical Chu wooden TGs (Mackenzie 1987: 88).

In Western Han graves of the former Chu area, there have however been found some strange statues carrying deer antlers, which, notwithstanding some important differences, appear to be the natural descendants of the Chu TG (²⁴). Differently from the former Chu TGs which are zoomorphic or just partly anthropomorphic and are always single entities in the grave, these statues are representations of humans (male and female), do not have the protruding tongue, and at times occur in pair. Also their location in the tomb is not the same as that of the Chu TGs: they are not among the funerary goods inside the grave, but in the tomb corridor which leads to the grave proper. Although this movement of the TG statue from the inside to the outside of the grave, is partly due to the evolution of the structure of the tombs which during the Han period started to give a greater role to the tomb corridor (Wang 1982: 175-79), from this development it is possible to demonstrate that the TG was not a simple grave good, but had instead the specific function of guarding the tomb.

This function is particularly clear when we observe the clay image of a kneeling female which has been discovered in a Han tomb at Huaiyang, Henan province (Fig. 18) (²⁵). This statue, whose body is that of a voluptuous, yet monstrous, female with large breasts and a round belly, bears a full set of deer antlers. The monster, placed in the middle of the tomb entrance corridor facing the outside, holds its arms wide open, physically and symbolically preventing anyone from entering the resting place of the deceased. Beside the position, also the apotropaic appearance of this creature appears to play a role as a deterrent to the entering of the grave.

A pair of very well preserved kneeling figurines (for which however there is no illustration available) carrying deer antlers has been recovered in the entrance corridor of both tomb 2 and 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan, dating to the Western Han period. Both couples were finely made with a core of wood and straw rope, and a covering layer of clay (WW, 7, 1974: 40-41). Hints to the existence of similar statues have also been recovered from the corridors leading to the Western Han grave of Cao Zhuan at Xianjiahu (WW, 3, 1979: 1), and to the Han tomb 1 at Xiangbizui (KGXB, 1, 1981: 112), both located nearby the city of Changsha in Hunan Province.

(²⁴) Three are the Han tombs from which these statues have been recovered: Changsha Mawangdui 2 & 3 in Hunan (see WW, 7, 1974: 39-63); and Huaiyang 1 in Henan for which no published reference is available. See below.

(²⁵) This artifact to my knowledge has not yet been published. I owe the information and the reproduction in Fig. 18 to prof. Cao Guichen of the Henan Wenwu Yanjiusuo, Zhengzhou, Henan, whom I met during my trip to the region in June 1987.

One of the characteristics of the Han TGs described above, namely that of occurring in pairs at the entrance of the grave, is typical also of the 'tomb guardian creatures' of the Northern & Southern dynasties, Sui, and Tang (⁵⁶). Although the pairs of TG of the later periods have mostly leonine bodies with either a human or a lion head (Fig. 19), some example, such as the one in Fig. 20, is more human-like and, in spite of its lack of antlers, appears to have something in common at least with the Han period woman TG from Huaiyang (Fig. 18). All these elements allow to connect the TG tradition of the late Zhou Chu state with the later one of middle imperial China. However, while it is easy to understand how the TG tradition was transformed after Chu was conquered by Qin and in the subsequent Han period and thereafter, explaining why such statues started to be employed rather suddenly around the end of the Spring Autumn and the start of the Warring States period is not such a simple matter (⁵⁷).

7. Deer Antlers, Antler Stands and Related Objects

Although from the archaeological evidence examined so far it appears that the TG with deer antlers and protruding tongue was a new funerary object of the Warring States period whose use was limited to Chu tombs, the habit of burying deer antlers was common in many parts of China long before the appearance of the classical Chu TG.

Three deer antler fragments were recovered from two tombs at the Neolithic site of Dawenkou (c. 5th-4th millennium B.C.) in Shandong province (⁵⁸); and other specimens were discovered at the Shang site of Anyang (Salmony 1954: 4). Deer antlers were also recovered in Spring Autumn and Warring States upper class graves of the Central Plain, as well as of the south, in situations similar to that of the Chu TGs.

Deer antlers bearing painted decoration similar to those of the Chu TGs have been recovered from: tomb 2717 at Zhongzhoulou, Luoyang, Henan province (⁵⁹) (Fig. 21); tomb 7 nearby the ancient Jin city of Changzi in Shanxi province (⁶⁰); tomb

(⁵⁶) For a very thorough study of the later TGs, see Fong 1991. In tombs of this later period, the TGs appear as two pairs, one of creatures, one of warriors. I assimilate to the Chu TG only what Fong terms 'tomb guardian creatures' (*ibid.*: 159-60).

(⁵⁷) Although the TGs are typical of the Warring States period, there is at least one instance of such a statue being discovered in a late Spring Autumn tomb, Liuchengjiao 1, Changsha. See KGXB, 1, 1972: 104.

(⁵⁸) The two tombs are nos. 106 and 133, see *Dawenkou* 1974: 105, pl. 100.

(⁵⁹) Nine pieces of deer antler, probably belonging to a set of two antlers, were retrieved from tomb 2717 which is datable to the early Warring States. See *Luoyang* 1959: 127.

(⁶⁰) This is a very large (one *guo* plus three *guan*) late Spring Autumn Jin grave. The antlers were found in the head compartment of the grave structure; see tomb layout: KGXB, 4, 1984: 505, fig. 2, 515, fig. 10.2.



Fig. 19 - The pair of TGs excavated from the tomb of Yuanshao, at Luoyang, Henan, dated to the Northern Wei (A.D. 386-534). Note that the one on the left has a quasi human face, while the other is completely leonine (after KG, 4, 1973: pl. 12.1-2).



Fig. 20 - The TG excavated from Cuijiaying 1, Hanzhong county, Henan, dated to the Western Wei (A.D. 535-537) (after KGWW, 2, 1981: pl. 13.2).

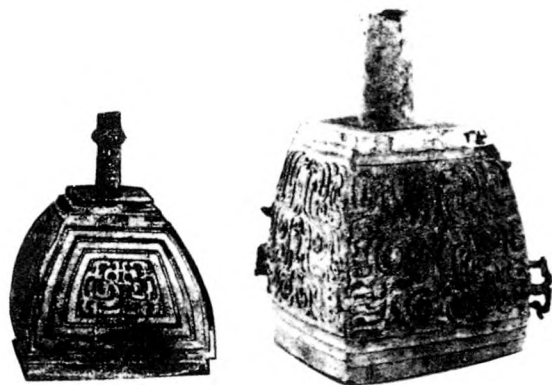
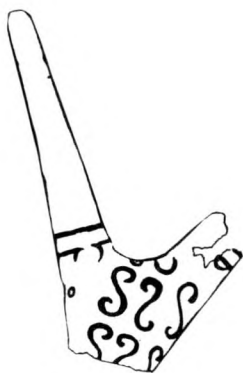


Fig. 21 - One of the nine deer antler fragments recovered from Zhongzhoulu 2717, Luoyang, Henan (after *Luoyang* 1959: fig. 127).

Fig. 22 - The two bronze antler stands recovered from Jichang 3, Tunxi county, Anhui, datable to the Western Zhou (after *Anhui* 1987: pls. 42-43).

12 and 14 at Fengshuiling, Changzhi, Shanxi province ⁽⁶¹⁾; the tomb of the king of Zhongshan in Pingshan county, Hebei province ⁽⁶²⁾; and tomb 6 and 7 at Caojiagang, Bo county, Anhui province ⁽⁶³⁾. Beside being painted, all these deer antlers had also their lower extremities whittled. As I pointed out above (§ 2) the whittling of the extremities was carried out in order to fix the antlers on top of the TG or some other type of stand.

Although no TGs have been recovered from these graves, it is possible that in these non-Chu tombs the deer antlers were attached to simpler stands. These funerary objects are commonly denominated 'deer antler stands' (*lujiao zuo*) ^(af), and can ideally be placed half way between the loose deer antlers and the completely developed Chu TG. According to the archaeological evidence, the 'deer antler stands' differently from the Chu TG appear to span all the Zhou ⁽⁶⁴⁾ period and to be present in both Chu and non-Chu tombs of various parts of China (Mackenzie 1991: 127-28, fn. 57).

⁽⁶¹⁾ In tomb 12 one set, and in tomb 14 fourteen fragments, see KGXB, 1, 1957: 111, 116-18. Both graves are datable to the Warring States period.

⁽⁶²⁾ The grave has been dated to c. 330 B.C. The antler were found in the eastern storage compartment of the grave. See WW, 1, 1979: 6.

⁽⁶³⁾ Tomb 6 is datable to the late Spring Autumn, while tomb 7 is datable to the early Warring States period. See KG, 6, 1961: 318.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ According to Mackenzie (1991: 127-28, fn. 57) a deer antler stand was also discovered in Han tomb of Zigui, Hubei province. However the examination of the reproduction on JHKG, 1, 1984: 16, fig. 14.4 does not seem to allow such a conclusion.

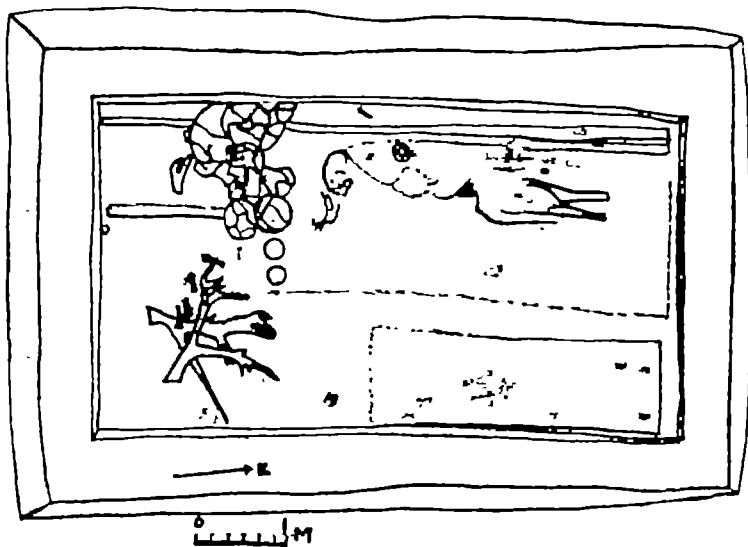


Fig. 23 - Layout of Shanwan 11, Xianyang county, Hubei: in the lower left corner are visible the deer antlers and the three *ding*-type feet (after JHKG, 2, 1983: 5, fig. 9).

Two Western Zhou specimens, cast in bronze, have been recovered from tomb 3 at Jichang, Tunxi county, Anhui province ⁽⁶⁵⁾ (Fig. 22); and in a grave datable to the late Spring and Autumn period, Shanwan 11, in Xianyang county, Hubei province, archaeologists have discovered a set of deer antlers below which lay three *ding*-type bronze feet (*dingzu*) ⁽⁶⁶⁾ (Fig. 23) ⁽⁶⁶⁾. It is possible that the three feet made up an antler stand of some sort, or that they belonged to an already rotten structure that supported the antlers. This is, however, unclear from the excavation report.

Other bronze antler stands have been discovered in three Eastern Zhou graves: one at Caijiagang, Huainan, Anhui province ⁽⁶⁷⁾; another at Shaoxing 306, Zhejiang province (Fig. 24) ⁽⁶⁸⁾; and the last one (Fig. 25) in the burial of Lady Huang Meng

⁽⁶⁵⁾ *Anhui* 1987: pls. 42-43.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ JHKG, 2, 1983: 5, figs. 9, 13. The area of Shanwan, which was a zone of major importance for the communication between north and south, formerly belonging to the state of Deng was conquered by Chu during the Warring States period. Beside tomb 11, also other graves yielded deer antlers (without stands) these are: no. 24 middle Spring Autumn, nos. 27 and 33 late Spring Autumn, nos. 19 and 28 early Warring States, and no. 34 middle Warring States. The antlers in tomb 27 were decorated with black lacquer and gold leaf (JHKG, 2, 1983: 23-26).

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Datable to the Warring States period. See KG, 4, 1963: 204.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Datable to the early Warring States, and ascribable to the Yue state. See WW, 1, 1984: 23, fig. 34, pl. 2.1.



Fig. 24 - The bronze antler stand with inlaid decoration from Shaoxing 306, Zhejiang, datable to the early Warring States (after WW, 1, 1984: 23, fig. 34).

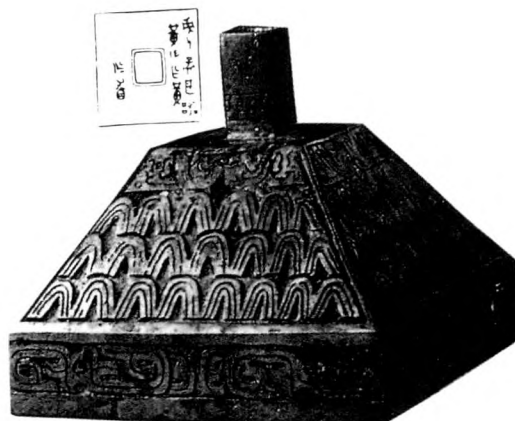


Fig. 25 - Bronze deer antler stand from the grave of Lady Huang Meng Ji, at Baoxiangsi, Guangshan county, Henan (after KG, 4, 1984: pl. 3.3).

Ji at Baoxiangsi, Guangshan county, Henan (KG, 4, 1984: 323-24, fig. 23, pl. 3.3), dated to *c.* 648 B.C. (middle Spring Autumn). This last one bears also a short inscription, similar to the ones which are commonly found on Zhou bronze vessels, stating that the object was made by the husband, prince Huang, for the eternal enjoyment of his wife Mengji ⁽⁶⁹⁾.

One of lead, coupled with a set of painted deer antlers, was brought to light from tomb 1 at Zhaogucun, Hui county, Henan province (Ye 1985: 163; *Huixian* 1956: 110), a grave datable to the Warring States period. Differently from other known deer antler stands, the Zhaogucun one (Fig. 26) is not square, but rather it appears to resemble in shape some tiger-like creatures that function as bases for the drums and antlered birds sculptures often recovered from Chu graves (Fig. 34).

Three wooden antler stands come also from the Chu tombs 1 and 2 of Changtaiguan, Xinyang county, Henan province (Fig. 27), which are datable to the early Warring States period (Xinyang 1986: 60-61, 114). These objects are slightly different from the metal stands examined above, and bear some similarities (especially regarding the shape of the base and the overall painted decoration) with the TGs. Due to this fact, these antler stands have been often considered to be true TGs. Since tombs 1 and 2 of Changtaiguan have also yielded a very elaborate TG each (see IIE,

⁽⁶⁹⁾ The inscription runs as follows: 'Prince Huang made this vessel for Lady Huang Mengji to be treasured forever' ^(ah) (KG, 4, 1984: 324, 318, fig. 19).



Fig. 26 - Lead antler stand from Zhaogu 1, Hui county, Henan (after *Huixian* 1956: pl. 94.23-24).



Fig. 27 - Deer antler stand from Changtaiguan 1, Xinyang county, Henan (after Barnard 1972: fig. 8.8).

Fig. 9), some scholarly publication presents the two tombs as examples of single burials with more than one TG. Tomb 1 is said to have two TGs (one of typology IIE, Fig. 9; and one ‘antler stand’, Fig. 27), and tomb 2, three (one of IIE, and two ‘antler stands’) ⁽⁷⁰⁾. This is however in contrast with all archaeological evidence, which, as shown above, clearly indicates that there could be at the most one TG per buried corpse.

Given the symbolic similarity the deer antler stands share with TGs, the study of the former may help shed some light on the use and previous history of the latter. The two, however, should never be confused and considered to be the same object. The antler stands, which have neither tongue, nor head or body, are only partly predecessors to the TG, and their symbolic significance may only be partly similar.

From the above-mentioned archaeological evidence, one can trace the history of the TG from its supposed origins in the burial of deer antlers in the Neolithic graves of Dawenkou in northeastern China, through the use of deer antler stands in the Zhou period, down to the tongued TGs of Chu, and later in the antlered Han kneeling figurines and in the middle imperial ceramic TGs. Although this might appear as a smooth and linear development, we have to take into consideration the possibility

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Thote (1988: 49) says: ‘Les grandes sépultures de Chu contiennent en général un, deux, voir trois zhengmushou [...]’.

that each of these object, albeit their fundamental relationship, might have served a different function, and might have had a different meaning to the contemporary people. The deer antlers of Dawenkou, for instance, were discovered with deer bones (Dawenkou 1974: 105). This fact may indicate that the animal was sacrificed on the spot, eaten, and partly buried. A practice quite different from the one involving the creation of a statue.

We have also to consider the fact that even if we can trace the deer antlers of the Chu TG to an older northern Chinese tradition, that does not account for the presence of the protruding tongue. The true innovation of the Chu people of the Warring States period, was in fact the idea of combining the antlers, which were already used as funerary goods in large parts of China, with a protruding tongue, a symbol apparently more common in the south, to create an entirely new ritual funerary object. But how did that happen and ultimately what is the meaning of the TG?

7. Antler and Tongue: the Symbolic Meaning of the TG

Most of the previous studies on the nature TG have not dedicated much space to the analysis the significance of the attributes of the TG (its apotropaic character, antlers, and tongue) ⁽⁷¹⁾, but have preferred instead to concentrate on the identification of the statue with gods, spirits, or monsters described in the classical Chinese texts. Although these have been important contributions for the understanding of the function of the TG, they have not succeeded in shedding more light on the significance that this statue with its symbolic attributes had for the Chu.

From the analysis of the evolution of the Chu TG, we have seen that its appearance is always changing, varying from undefined, beast-like, and vaguely human, and that its only constant attributes are the deer antlers, the protruding tongue, and the fearful monstrosity. To understand the TG it is therefore necessary to investigate the symbolic meaning of these attributes.

The long tongue appears to be a typical southern symbol, since it is a common motif in the funerary art of Chu and other southern lands of China, but it is rarely present in the artifacts of northern China ⁽⁷²⁾. One of the earliest examples of this

⁽⁷¹⁾ Except for that of Salmony (1954), which however is partly out of date since archaeological data was practically unavailable at the time Salmony wrote this pioneer work.

⁽⁷²⁾ According to K.C. Chang, tongues were relatively uncommon in north China before the Han dynasty, and the few examples in Shang and Zhou art seem to be of a different nature. See Chang 1972: 5-52, and Mackenzie 1987: 89. One of the few examples of tongue motif from the Central Plain is found on a late Shang bronze axe now housed at the British Museum. See Rawson 1980: 47, pl. 33. Salmony (1954) traced the origin of the tongue motif in southern China to India, my opinion is instead that this symbol originated in southern China itself.



Fig. 28 - Protruding tongue motif from a *zun* bronze vessel datable to the Shang period excavated at Zhuzhaiju, Funan county, Anhui (after *Anhui* 1987: pl. 1).

Fig. 29 - White stone mask recovered from a Chu tomb of Changsha (after Jiang 1949: pl. 31).

Fig. 30 - Terracotta lamp in the shape of a servant with hanging tongue from Daiyuangang 3021, Guangzhou, Guangdong (after *Guangzhou* 1981: vol. 1, pl. 83.1).

design is the decoration on a bronze *zun* ^(aj) vessel datable to the Shang period excavated at Zhuzhaiju, Funan county, Anhui province, which depicts a squatting creature from whose mouth hangs an intricate tongue (Fig. 28; *Anhui* 1987: pl. 1; WW, 1, 1959; also Hayashi 1972: 171-72, fig. 15.a).

Beside the TG, the tongue symbol was used also on other Chu funerary objects, such as the stone mask recovered from a Changsha grave (Jiang 1949: pl. 31.a) (Fig. 29), which may have had a function similar to that of the TG, and the already mentioned statues of phoenixes standing on a tiger with hanging tongue (Fig. 27).

The protruding tongue is present among the Han period grave paraphernalia as well. Important examples are the terracotta lamps in the shape of sitting servants, which have been excavated from a number of Eastern and Western Han graves in Guangzhou ⁽⁷³⁾. Fig. 30 shows the one from the Western Han tomb of Daiyuangang no. 3021 in the suburbs of Guangzhou (*Guangzhou* 1983: vol. 1, pl. 83.1). From the Eastern Han tomb no. 5080 in Guangzhou, was instead recovered a terracotta statuette of a kneeling man with a long and broad tongue (Fig. 31), which the Chinese archaeologists have defined as '*zhengmu yong*' ^(ak) (tomb guarding figurine) (*ibid.*: pl. 159.1). Monstrous creatures with long tongues are also painted on the sarcophagus of the Han tomb no. 1, at Mawangdui (Fig. 32; Sun 1973: 247, fig. 1.4, 249, fig. 2.14).

⁽⁷³⁾ *Guangzhou*, 2, 1981: pls. 83.1, 139.2, and 140.3. A similar lamp with protruding tongue but made of wood is kept in the Art gallery of the Chinese University of Hongkong. See Lam 1983: 222, pl. 89.



Fig. 31 - Terracotta statuette of a kneeling man with hanging tongue from Guangzhou 5080, datable to the Eastern Han (after *Guangzhou* 1981: vol. 2, pl. 159.1).



Fig. 32 - One of the creatures with long tongues painted on the coffin of the Marquess of Dai, Mawangdui 1, Changsha (after Sun 1973: 247, fig. 1.4).

The tongue has been interpreted as either a symbol of thirst or as a symbol of death (Badner 1966: 14). The two are not necessarily in contrast. Regarding the first possibility it is interesting to point out that the Shang oracle bone graph representing a person with a hanging tongue bending over a vessel ^(⁶¹), has been identified with the modern form *yin* (^{AM}) 'to drink' (Gao 1980: 184). The meaning of thirst may perhaps be interpreted in a broader sense as a thirst for life-giving water, and therefore ultimately for life and rebirth ^(⁷⁴). This possibility seems meaningful for its relation with the meaning of death, which appears to be the main theme of the TG. In the Gorgoneion the hanging tongue is seen as the connection with the darkness of the underworld, with 'otherness', and it is interpreted at times as a sexual symbol (Vernant 1985: 36-37). In Asia the tongue is a symbol present in the cult of the ancestors ^(⁷⁵).

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Cooper (1982: 174) says that the protruding tongue in animal representation can be read at times as a supplication for rain from the sky which is indispensable for the continuation of life and fertility.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Salmony (1954: 42, fig. 42) gives the example of the *bampatong*, poles at whose top are placed wooden carvings of human heads with long hanging tongues, that the Dayaks of Borneo used to erect to the memory of their dead. In addition, in Russian Central Asia (Baiyik steppe, Tuva) there are tomb slabs of the ancient Turks (Tujue) portraying soldiers with a hanging tongue (Basilov 1989: 54-56). It appears that on similar anthropomorphic stones dating to the mid-1st millennium B.C. and associated with the nomadic cemeteries of Tuva and Northern Mongolia there are also depicted images of deer (Jacobson 1988: 208-9, fig. 5; Volkov 1981: figs. 200-201).

The use of the hanging tongue as a symbol of death may have been caused in Chu as well as in other cultures by the realization that at death creatures tend to open their mouth and let the tongue slip out ⁽⁷⁶⁾.

If the tongue is a symbol of death, the deer antlers placed on the TG are an opposite and complementary symbol: one of long life, and potency. The deer has always been considered by the Chinese an almost divine animal, symbol of ascent to the heavens, longevity, and ultimately immortality. Its figure occurs since the most ancient times in art, literature, and inscriptions ⁽⁷⁷⁾. Legends report two deer figures very close to the concept of long life: the Longevity Deer (*Changshou Lu*) ⁽⁷⁸⁾, and the White Deer (*Bailu*) ⁽⁷⁹⁾. About the latter, the *Taiping Youlan* quotes a lost chapter of the *Paopuzi*, the 'Yuce Bian' as saying: 'The deer lives a thousands years. After five hundred years it turns white ⁽⁸⁰⁾' (*Taiping Youlan* 1946: 4150, vol. 7, juan 986. About the *Bailu*, see also Yuan 1985: 132).

According to other legends the God of Longevity, *Laoshou* ⁽⁸¹⁾, rides a deer, and the deer is the only animal able to find the plant of immortality, or *Lingzibicao* ⁽⁸²⁾ (Williams 1976: 116, 209, 328). In addition it is to be noted that the antlers themselves were (and still are) considered by the Chinese to be powerful regenerative, and were used to manufacture medicines known as either *lujiao* ⁽⁸³⁾ or *lu'er* ⁽⁸⁴⁾ for the cure of impotence and infertility (*ibid.*: 209). These concepts of longevity, immortality, and fertility are as a matter of fact well embodied in the Han period 'woman-TG' from Huaiyang discussed above (Fig. 19), whose prominent breasts and inflated abdomen probably represent pregnancy, and therefore by sympathy, fertility and rebirth.

The deer is also often associated with birds and with the concepts of flight, wind, and speed. Figures of flying deer are very common, one example is the white pair 'floating amid clouds' depicted on the coffin of tomb 1 at Mawangdui (Fig. 33). A further connection between deer and birds are the phoenix statues ⁽⁷⁹⁾ bearing deer antlers on their backs, and standing on a tongued tiger (Fig. 34) which have been

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Emmons (1925: 33-48) has suggested in his study of North American totem poles that the tongue is symbolic of death because the dead sticks out its tongue, an opinion rejected by Badner (1966: 26).

⁽⁷⁷⁾ The section 'Xiaoya' of *Shijing* contains the poem 'Luming' inspired by the deer figure; see Yu Yufei 1972: 400-403. Deer glyph are found on Shang bronzes and oracle bones; see Hayashi 1986: 40, fig. 27.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ According to Zhang Du (Tang 1939: 67-68, juan 8) during the Kaiyuan period of the Tang dynasty emperor Xuanzong and his courtiers killed a deer. A piece of the animal was offered to Zhang Guo Lao, a legendary figure, who said that very deer was the one whose life was spared by emperor Wu of the Han eight hundred year before, and therefore must be over a thousand year old.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ The phoenix, together with the crane, is in China the main symbol of longevity. On the symbolism of the crane and the phoenix see Thote 1988.

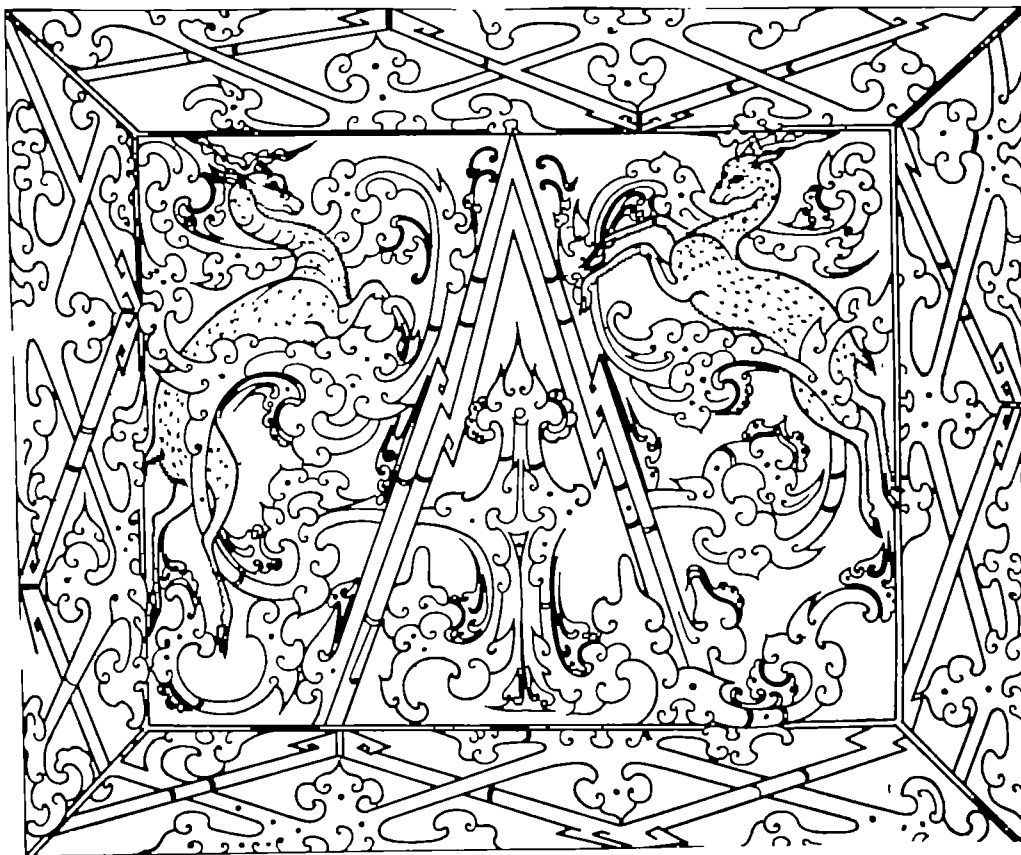


Fig. 33 - The pair of white deer depicted on the outer coffin of the Marquess of Dai at Mawangdui 1 (after *Changsha Mawangdui* 1973: vol. 1, insert).

discovered in rich Chu graves ⁽⁸⁰⁾. A fantastic creature, the *Feilian* ⁽⁸¹⁾, also known as *Fengbo* ⁽⁸²⁾ the Spirit of the Wind ⁽⁸¹⁾, said to have a deer body, a sparrow head, antlers, a snake tail, and the mantle of the leopard ⁽⁸²⁾, has been identified in this

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Mackenzie 1987: 90-93; Guo 1980: 97. A bronze statue of a crane with antler on the head rather than on the body was brought to light from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng at Leigudun, Sui county, Hubei. Zeng was basically a vassal state of Chu, subject to strong Chu cultural influence, that was later absorbed by Chu (*Zeng Hou Yi Mu* 1989: vol. 1, 250-51, fig. 147).

⁽⁸¹⁾ The chapter 'Shitian' of *Guangya* reports: 'Fengbo is called Feilian ⁽⁸¹⁾' (*Guangya Shuzheng* 1935: 1081).

⁽⁸²⁾ In the commentary to the *Chuci* *Lixao* Wang Yi says: 'Feilian is Fengbo. [...] Ying Shao said: "Feilian is a bird spirit able to raise the wind". Jin Xue said: "The Feilian has the body of the deer, the head of the sparrow, horns, the tail of the snake, and the mantle of the leopard" ⁽⁸²⁾' (*Chuci Buzhu* 1963: 22a, vol. 1, juan 1).

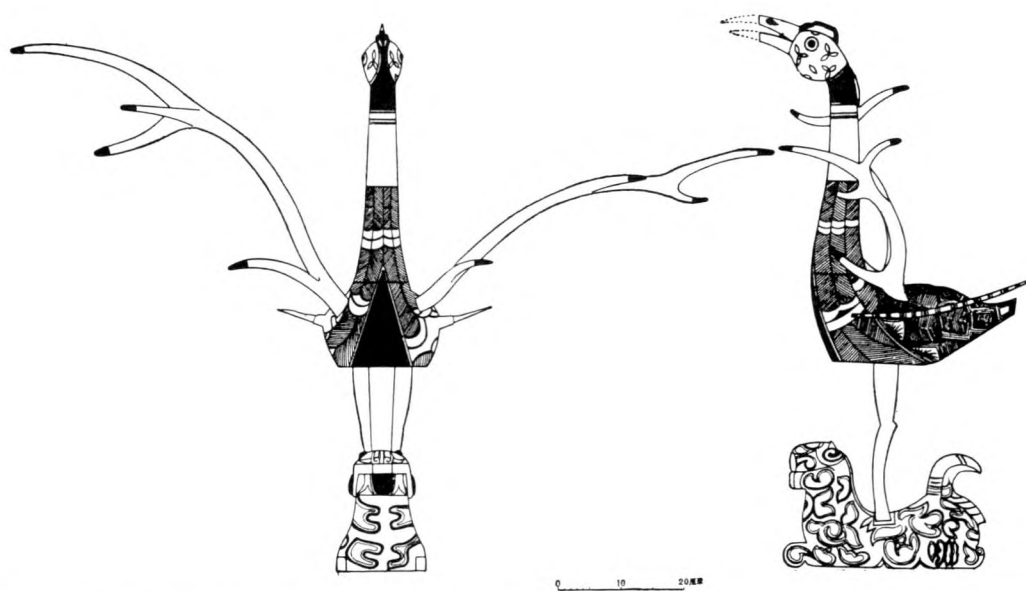


Fig. 34 - Wooden statue of antlered phoenix standing on a tiger from Yutaishan 166 (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 90).

statue (Guo 1980: 97; Zhang et al. 1984: 96-100). These antlered birds may be some sort of substitute for the TG since in the majority of the tombs from which they were retrieved there was no TG⁽⁸³⁾. Also worth noting is the fact that as the TGs, the bird statues exist only in Warring States upper class tombs; there is only one of them in each grave; and they occupy a prominent position in the grave (tables in *Jiangling* 1984: 157-90). In addition to the TGs, and the antlered birds, in Chu graves are found also naturalistic wooden figures of deer (Fig. 35), and bird-tiger drum stands (*buzuo niaojia gu*)^(ay) (Fig. 36), which however do not appear to substitute the TG⁽⁸⁴⁾.

Other two legendary creatures having an auspicious meaning and at times considered to be grave protectors are the Heavenly Deer or *Tianlu*^(az) and the *Bixie*^(ba)⁽⁸⁵⁾.

⁽⁸³⁾ Five out of six at YTS (*Jiangling* 1984: 157-90).

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Altogether four deer statues and fourteen drums have been recovered in YTS. The deer come from tomb: 331, 50, 394, and 89; and the drums from tomb: 403, 140, 196, 202, 206, 212, 219, 336, 354, 397, 476, 558, 186, 388. Except for tomb 196 which lacks the TG, all the remaining are *guan/guo* graves with TG, see *Jiangling* 1984: 157-90. Other deer statues have come from Changsha Liuchengjiao 1 (KGXB, 1, 1972: 69, fig. 10.1); *Jiangling* Shendian 1 (WW, 9, 1973: 12, fig. 4.1), and Bomashan 16 (KG, 3, 1973: 157).

⁽⁸⁵⁾ The *bixie* is thought to be a simple wood carving with a human head. See Zhang 1982: 78-81, and Chu 1935. A wooden object carved out of a tree root and shaped as a deer antler excavated out of tomb 1 at *Jiangling* Mashan has been described by the Chinese archaeologists as a *bixie*, see *Jiangling* 1985: 82-83, fig. 68.



Fig. 35 - Deer from the tomb of the Marquis of Zeng (after Zengbon Yi Mu 1989: fig. 238.1).

The chapter 'Xiyu zhuan' of the *Hanshu* reports: 'In Wuge Shan [...] there is Taoba', Meng Kan (A.D. 220-65) in the annotation explains: 'Taoba, or Fuba, it resembles a deer and it has a long tail. With one horn it can be the *Tianlu*, with two horns it can be the *Bixie* (bb)' (86). The Ming encyclopaedia *Mingyi Kao* compiled by Zhou Qi says: '[...] They are animals. [...] The *Tianlu* (87) is so called because it brings luck and heavenly blessing; the *Bixie* is so called because it rids a place of evil influences. In Han times the *Tianlu* was placed at the doorways, and the *Bixie* on the entrance steps. At the ancestral temple of Nanyang at the sides of the tablet there are two stone animals, one called *Tianlu* and the other *Bixie* (bc)' (Zhou 1971: 330-31, juan 10; see also Yuan 1985: 68, and Fong 1991: 186).

Thus beside the auspicious meanings of long life and immortality, the deer antlers clearly served also as a sort of defensive device, something that may be related to their natural function. In the miscellaneous notes

Sanyu Zhuibi of the Ming scholar Dou Ang (1939: 4) is reported the following:

Nowadays the buildings of government officials are surrounded by wooden structures called 'deer antlers'. This is because deer are excitable by nature, and when in a group they make up a circle to form a defensive line with their antlers in order to protect themselves from the attacks of people and animals. Military camps are similarly protected with wooden branches [shaped as deer antlers] facing the outside. These are also called deer antlers (bd).

(86) *Hanshu* 'Xiyuzhuan' chapter in Wang 1983: vol. 2, 1618.

(87) The meaning of heavenly blessing of the *Tianlu*, and in general the auspicious qualities of the deer figure, may also be linked to the pun played between the words *lu*-deer (bc) and *lu*-emolument (bd), which have the exact same pronunciation.

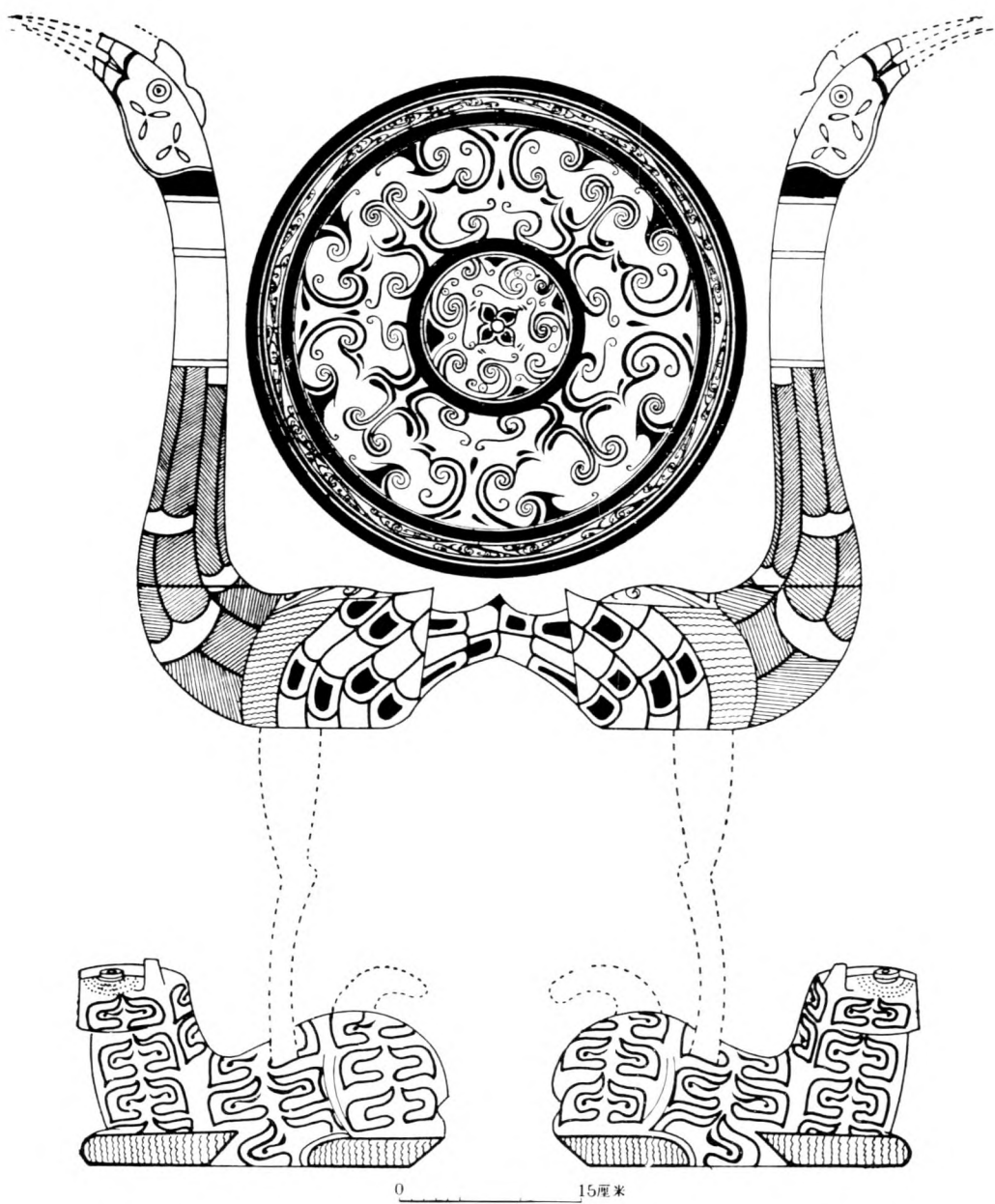


Fig. 36 - Drum stand from Yutaishan 354 (after *Jiangling* 1984: fig. 82).

The concept of deer antlers as defensive weapons must have been particularly evident to the Chu, who appear to have been very familiar with this animal.

If our analysis of the symbols of antler and tongue is correct, we can then interpret the TG as an object created to protect the deceased, that represents death and that at the same time embodies a strong wish for a renewal of life. More specifically we can suggest that, on the one hand the TG was meant to protect the corpse of the deceased from the attacks of the demons of the underworld, and to help the soul *po* (卮) in its wait for the renewal of life beyond death; and on the other it was probably seen by the Chu as the terrible face of death meant to bring about the inevitable separation between the world of the dead and that of the living, thus performing a sort of protection for the living as well. In this the TG is very close and probably a forerunner of the pair *Tianlu* — *Bixie* which we have discussed above.

Since the statue has no fixed canonical structure, and no description in mythological and historical sources or ritual texts matches the appearance of the TG, I have also come to the conclusion that this object is neither the representation of a specific 'god' or 'spirit', nor a specific paraphernalia pertaining to the codified ritual of Zhou times, but rather a representative conglomeration of ritual and popular funerary practices (88) that were beginning to take a new form in the late Zhou period, and that would appear with full strength in the Han and later periods.

It is known that the 6th and 5th century B.C. was a period when great cultural changes, and technological advancements were taking place not only in Chu but all over China. The appearance of the TG during the Warring States (5th-3rd century B.C.) period can therefore be interpreted as a change in Chu society, and more specifically in its religious and ritual sphere. During this period several states forming the Zhou confederation were enjoying an evident freedom from the central power. Due to its geographical location far from the Central Plain, and to its ethnically diverse population Chu was particularly independent. The weakening the Zhou imperial power in the peripheral areas and the consequent new freedom in ritual matters must have caused in Chu an insurgence of local beliefs which were common in the southern lands, but were previously kept under control by the strict Zhou ritual. The TG, can be said to be a funerary artifact in which northern and southern traditions have mingled. As such the TG is an object truly representative of the complex cultural intermingling of Chu as well as late pre-imperial China.

(88) With 'ritual' and 'popular' I intend to distinguish between codified Zhou ritual, and regional practices. It is my belief that the two might at time be quite distinct.

ABBREVIATIONS

HNKGJK: *Human Kaogu Jikan*
 HNWW: *Human Wenwu*
 JHLT: *Jiangnan Lianian*
 JHKG: *Jiangnan Kaogu*
 KG: *Kaogu*
 KGWW: *Kaogu yu Wenwu*
 KGXB: *Kaogu Xuebao*
 WW: *Wenwu*
 WWZLCK: *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan*
 ZYWW: *Zhongyuan Wenwu*

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- a 楚
- b 镇墓兽
- c 饕餮 d 郢
- e 青春
- f 彊良
- g 山海经, 大荒北经:
大荒之中, ...又有
神銜蛇操蛇, 其
状虎首人身, 四蹄
长肘, 名曰彊良。
- h 山神
- j 山海经, 南山经:
...自柜山至於漆吴
之山, 凡十七山。其
神状皆龙身而鸟首。
- k 山海经, 南山经:
...自天虞之山至南
禺之山, 凡一十四山。
其神皆龙身而人面
- i 山海经, 中山经:
...自首山至於丙山,
凡九山。其神状皆
龙身而人面。
- l 土伯
- m 居
- n 冢 。室宅
- p 千万步数
- q 万年厉舌
- r 堂
- s 室
- t 房
- u 北堂
- v 下室
- w 天
- x 参
- y 参宿
- z 楚辞, 招魂:
魂兮归来! 居无下
幽都些! 土伯九约,
其角鬣一些! 敦腴血
拇, 逐人马丕一些!
参目虎首, 其身若牛些!
些皆甘人, 归来恐自
遗灾些!
- aa 魂

ab 櫛
 ac 棺
 ad 殉葬
 ae 合葬
 af 鹿角坐
 ag 鼎足
 ah 黃子作黃甫(夫)人孟
 姬器則永
 aj 尊
 ak 鎮墓俑
 al 酌
 am 飲(飲)
 an 長壽鹿
 ao 白鹿
 ap 太平御覽:
 抱朴子,玉策篇
 曰:鹿壽千歲,滿五
 百歲則其色白。
 aq 老壽
 ar 灵芝草
 as 鹿角
 at 鹿茸

au 飛廉
 av 風伯
 aw 廣雅,釋天:
 風伯謂之飛廉。
 ax 楚辭,離騷,王逸注:
 飛廉鹿身,頭如雀,有
 角而蛇尾豹文。
 ay 虎座鳥架鼓
 az 天鹿
 ba 辟邪
 bb 漢書,西域傳:
 烏弋地,……有桃拔。
 孟康注:桃拔一名
 符拔。似鹿長尾。一
 角者為天鹿,兩角者
 為辟邪。
 bc 鹿
 bd 祿
 be 名義考,卷十,天祿辟邪:
 ……以是善……祿除不
 祥,故謂之辟邪。永
 綏百祿,故謂之天祿。

汉立天祿于闕門。
古人置辟邪于步搖
上。南陽宗資碑旁
有兩石兽，一曰天祿，
一曰辟邪。

bf 三餘贅笔，鹿角：

今官府衙門列木
于外，谓之鹿角。

盖鹿性警，群羊居则
环其角，圓围如
阵，以防人物之
害，军中寨栅，埋
樹木外向，亦名
曰鹿角。

bg 白鬼

Zhang Guoxiang

The 50th Master of Heaven Whom Matteo Ricci Spoke of

by MARINA MIRANDA

1. *Matteo Ricci and Taoism*

Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and the first Roman Catholic missionaries who came to China in the 16th and 17th centuries encountered a religious situation which, to their minds, must have appeared most complicated. In keeping with the policy of accommodation, they deemed it possible to integrate themselves with the religions of that land, which were commonly known as the three religions (*san jiao*): Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. At first M. Ruggieri (1543-1607) and Ricci decided to play the role of 'foreign bonzes', shaving their heads and wearing a Buddhist garb. Later on Ricci, considering that the Buddhist monks were not very highly regarded, whereas Confucian scholars, especially if they held office, were generally respected, chose to present himself as one of these, in order to be considered by educated Chinese as a scholar from distant Western lands. He must have had in mind something like a synthesis of Confucianism and Christianity, without probably understanding much of the former's religious aspects.

Ricci often refers in his works and letters to his relations with Confucian scholars and officials, among which there seems to have been a few rather high ranking ones. He also alludes to his contacts with Buddhist monks, while on the contrary he never speaks of having been in touch with any Taoist personality. He does not even mention in his works the most important Taoist texts, the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* and follows the official propaganda in condemning Taoist alchemy. This art and all the practices by which immortality was supposed to be attained, physical discipline and spiritual hygiene, were at those times officially denounced as 'fantastic

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exercises', which had the effect of shortening, rather than lengthening, the lives of the devotees ⁽¹⁾.

It may be that Ricci had learned to look down on Taoism from his Confucian acquaintances, but were this the case, it appears rather strange that he spoke highly of two Confucian scholars he met ⁽²⁾, Jiao Hong and Li Zhi, who openly advocated a syncretistic attitude towards the three religions. Jiao Hong (1541-1620) ⁽³⁾ was interested in Taoism, as it is proved by his works on Laozi, the *Laozi yi*, in six *juan* and on Zhuangzi, the *Zhuangzi yi*, in eight *juan* ⁽⁴⁾ and by references to Taoist subjects in his other writings, as for instance in the *Jiaoshi bi cheng* ⁽⁵⁾. Li Zhi (1527-1602), 'the most independent and courageous thinker of the day' ⁽⁶⁾, although very much indebted to Buddhism, was also interested in Taoism. He wrote a commentary to the *Book of Changes*, the *Yi yin* in six *juan* ⁽⁷⁾. Both of them, Jiao Hong and Li Zhi, gave Ricci a hearty welcome when he arrived in Nanking in 1599 and especially Li Zhi had many interesting exchanges of opinions on religious matters with him. One may wonder therefore why Ricci's friendship with them did not help to soften the prejudices against Taoism which he manifests in his writings nor did it induce him to establish any relationship with Taoism. Only once, in 1595, while staying in Nanzhang, he paid a visit to a famous Taoist temple, the Tiezhu gong, but he considered the experience so negative that he resolved never to set foot in one again ⁽⁸⁾.

(1) P. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, Roma 1942, vol. 1, p. 129.

(2) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 65-68.

(3) A.W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington 1943, vol. 1, pp. 145-46; Zhang Tingyu, ed., *Mingshi*, repr. Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1974, *juan* 228, vol. 24, pp. 7392-94; Rong Zhaoxu, 'Jiao Hong ji qi sixiang', *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, vol. XXIII, June 1938, pp. 1-45.

(4) The *Laozi yi* and the *Zhuangzi yi* were both included in the *Xu Daozang* (see *infra*, fn. 15), respectively fascicles 1115-1116 and 1117-1120 (see *infra*, fn. 52). See also Ren Jiyu & Zhong Zhaopeng, eds., *Daozang tiyao*, Xinhua shuju, Beijing 1991, pp. 1175-76.

(5) The *Jiaoshi bi cheng* was published in the *Yueya tang congshu diyi ji* (1850), in 6 *juan* plus *xu* 8 *juan*. It is a collection of notes on the most various subjects, including medicine (*juan* 5), the different schools of Confucianism and Taoism (*xu*, *juan* 2), Nanking and its surroundings (*xu*, *juan* 8) and in which the main Taoist texts (*Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Beopuzi*) are often quoted and anecdotes on the famous mountain, Mao shan, are recorded.

(6) *Mingshi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 221, vol. 19, pp. 5817-19; C.L. Goodrich & Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biographies*, 1368-1644, New York 1976, vol. 1, pp. 807-18; O. Franke, 'Li Tachi und Matteo Ricci', *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1938, 5, pp. 1-24; W.T. de Bary, 'Individualism and Humanitarianism in Ming Thought', in *Id.*, ed., *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, New York 1970, pp. 188-225.

(7) The *Yi yin* was included in the *Xu Daozang* (see *infra*, fn. 15), fascicles 1097-1100. See also *Daozang tiyao*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1164-65.

(8) *Fonti Ricciane*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 347.

In one passage only of his journal ⁽⁹⁾ however he does explicitly refer to the Master of Heaven (*Tianshi*), the head of the Zhengyi Order, who lived on Longhu shan (Jiangxi) ⁽¹⁰⁾. Since Ricci remained in Peking from 1601 until his death in 1610, we can presume that the Master of Heaven he spoke of must have been Zhang Guoxiang, hereditary *Tianshi* of the 50th generation, who spent thirteen years in the capital for more or less as much time as the Jesuit. Ricci writes in his journal:

This sect recognizes Ciam as its original high priest, and he is believed to have handed down his office and the dignity that accompanies it by right of hereditary succession, over a period of a thousand years up to the present time. The office itself seems to have had its origin with a certain magician, who lived in a cave in the province of Quiamsi, like his descendants to this day and where, if there be any truth in the story, the secrets of his art are handed down to his descendants.

Their present leader spends most of his time in Peking. He is a recognized favourite of the King and is even admitted to the most secret chambers of the palace for effecting ceremonies of exorcism, if it is suspected that these rooms are haunted by evil spirits. He is borne through the streets in an open palanquin, wears the paraphernalia of the highest magistrates, and receives a lavish generous annual stipend from the crown. One of our neophytes informs us that the present prelates of this sect are so ignorant that they do not even know their own unholy hymns and rites. ⁽¹¹⁾

Ricci must have come across Zhang Guoxiang several times, though he never seems to have talked directly with him. We may picture the Taoist and the Jesuit, riding crossing paths: the former, riding in an open palanquin, with a suite, wearing the insignia of the highest magistrates, and enjoying the patronage of the emperor Shenzong (1572-1619); the latter, faring not quite so well and pondering sadly on the powerful position of the religion he was out to fight.

As the story of Ricci's approach to Taoism has already been carefully studied by others ⁽¹²⁾, my short paper will simply try to provide some biographical information about the 50th Master of Heaven.

⁽⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Among the different Taoist schools that existed during the Ming period, the most influential were the Zhengyi order and the Quanzhen order. See K.M. Schipper, *Le Corps Taoïste*, Paris 1982, pp. 28-29.

⁽¹¹⁾ L.J. Gallagher, S.J., ed., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610*, New York 1942, pp. 103-4. I quote the English translation which, being based on the Latin one by Trigault, differs in some points from Ricci's original.

⁽¹²⁾ See G. Bertuccioli, 'Matteo Ricci and Taoism', in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese-Western Cultural Interchange in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of M. Ricci, S.J. in China*, Taipei 1983, pp. 41-49.

Biographical data about Zhang Guoxiang are hard to come by. Some texts, as the *Mingshi* (History of the Ming Dynasty) ⁽¹³⁾, the *Mingshi gao* (Draft History of the Ming Dynasty) ⁽¹⁴⁾ do deal only very concisely with him. Moreover the *Han Tianshi shijia* (Biographies of the Masters of Heaven), printed in the *Xu Daozang* (Supplement to the Taoist Canon) and consisting of four *juan* ⁽¹⁵⁾, only goes up to 1565, i.e. the biography of the 49th Master. The biographical information in the last source is not very useful from the historical point of view, having been written in a hagiographical spirit.

The biographies of the Masters of Heaven were continued in the *Bu Tianshi shijia* (The Completed Biographies of the Masters of Heaven), which end with the biography of the 61st Master. Its author is the 62nd Master, Zhang Yuanxu (1862-1924), who published it in 1918. From then on, it was printed several times. It was included in the *Baiyun guanxun* (Gazetteer of the Temple of the White Clouds) ⁽¹⁶⁾ by S. Koyanagi and in the chapter about the Masters of Heaven in *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* (History of Taoism in China) ⁽¹⁷⁾ by Fu Qinjia. Recently, after having been amplified by the addition of other documents, which also include the biographies of the 62nd and the 63rd Master, it has been reprinted in Taiwan by the 64th Master, Zhang Yuanxian (b. 1936), with the title *Lidai Zhang Tianshi zhuàn* (Biographies of the Successive Generations of the Zhang Masters of Heaven) ⁽¹⁸⁾.

Lastly there is some biographical information about the Masters of Heaven from the 52nd until the 62nd one in the *Qingchao xu wenxian tongkao* ⁽¹⁹⁾.

For further information about Zhang Guoxiang, we must consult other sources, such as the *Shilu* (Veritable Records) of the Ming dynasty of the periods of reign of Longqing (1567-1573) and Wanli (1573-1620) ⁽²⁰⁾, the *Guoque fu beiyao lu* ⁽²¹⁾, written by Tan Qian (1594-1568) and the local gazetteers of Jiangxi province (*Jiangxi*

⁽¹³⁾ *Mingshi*, op. cit., *juan* 299, vol. 25, p. 7656.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Wang Hongxu, ed., *Mingshi gao*, repr. Wenhai chubanshe, Taipei 1962, *juan* 281 (176), vol. 6, p. 317.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Xu Daozang*, repr. Commercial Press, Shanghai 1924-1926, based on the text of the Ming period, dated 1607, no. 1451, fascicles 1064-1066.

⁽¹⁶⁾ S. Koyanagi, *Baiyun guanxun*, Tōhō bunka gakūin Tōkyō kenkyūsho, Tōkyō 1934, pp. 347-55.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Fu Qinjia, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, Commercial Press, Shanghai 1937, vol. 2, pp. 82-89.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Zhang Yuanxian, *Lidai Zhang Tianshi zhuàn*, Ligua yinshua shiye youxian gongsi, 12th ed., Taipei 1990, pp. 79-80.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Wang Yunwu, ed., *Qingchao xu wenxian tongkao*, Commercial Press, Shanghai 1936, *juan* 89, vol. 1, pp. 8493-94.

⁽²⁰⁾ *Da Ming Echao shilu*, repr. by the Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lihi Yuyan Yanjiusuo, Taipei 1965-1966; *Shizong shilu*, vols. 70-91; *Muzong Shilu*, vols. 92-95; *Shenzong Shilu*, vols. 96-118.

⁽²¹⁾ Tan Qian, *Guoque fu beiyao lu*, repr. Ding wen shuju, Taipei 1978, 10 vols.

tongzhi)⁽²²⁾, of Guangxin prefecture (*Guangxin fuzhi*)⁽²³⁾, of Guiqi county (*Guiqi xianzhi*)⁽²⁴⁾ and of Longhu Mountain (*Longbu shanzhi*)⁽²⁵⁾.

2. *The Life of the 50th Master*

On the main stages of Zhang Guoxiang's life, here is what the *Lidai Zhang Tianshi zhuàn* (26) tells us:

The Master of Heaven of the 50th generation, named Guoxiang, courtesy name Wenzheng, literary name Xinshen, was [a descendant] of Yongxu [the 45th *Tianshi*]. When he was born he had some unusual features — violet eyebrows, blue eyes but also an impressive character.

In the 5th year of the Wanli period [1577] he obtained the succession. He then rushed to the capital to appear before the emperor. The ruler expressed his satisfaction and treated Zhang with great courtesy; he bestowed on him a tablet with the characters 'Venerable Master' [*zong fu*] in his own handwriting; moreover he granted him a jade seal on which these characters were carved, as well as the seal with the characters *xuan tan* [mysterious altar]. The ruler ordered him to pray for snow to ensure a bountiful harvest. [Zhang Guoxiang] did succeed and the snow fell on the right time. The emperor was most satisfied and presented him with a gold crown and a jade belt. In addition Zhang was allotted a residence outside the Longzong gate. The Emperor moreover ordered the Chaotian gong to be restored as an official residence, and personally wrote the tablet bearing the characters for 'Residence of the Real Man' [*zhenren fu*]. Furthermore [the emperor] gave him in marriage the daughter of Xie

(22) *Jiangxi tongzhi*, edition of the 8th year of Guangxu (1881) consisting of 180 *juan*. Reprinted by the Huawen shuju, Taipei 1967, 8 vols.

(23) *Guangxin fuzhi*, edition of the 12th year of Tongzhi (1873) consisting of 12 *juan*. Reprinted by the Chengwen chubanshe, Taipei 1970, 3 vols.

(24) *Guiqi xianzhi*, edition of the 10th year of Tongzhi (1871) consisting of 10 *juan* plus 1, Yang Changjie, ed.

(25) There are two editions of the *Longbu shanzhi* (*Gazetteer of the Longbu Mountain*). The first of these, in 3 *juan*, was prepared by Yuan Minghan in the Yuan period; 1 *juan* by Zhou Zhao has been added to it in the Ming period. The second one, in 16 *juan*, was edited by Lou Jinyuan in 1740; it contains two prefaces written by the editor and by Zhang Pengchong in the same year.

The 1740 edition of the gazetteer was reprinted twice, in 1770 and in 1832. The copy printed in that year may be considered an abridged text of the 1740 edition, consisting only of 4 *juan* and not a full reprint of it, as T. Brook (*Geographical Sources of Ming-Ch'ing History*, Ann Arbor 1988, pp. 149-50) wrongly says.

(26) Zhang Yuanxian, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80; the same text can also be read in Fu Qinjia (*op. cit.*, pp. 86-87), although somewhat abridged. A short biography can also be found in the *Longbu shanzhi* (*Gazetteer of the Longbu Mountain*), edition of the 5th year of Qianlong (1740), edited by Lou Jinyuan (see *supra*, fn. 25), *juan* 6, fols. 38a-b.

Gongzhao ⁽²⁷⁾ and of an imperial princess and decreed that the Duke Xu ⁽²⁸⁾ should see to all arrangements for the wedding. The emperor met all the expenses for the Six Rites [including those for the bride's dowry].

In the 29th year of the Wanli period, seventh month, twenty ninth day [8.6.1601], [the emperor] granted him an official rank and a ceremonial dress, so that he could take part in the imperial sacrifices. [Zhang Guoxiang] lived in the capital for thirteen years and favours were showered on him. Later, when the time came to return to Longhu Mountain, [during the journey] near Yi county ⁽²⁹⁾, the boat got stuck since the water was frozen over. Zhang called on the lake God and the ice unfroze and let the boat pass, floating along as light as a twig. In order to commemorate this event, the Magistrate of Yi county had a stone tablet engraved, its text being preserved in the lake temple.

The former Master of Heaven of the 42nd generation, Zhongji ⁽³⁰⁾, collected the words and the deeds of his predecessors and compiled their biographies in one *juan*. Song Lian ⁽³¹⁾ wrote the foreword. The Real Man [Zhang Guoxiang] continued to work on the biographies collected by him up to the 49th generation. The information he assembled was clearly set out, but very detailed. Furthermore, he edited the gazetteer of Longhu Mountain in three *juan* ⁽³²⁾, after having meticulously examined its sources and themes.

In 1609 a flood ravaged Guiqi county damaging the halls of Shangqing palace. [Zhang] submitted a petition for a subsidy and the emperor made a grant for the repairs and rebuilding of the palace. The works had not yet been completed when

(27) Xie Gongzhao held the title of *junma dawei*, which was bestowed on those who had married an imperial princess. See C.O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford (Calif.) 1985, no. 2083.

In order to try to mitigate the hostile attitude shown by Confucian scholars-officials to Taoist personalities, marriages between the latter and daughters of high nobility were often arranged. See Liu Ts'un-yan, 'The penetration of Taoism into the Ming Neo-Confucianist élite', repr. in *Selected Papers from the Hall of Harmonious Wind*, Leiden 1976, p. 44.

(28) This is one of the descendants of Xu Zengabou, Xu Da's son, to whom was granted the posthumous title of *dingguo gong*. Since the biography of this personage reports the information about Zhang Guoxiang's marriage between two other events dated respectively 1577 and 1610, the above-mentioned duke must have lived during those years. In fact he is Xu Wending, on whom the title was bestowed in 1569 and who died in 1602. See *Mingshi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 106, 7th *biao*, vol. 10, p. 3146.

(29) It is in Shandong province.

(30) It is the 42nd Master Zhang Zhengchang, whose courtesy name was Zhongji; see Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 44-45; Fu Qinjia, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

(31) Song Lian (1310-1381), posthumous name Wen Xian. See Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 1225-31.

(32) *Longhu shanzhi*, see *supra*, fn. 25. According to the preface that Lou Jinyuan wrote to the 1740 edition, the text of the first edition of the gazetteer was 'revised (*xin*) by the 50th and the 51th Masters of Heaven, Zhang Guoxiang and Zhang Xianyong'. In the first *juan* of the first edition of the gazetteer, there are the biographies of the Masters of Heaven up to the 45th generation, included in a somewhat abridged form compared to the text of the *Han Tianshi shijie*, published in the *Xu Daozang*.

one day Zhang, while at peace and relaxed, saw the Patriarch, Hua Yang ⁽³³⁾, and his suite nearing him. And so, sitting in meditation, he passed away. He was canonized with the title of Great Real Man, Hereditary [Head] of the Zhengyi Order, Who Intensely and Honestly Aims at the True Way, Intent on Illustrating the Mystery and the Great Doctrine, Superintendent of all Taoist Affairs of the Empire [*Zhengyi sijiao ning cheng zhi dao chan yuan bong jiao da zhenren, zhang tianxia Daojiao shi*].

He was granted the posthumous title of Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent [*taizi shaobao*]. He was buried in Jinqi Mingyang qiao, where a temple, called Mingyang guan was built for the ordinary sacrificial offers. He had held the title for 34 years.

As regards the date of Zhang Guoxiang's death, there is disagreement between the *Bu Tianshi shijia* and the gazetteer of Guangxin prefecture. The former text maintains that he died in the *xinbai* year, that is, 1611 ⁽³⁴⁾; the latter puts the event in the *guibai* year, that is, 1623 ⁽³⁵⁾. The first date is confirmed also by two accredited studies, recently published in Taiwan and in Mainland China ⁽³⁶⁾. We can thus conclude that the second year, though it has been accepted by Goodrich and Fang's dictionary ⁽³⁷⁾, is probably a misprint.

Zhang Guoxiang stayed at court for thirteen years. During this period of time the Taoist Canon was definitively printed by imperial order in 1599, and various copies were offered 'to Taoist temples and monasteries in the capital and on the famous mountains of the empire' ⁽³⁸⁾. The 50th Master was asked to personally present the Shangqing Temple on the Longhu Mountain with a copy of the *Daozang* ⁽³⁹⁾, while other copies were offered to other monasteries, such as the Chaotian gong in Nanking, the Dongxuan guan on the Fang Mountain in Jiangsu province and the Yousheng guan on the Yuntai Mountain in Sichuan province ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

During his stay at court, Zhang Guoxiang accomplished the miracle of making snow fall at the emperor's request. He seems to have succeeded in another miraculous exploit in 1598. Though this event has not been included in his biography, it has been recorded by the gazetteer of Longhu Mountain ⁽⁴¹⁾. Since there was a serious

⁽³³⁾ Hua Yang is a literary name (*hao*) employed very often. Even the famous alchemist Tao Hongjing used it.

⁽³⁴⁾ Fu Qinjia, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Zhang Yuanxian, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁽³⁵⁾ *Guangxin fuzhi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 10, vol. 3, p. 1353.

⁽³⁶⁾ Zhuang Hongyi, *Mingdai Daojiao zhengyi pai*, Taiwan xuesheng shuju, Taipei 1986, pp. 39 and 48; Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, Gui guan tushu gongsi, Beijing 1991, vol. 2, p. 854.

⁽³⁷⁾ Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 109.

⁽³⁸⁾ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *op. cit.*, *juan* 10, fol. 16a.

⁽³⁹⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Chen Guofu, *Daozang yuanshi kao*, repr. Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1985, vol. 1, p. 178.

⁽⁴¹⁾ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *op. cit.*, *juan* 10, fol. 15b.

drought that year, Zhang Guoxiang was despatched to the Heilongtan Spring on the Jin Mountain ⁽⁴²⁾ in order to build an altar there and to pray for rain. From the 17th to the 20th day of the fourth month (May 21-24), he prayed with great fervour: on the 18th day there was a dew of good omen and on the 19th and the 20th day there was a heavy fall of rain ⁽⁴³⁾. In order to celebrate the event, the emperor decreed the erection of a commemorative stela in that place.

These services earned the 50th Master the sovereign's favour ⁽⁴⁴⁾; it was at this time that he must have been seen by Matteo Ricci. Though Zhang Guoxiang did not fail to satisfy the emperor's wish, other Taoist patriarchs, such as the 52nd Master, Zhang Yingjing ⁽⁴⁵⁾, after being summoned to court in order to produce snow, were not successful in the exploit ⁽⁴⁶⁾. A similar incident, which probably befell Zhang Guoxiang's successor, the 51st Master, Zhang Xianyong ⁽⁴⁷⁾, was recorded by the Jesuit missionaries, who were envious of the Taoist's success at court. On this question here is what Semedo tells us in his work *Relazione della Grande Monarchia della Cina* ⁽⁴⁸⁾:

In *Pekin*, in the year 1622, there fell out a pleasant Accident, although troublesome. There happened a great drought, prayers were made, pennances and fasts were kept: but all to no end. At length certaine *Tausi* offered themselves to procure raine without faile, and appointed a set day and houre, the offer was accepted with great applause, joy, and good hope of the event: then they in a great *Piazza*, or market-place made a theater composed of little Tables, which, as they have many there of an equall height and breadth, they did set one upon another, beginning at bottom with a great many, and raising it up by degrees higher, still with fewer Tables, till at lenght, the Machine came to end in one only, observing an handsome proportion and reasonable height. On this last and highest stood the chiefe of them, praying and supplicating; and the rest went round about him, doing the same, like *Baals Priests* [although they did not wound themselves; for in that they had great regard, as those who sought not blood, but water].

The people stood all round about, expecting the event: and the Ministers observing so great an Auditory, which was almost infinite, redoubled their prayers, their whistlings, and ceremonies. When the day and houre appointed was come, presently the Sky began to overcast with very dark cloudes, to the great joy of

⁽⁴²⁾ In Liaoning province.

⁽⁴³⁾ *Longbu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *op. cit.*, *juan* 10, fol. 15b.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ *Guangxin fazhi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 10, vol. 3, p. 1353.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Fu Qinjie, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Zhang Yuanxian, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ This event has been recorded by the work *Siling qinzhen ji*, edited by Sun Chengze, and included in the *Congshu jicheng xinbian*, repr. Xin wenfeng chubai gongsi, Taipei 1985, vol. 120, p. 14.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ *Guqi xianzhi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 11, vol. 3, fol. 12b.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Alvarez Semedo, *Relazione della Grande Monarchia della Cina*, H. Scheus, Roma 1643, p. 112.

all, and credit of their Ministers, who did already promise themselves the happy accomplishment of their undertaking; expecting every moment, when the raine should fall. When behold, of a sudden there fel a furious storm of Haile, the Stones whereof were as big as Eggs, and some bigger, which did ruine, not only their fields, but their Gardens, and killed diverse Persons, that could not in time recover some Shelter.

The Fathers have writ me from thence, that they thought the end of the world was come, so great was the confusion and noise of the Haile that fell. The Prophets, for having procured stones in stead of water, were all rewarded with store of Bastinadoes. ⁽⁴⁹⁾

Since the Master, referred to here, was credited with possessing this singular ability in producing snow or rain by request, it is not surprising that the envious Jesuits hastened to report the failure of one of these 'miracles'.

3. *The Works Edited by Zhang Guoxiang*

Zhang Guoxiang deserves a mention also as editor of fifty-two ⁽⁵⁰⁾ works composing the *Wanli xu Daozang* (The Supplement to the Taoist Canon of the Wanli Period). He also added new materials to some of these works. He received the order to perform this task in 1585 and achieved it in 1607 ⁽⁵¹⁾. This date is given in the following sentence at the end of the last *juan* or sometimes even at the end of other *juan* of twelve of these fifty two works ⁽⁵²⁾:

The first day of the first month of the year dingwei, 35th year of [the period of the reign of] Wanli of the Great Ming [dynasty] [January 28th, 1607], the Great Real Man of the Zhengyi Order, Who Continues the Doctrine, Who Intensely and Honestly Aims at the True Way, Intent on Illustrating the Mystery and the Great

⁽⁴⁹⁾ See above; the English translation of Semedo's work is *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China*, E. Tyler for John Crook, London 1655, pp. 87-88.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ In the *Daozang tihao*, *op. cit.*, the titles of the works composing the *Xu Daozang* section are numbered from 1421 to 1473, for a total of 52 titles, to which may be added the *Xu Daozang jing mu*, no. 1420, which is included in the *zhengyi bu* section. On the contrary the *Daozang zimu yinde* (Harvard Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Index no. 25, repr. Taipei 1966, pp. 36-37) lists 54 titles of the *Xu Daozang* (from no. 1422 to no. 1476) plus the *Xu Daozang jing mu* (no. 1421).

⁽⁵¹⁾ Zhuang Hongyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

⁽⁵²⁾ Here are the titles of the 12 works contained in the *Daozang*, repr. by the Commercial Press, Shanghai 1924-1926. The numbers of the *juan*, where the sentence is added, are also indicated:

a. *Xu Daozang jing mu*, not divided in *juan*, altogether 6 fols., fascicle 1057, at fol. 6a (*zhengyi bu*);
b. *Taibang Yuanshi tianzun shuo kongque jing beihwen*, not divided in *juan*, altogether 21 fols., fascicle 1058, at the end of fol. 21a (*Xu Daozang*);
c. *Taibang Daibang Langling shanghang buguo minaojing*, not divided in *juan*, altogether 3 fols., fascicle 1063, at the end of fol. 3a (*Xu Daozang*);

Doctrine, Superintendent of all Taoist Affairs of the Empire, Zhang Guoxiang, having received the imperial order, edited and corrected.

In one case ⁽⁷³⁾ the wording of the sentence and the date are different:

The 15th day of the second month of the 35th year of [the period of reign of] Wanli of the Great Ming [dynasty] [March 12th, 1607], having received the imperial order to carry out the printing of the *Supplement* [to the Taoist Canon], the subject Zhang Guoxiang, Great Real Man of the Zhengyi Order, Who Continues the Doctrine, edited it.

In one work, the name of Zhang Guoxiang as editor is mentioned at the beginning of some of the central *juan*, but no date is given. This is the case of the *Huang jing jizhu* ⁽⁷⁴⁾, consisting of ten *juan*, in which at the beginning of the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh *juan* we read the following sentence:

Zhang Guoxiang, Great Real Man, 50th Master of Heaven, Who Continues [the Doctrine] [from] the Han, edited.

Luo Hongxian ⁽⁷⁵⁾ from Jishui in Jiangxi, Taoist Recluse and Optimus Graduate, read it carefully.

Zhou Xuanzhen ⁽⁷⁶⁾ from Xiaozhao in Jinan, Shandong, subject, collected.

Finally the *Huang Ming enming shilu* ⁽⁷⁷⁾, consisting of nine *juan*, a collection of

- d. *Han Tianshi shijie*, 4 *juan*, fascicle 1066, at the end of *juan* 4, fol. 19b (*Xu Daozang*);
- e. *Hongde lu*, 56 *juan*, fascicles 1067-1080, at the end of *juan* 33, fascicles 1075, fol. 23b (*Xu Daozang*);
- f. *Wubeng juejing*, not divided in *juan*, altogether 35 fols., fascicle 1082, at the end of fol. 36b (*Xu Daozang*);
- g. *Daizhi*, 18 *juan*, fascicles 1092-1093-1094-1095-1096, at the end of *juan* 18, fascicle 1096, fol. 87b (*Xu Daozang*);
- h. *Guyi kaoyuan*, 3 *juan*, fascicle 1100, at the end of *juan* 3, fol. 20b (*Xu Daozang*);
- i. *Soushen ji*, 6 *juan*, fascicles 1105-1106, at the end of *juan* 6, fascicle 1106, fol. 17a (*Xu Daozang*);
- l. *Xuanzhen shangli bazi shengao*, fascicle 1108, at the end of fol. 56a (*Xu Daozang*);
- m. *Tianwang zhi dao Taiping yuce*, 8 *juan*, fascicles 1109-1110-1111, at the end of *juan* 7, fascicle 1111, fol. 28b (*Xu Daozang*);
- n. *Zhuangzi yi*, 8 *juan*, fascicles 1117-1120, at the end of *juan* 4, fascicle 1118, fol. 18a and at the end of *juan* 8, fascicle 1120, fol. 26b (*Xu Daozang*).

Chen Guofu, in his *Daozang yuanshu kao* (op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 179-80) gives a similar list, but limited only to 10 titles (the 3rd and the 9th titles, letters c. and i. of the list, are not mentioned).

⁽⁷³⁾ At the end of *juan* 25, fascicle 1075, fol. 23b of the *Hongde lu* (title e. of the list).

⁽⁷⁴⁾ *Huang jing jizhu*, in *Daozang*, op. cit., fascicles 1060-1062.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Luo Hongxian (1504-1564), whose biography is contained in Goodrich & Fang, op. cit., pp. 980-84.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Zhou Xuanzhen's biography is the *Xuanzhen xiao zhuan*, by Song Lian and Zhou Zunshi, included in the *Xian zheng lu*, repr. Shanghai 1986, *juan* 118, vol. 4, pp. 5234-35.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ *Huang Ming enming shilu*, in *Daozang*, op. cit., fascicle 1065.

documents concerning the Masters of Heaven, contains in the last *juan* three documents of the Wanli period dated respectively the 23rd year (1595), the 30th year (1602) and the 33rd year (1605), which go back to the time when Zhang Guoxiang was in charge as Master of Heaven and which evidently were added by him to the text when he edited it.

Of the 52 titles composing the *Wanli xu Daozang*, the following ones can be ascribed to an author or to somebody who edited, compiled, selected or annotated them:

1. *Huang jing jizhu* (fascicles 1060-1062), 10 *juan*, by Zhou Xuanzhen, a Taoist of the Quanzhen order, who lived during the Ming dynasty ⁽⁵⁸⁾;

2. *Huang Ming enming shilu* (fascicle 1065), 9 *juan*, by Zhang Zhengchang (1335-1378) ⁽⁵⁹⁾ and Zhang Guoxiang;

3. *Han Tianshi shijia* (fascicle 1066), 4 *juan*, by Zhang Zhengchang, revised by Zhang Yuchu (1361-1410) ⁽⁶⁰⁾ and completed by Zhang Guoxiang;

4. *Hongdao lu* (fascicles 1067-1080), 56 *juan*, by Shao Jingbang (1491-1565) ⁽⁶¹⁾;

5. *Xiao yao xujing* (fascicle 1081), 2 *juan*, by Hong Zicheng, from Xindu, Sichuan, who lived at the beginning of the Ming dynasty ⁽⁶²⁾; in the *Daozang*, 1924-26 edition, the *Xiao yao xujing* seems to consist of 4 *juan* and to occupy fascicles 1081 and 1082, as to include the *Changsbeng quanjing*, 1 *juan* and the *Wusheng juejing*, 1 *juan*, which is a Buddhist work ⁽⁶³⁾;

6. *Xuxian zhen lu* (fascicles 1086-1088), 5 *juan*, by Fang Wenzhao, who was appointed Custodian of Lingqi temple, in Putian (Fujian) at the beginning of the Ming dynasty ⁽⁶⁴⁾;

7. *Daishi* (fascicles 1092-1096), 18 *juan*, by Cha Zhilong, a Confucian scholar who became *jinsbi* in 1559 ⁽⁶⁵⁾;

8. *Yi yin* (fascicles 1097-1100), 6 *juan*, by Li Zhi (1527-1602) ⁽⁶⁶⁾;

9. *Guyi kaoyuan* (fascicle 1100), 3 *juan*, by Mei Zhuo, a Confucian scholar who became *juren* in 1513 ⁽⁶⁷⁾;

⁽⁵⁸⁾ See *supra*, fn. 56; see also *Daozang tiyao*, *op. cit.*, p. 1212.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 44-45; Fu Qinjie, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 107-8; *Guangxin fuzhi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 10, vol. 3, pp. 1350-51.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 1164-66.

⁽⁶²⁾ *Daozang tiyao*, *op. cit.*, p. 1216.

⁽⁶³⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 1158-59.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 1193.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 1215.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ See *supra*, fn. 7.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 1059-61; *Daozang tiyao*, *op. cit.*, p. 1231.

10. *Yi lin* (fascicles 1101-1104), 10 *juan*, by Jiao Yanshou, who lived during the Han dynasty ⁽⁶⁸⁾;

11. *Tianhuang zhi dao Taiqing yuce* (fascicles 1109-1110), 8 *juan*, by Zhu Quan (1378-1448) ⁽⁶⁹⁾;

12. *Laozi yi* (fascicles 1115-1116), 6 *juan*, by Jiao Hong (1541-1620) ⁽⁷⁰⁾;

13. *Zhuangzi yi* (fascicles 1117-1120), 8 *juan*, by Jiao Hong.

With the only exception of the *Yi lin* (title no. 10 of the list), all the other twelve works were written during the Ming dynasty: five by Taoist personalities (titles nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 of the list), six by Confucian scholars (titles nos. 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13) and one (title no. 11) by Zhu Quan, who was a prince, son of emperor Taizu (1368-1398) and, like Jiao Hong and Li Zhi, equally versed in Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist doctrines.

A great part of the remaining thirty-nine titles, with a higher percentage than in the *Zhengtong Daozang*, is made up of scriptures concerning popular cults, especially texts dedicated to the worship of local deities, or hagiographies of saints, like the collection *Soushen ji* (fascicles 1005-1106), 6 *juan*, composed in about 1593 ⁽⁷¹⁾.

Therefore, the *Wanli xu Daozang* incorporates works of Confucian scholars, who were interested in Taoism, Buddhism and texts concerning local cults, which were in some cases sponsored by the imperial court. Its composition confirms the tendency manifested in many intellectual circles during the Ming period for an eclectic and syncretistic religious attitude: a tendency which found in Zhang Guoxiang, as in his predecessor Zhang Yuchu ⁽⁷²⁾, one of its interpreters and representatives ⁽⁷³⁾. On the

⁽⁶⁸⁾ *Hanshu*, repr. Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1962, *juan* 88, vol. 11, pp. 3601-2; *Daozang tiyao*, *op. cit.*, p. 1236.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 305-7; *Daozang tiyao*, *op. cit.*, p. 1199.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ See *supra*, fn. 4.

⁽⁷¹⁾ *Daozang tiyao*, *op. cit.*, p. 1168.

⁽⁷²⁾ See *supra*, fn. 60.

⁽⁷³⁾ I refer in particular to the article by K.M. Schipper, 'Daozang suojian jindai minjian chongbai ziliao de chubu pinglun', *Hanxue Yanjiu Tongkan*, XII, 2 (46), June 1993, pp. 95-99, of which I quote from p. 99 in an abridged translation:

[...] From what precedes we may understand why in the *Zhengtong Daozang* so many literati, and even emperors, have considered the popular cults important and promoted the study of moral texts. Even within the Taoist religion, the Confucian influence was strongly felt and Zhang Yuchu, the (43rd) Master of Heaven of the Ming period, has given some contribution to the Confucian doctrine [...]. Until now many students of Chinese religions have paid attention to the intimate relationship between popular cults and Taoism, while on the contrary the equally important relationship between popular cults and Confucianism has been scarcely studied. Probably this is due to the fact that nowadays Confucian scholars show no interest in the manifestation of the popular cults [...]

contrary the criticism expressed by Ricci towards him and Taoism in general appears too severe and unfair, as if it were the result of a prejudiced and intolerant mentality.

4. *The Suppression of the Title Granted to the Masters of Heaven*

The most noteworthy event in Zhang Guoxiang's life was however the crisis which he faced in his relation to the throne. In order to understand those events, we must turn first to the history of the Zhang *Tianshi* family.

The date, on which the official acknowledgement of the title granted to the Zhang family took place, is rather controversial. Since there are no reliable records left of the different phases of the history of the Zhang Masters of Heaven, the exact situation of their movement before the Tang dynasty remains unclear ⁽⁷⁴⁾.

The *Han Tianshi shijia* (Biographies of the Masters of Heaven) reports that emperor Xuanzong (712-756) of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) summoned the 15th Master, Zhang Gao ⁽⁷⁵⁾ and conferred on him the title of Ancestor of the Masters of Heaven (*Han zu Tianshi*) ⁽⁷⁶⁾.

Furthermore the *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan Dynasty) records that the 38th Master of Heaven, Zhang Yucun ⁽⁷⁷⁾, was summoned to the capital in 1304 and was invested with the title of *Zhengyi jiaozhu* (Patriarch of the One and Orthodox Order) ⁽⁷⁸⁾. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty emperor Taizu (1368-1398) did not confirm the title of *Tianshi* but granted the 42nd Master, Zhang Zhengchang ⁽⁷⁹⁾, that of Real Man of the One and Orthodox Order (*Zhengyi zhenren*) ⁽⁸⁰⁾.

The policy followed by the first Ming emperor ⁽⁸¹⁾, aimed at restoring Chinese traditions after the lengthy period of foreign rule, was pursued until the Jiajing era

⁽⁷⁴⁾ K.M. Schipper, 'Les Maîtres Célestes à l'Epoque Song', *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études — Section des Sciences Religieuses*, vol. XLI, 1983-84, p. 133; Qing Xiqin, ed., *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, Sichuan renmin chubanshe, Chengdu 1992, vol. 2, pp. 145-46.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ *Gutqi xianzhi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 11, fol. 7a.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ *Daotang*, *op. cit.*, fascicle 1066, *juan* 2, fols. 14b-15a.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ *Guangxin faxi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 10, vol. 3, p. 1349.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Song Lian, ed., *Yuanshi*, repr. Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1976, *juan* 202, vol. 8, *Beizhuan* 89, p. 4526.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 44-45; Fu Qinjia, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ *Mingshi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 299, vol. 25, p. 7654.

⁽⁸¹⁾ For the policy of Emperor Ming Taizu towards the Taoist church; see P. Corradini, 'La politica dell'imperatore Ming T'ai-tsu nei confronti dei monaci buddisti e taoisti', in *Gururajamañjarikā — Studi in onore di G. Tucci*, Napoli 1974, vol. 2, pp. 579-82; Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 637-42.

(1522-1567). During this period of reign, after the protracted rites controversy ⁽⁸²⁾, the emperor favoured Taoism, which greatly flourished.

The privileged condition enjoyed by the Masters of Heaven was opposed by the Confucian officials. After the death of the emperor in 1566, they profited from the ascent of the new emperor Muzong (1566-1572), and took advantage of the fact that the 49th Taoist patriarch, Zhang Yongxu ⁽⁸³⁾, had died the year before leaving no successor.

A memorial suggesting the suppression of the hereditary title of *Zhengyi zhenren* was submitted by Guo Jianchen (1524-1580 ⁽⁸⁴⁾), a zealous official, who was then Secretary of a Bureau (*xbushi*) ⁽⁸⁵⁾ of the Ministry of Personnel. At the beginning of the Longqing period (1567-1573), he stirred up a series of scandals which allegedly involved the Master of Heaven. In a memorial he argued that the successor of Zhang Yongxu — that is Zhang Guoxiang — should be granted the more modest title of Superintendent of Shangqing Temple (*Shangqing guan tidian*), the fifth rank and a bronze seal. In the *Veritable Records* of Muzong we read ⁽⁸⁶⁾:

An imperial decree aimed at the suppression of the title of Real Man of the Zhengyi Order [*Zhengyi zhenren*] and the withdrawal of his seal. During the Jianwu period [25-55 A.D.] of the Eastern Han dynasty, Zhang Daoling ⁽⁸⁷⁾ made use of his ability in preparing the pill giving immortality and other charms, and started to preach a religion.

Some generations later came Zhang Lu ⁽⁸⁸⁾, whom the records called the Thief of the Five Measures of Rice. Afterwards he pretended to be able to control demons

⁽⁸²⁾ F.W. Mote & D. Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, *The Ming Dynasty* (1368-1644) — Part I, repr. Taipei 1988, pp. 447-50.

⁽⁸³⁾ *Mingshi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 299, vol. 25, p. 7656.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Guo Jianchen came originally from Changsha and became *jinsbi* in 1562. After having been Secretary of a Bureau (see next fn.) of the Ministry of Personnel at the beginning of the Muzong era, he ended his career as Administration Vice Commissioner (*canzheng*) of Jiangxi province. He died in 1580, at the age of 57. The events of his life are to be found in the *Cixian tang ji*, Collection of Rare Books in the National Library of Taipei, no. 12394/16, *juan* 31 and 34. An abridged biography can be read also in the *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, repr. Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, Taipei 1964, p. 498.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Hucker, *op. cit.*, no. 1420.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ *Ming Muzong shilu*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 16, pp. 434-35, 2nd year of Longqing, 1st month, 12th day, 2.9.1568.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Zhang Daoling (35-157?) is regarded as the first Master of Heaven. The title of 'Master of the three Heavens' was conferred on him by Laozi himself, who seems to have appeared to him in 142 A.D. See Schipper, *Le Corps Taoïste*, *cit.*, pp. 86-87.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Zhang Lu (d. 220) was a descendant of Zhang Daoling. In 190 A.D. he established a small independent state and a church hierarchically organized in southwest China. This domain survived until 215 A.D., when it was merged with Cao Cao's (155-220) kingdom.

and tricked the people. Lu's son, called Yuanzhong, preached the Doctrine and built an altar in the place where Zhang Daoling had refined the pill.

During the Huichang Period [841-846] of the Tang dynasty [the altar] was called Zhengxian guan. During the Daxhong Xiangfu period [1008-1016] of the Song dynasty, Wang Qinruo submitted a memorial asking that the name be changed to Shangqing guan.

During the Zhizheng period [1341-1367] of the Yuan dynasty [the Zhangs] were for the first time granted the title of Real Man, Head of the Zhengyi Order, in Charge of Giving Charms Liberally [*Zhengyi jiaozhu zhenren zhu ling fu lu shi*]. During the reigning dynasty [Ming], as the Master of Heaven Zhang Yongxu has no descendants, the Jiangxi officials point out that granting title and seal to the other members of the Zhang family is no longer acceptable; since it would produce no effect and apart from that it would cause people a lot of harm, it is necessary to withdraw them. Therefore, as Minister Shou has suggested, it has been deemed appropriate to suppress the title, to regard Zhang Guoxiang's successor as the Superintendent of Shangqing Temple [*Shangqing guan tidian*] and to issue him a *tidian*'s seal. The emperor approves.

The contents of this memorial, as recorded by the *Shilu*, concur with the version of the *Guoque fu beiyou lu* ⁽⁸⁹⁾ and the gazetteer of Longhu Mountain ⁽⁹⁰⁾.

The proposal to suppress the title of *zhenren* had also been supported by Ren Shifeng, Governor of Jiangxi province ⁽⁹¹⁾.

Therefore Zhang Guoxiang, still young, had to accept the *diminutio capitis*, in order to succeed his uncle. However he did not stand inactive and did his best to regain the lost title and status. He managed to take advantage of the rivalries among different factions of officials, in which the eunuchs also played a part. The eunuchs, who had been kept under control by emperor Jiajing, increased their influence after his death and vigorously opposed those officials who had denounced the misrule of the former era. According to the *Mingshi* ⁽⁹²⁾, the Master of Heaven sided with the eunuchs, who were headed by the powerful Feng Bao ⁽⁹³⁾. The latter was so influential at court that even the famous Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng ⁽⁹⁴⁾ needed his support.

At last, thanks to Feng Bao's backing, Zhang Guoxiang in 1577 regained the

⁽⁸⁹⁾ *Guoque fu beiyou lu*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 65, vol. 7, p. 4078.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *op. cit.*, *juan* 8, fol. 32a.

⁽⁹¹⁾ Ren Jiyu, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 686; Wu Tingxi, *Ming daifu nianbiao*, *Zhonghua shuju*, Beijing 1982, vol. 2, years 1566-67.

⁽⁹²⁾ *Mingshi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 295, vol. 25, p. 7556.

⁽⁹³⁾ See above, *juan* 305, vol. 26, pp. 7800-7805.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Goodrich & Fang, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 53-61; R.B. Crawford, *The Life and Thought of Chang Chü-cheng, 1525-1582*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1961.

ground which he had lost. This event has been recorded by the *Mingshi* ⁽⁹⁵⁾ and the *Mingshi gao* ⁽⁹⁶⁾, as well as by the gazetteer of Longhu Mountain ⁽⁹⁷⁾, the gazetteer of Guiqi county ⁽⁹⁸⁾, the *Guoque fu beiyou lu* ⁽⁹⁹⁾ and the *Shilu* ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. In the latter work we read:

We order that the bronze seal of the Xuan Altar be cast and given to Zhang Guoxiang and that the hereditary title of Real Man with the gold seal be restored to him.

The measures altering the title granted to the Zhangs and the dates concerning them are also recorded by the encyclopaedia *Gujin tusbu jicheng* ⁽¹⁰¹⁾.

Furthermore Zhang Guoxiang strove to attain the same status as a public official. Since public tribute was paid to the dead parents of officials, the 50th Master in 1602 demanded funeral honours to be bestowed on his mother, who had died while staying in his official lodging at the capital. According to the *Veritable Records* ⁽¹⁰²⁾, his request was examined by the Minister of Rites, Feng Qi ⁽¹⁰³⁾, who rejected it. This kind of recognition — he said — was granted only to 'capable' officials and it had never been bestowed on a Real Man (*zhenren*). He also asserted that extra-privileges had been suspended in the 10th year of the period of reign of Hongzhi (1497) and in the 3rd year of the period of reign of Longqing (1569) ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. Finally Zhang Guoxiang succeeded in securing public honour for his mother, on the ground that she had died while he was staying at the capital in his official capacity, since he attended sacrifices at imperial request ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

He also obtained the grant of titles of honour to his adopted parents, the 49th Master, Zhang Yongxu and his wife ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and his adopted grand-parents, the 48th

⁽⁹⁵⁾ *Mingshi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 299, vol. 25, p. 7656.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ *Mingshi gao*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 281, vol. 6, p. 317.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *op. cit.*, *juan* 8, fol. 32a.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ *Guiqi xianzhi*, edition of 1871, *op. cit.*, *juan* 11, fol. 12b.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ *Guoque fu beiyou lu*, *juan* 70, vol. 7, p. 4309.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ *Ming Shizong shilu*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 61, p. 1383, 5th year of Jiajing, 4th month, 7th day, 4.24.1526.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Chen Menglei, ed., *Gujin tusbu jicheng*, repr. Zhonghua baoshu, Chéngdu 1985, *juan* 216, vol. 50, p. 61994.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ *Ming Shenzong shilu*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 378, p. 7117, 30th year of Wanli, 11th month, 7th day, 12.19.1602.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ *Mingshi*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 216 (104), vol. 19, pp. 5702-5.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ *Ming Shenzong shilu*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 378, see fn. 102.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *op. cit.*, *juan* 8, fols. 32a-b.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ *Daotang*, *op. cit.*, fascicle 1065, *juan* 9, fols. 9a-10b.

Master, Zhang Yanyu and his wife⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. These events can be regarded as clear examples of Zhang Guoxiang's special skill in manoeuvring to secure privileges, honours, recognitions and rewards for himself and the members of his family.

Apart from his cunning, the 50th Master's skills as administrator of the Longhu Mountain also deserve a mention. He made noteworthy efforts to improve the condition of his estate. In 1609, for example, he obtained the exemption of the Shangqing Temple and his personal residence from taxes and corvées⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. He maintained that a precedent had been set in the Jiajing era. Since, in the same year 1609, a flood struck Guiqi county, as we read in Zhang Guoxiang's biography⁽¹⁰⁹⁾, we may suppose that the exemption from taxes can be related to this natural disaster. But the gazetteer of Longhu Mountain, which tells about these fiscal facilities, is not clear on this.

In order to repair the Shangqing Temple, which had been damaged by the flood, the 50th Master submitted a petition in 1609 to the emperor asking for a financial grant. The funds necessary for the repairs were allotted by an imperial decree, as it has been recorded by the *Veritable Records*⁽¹¹⁰⁾, where we read:

The Real Man, Zhang Guoxiang, since the halls and the buildings in Longhu shan have collapsed as a consequence of a flood, petitions for funds needed for repairs. The Tax Collector Pan Xiang, who is in the same province [Jiangxi], is hereby ordered to allot the sum of 30,000 bars of silver, out of the taxes of the 38th year [1610]. For this purpose, Zhang Guoxiang is ordered to carry out the repairs.

The amount of the allotted sum, 30,000 bars of silver, is confirmed by the *Guoque fu beiyou lu*⁽¹¹¹⁾ and by the gazetteer of Longhu Mountain⁽¹¹²⁾. This second source specifies also that the places particularly damaged were the Halls of the Three Pure Men, the Yanfa Temple and other buildings. It adds that the 50th Master was personally entrusted with the repairs and with the duty of reporting on their completion⁽¹¹³⁾. We know that he died before the work had been completed.

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ See above, fols. 8a-9a; see also, *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *op. cit.*, *juan* 8, fol. 33b.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, *juan* 9, fol. 5b.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Zhang Yuanxian, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ *Ming Shenxong shilu*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 467, p. 8802, 38th year of Wanli, 2nd month, 9th day, 3.3.1610.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ *Guoque fu beiyou lu*, *op. cit.*, *juan* 81, vol. 8, p. 5017.

⁽¹¹²⁾ *Longhu shanzhi*, edition of 1740, *op. cit.*, *juan* 10, fols. 16a-b.

⁽¹¹³⁾ *Ibid.*

CHINESE CHARACTERS

Baiyun guanbhi	白雲觀志
Baopuzi	抱朴子
Bo Tianshi shijia	補天師世家
caizhong	參政
Cha Zhilong	查志隆
Changsheng quanjing	長生詮經
Chentian gong	朝天宮
Cixian kang ji	賜閒堂集
Daoguan jicheng xianlan	道觀集成新編
Da Ming lichao shilin	大明歷朝實錄
Daishi	岱史
Daode jing	道德經
Dazang	道藏
Dazang sanjian jinda: minjian zhonghai xiliao de shibao pinglun	道藏所見近代民間崇禪資料的初步評論
Dazang tiyao	道藏提要
Dazang yuanshi kao	道藏源流考
Dazang xian yinde	道藏子目引得
dixiguo gong	定國公
Dongxuan guan	洞玄觀
Fang shan	方山
Fang Wenzhao	方文照
Feng Bao	馮保
Feng Bi	馮琦
Fu Binjie	傅勤家
Fuxu shouli	尉馬都尉
Guangxin fuzhi	廣信府志
guikai	癸亥
Guxi xianzhi	貴溪縣志
Gujin tushu jicheng	古今圖書集成
Guo Jianshen	郭謙臣
Guozhu fu beiyao lu	國樞附北游錄
Guyi kaoyuan	古易考原
Han Tianshi shijia	漢天師世家
Han zu Tianshi	漢祖天師
Hanxue	漢書
Hanxue Yanjiu Tansuo	漢學研究探索

hao	號
Hailongtan	黑龍潭
Hong Zichong	洪自誠
Hongdao lu	弘道錄
Hua Yang	華陽
Huang Jing Jichu	皇經集注
Huang Ning enming shilu	皇明恩命世錄
Jiaojing	嘉靖
Jiangxi tongzhi	江西通志
Jiao Hong	焦竑
Jiao Yanhou	焦延壽
Jiaoshi bi zhong	焦氏筆乘
Jin shan	金山
juan	卷
Laoli yi	老子翼
Li Zhi	李贄
Lidai Zhang Tianshi shouan	歷代張天師傳
Lionghu shanzhi	龍虎山志
Louling	隆慶
Lu Jinyuan	魯進源
Lu Hongxian	羅洪先
Mao shan	茅山
Mei Jue	梅鷟
Ming defa shimoan	明僧加年鑑
Ming Shizong shilu	明穆宗實錄
Ming Shizong shilu	明神宗實錄
Ming Shizong shilu	明世宗實錄
Mingdai Daojiao zhengyi pai	明代道教正一派
Mingren zhuanji xiliao suoyin	明人傳記資料索引
Mingshi	明史
Mingshi gao	明史稿
Mingyang guan	明陽觀
Mingyang qian	明陽遷
Pan Xiang	潘相
Qingdai wen xuanwen tongkao	清朝文獻通考
Ren Shifeng	任士湧
san jiao	三教

*Brief Notes and
Items for Discussion*

Towards Trinity — and back

by JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN

The *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 60, 1986, p. 134, reads as follows: '(Rūab) est enfin le vent qui "plane", [cf. Ugarit VUS no. 2508] au-dessus des eaux, peut-être en battant des ailes [Ps. 18, 11; 104, 3] car on aurait des parallèles en égyptien [J. Duchesne-Guillemin, CRAI, 1982, pp. 521 f.]'.

The present article is a sequel, after twelve years, to the Paris paper in which I wanted to show that the Hebrew word *marabefet*, in Gen. 1, 2, decidedly means 'flapped its wings'.

The bird that, in the Psalms, served as a steed to God who 'did fly upon the wings of the rūab', this bird, in the second verse of Genesis, 'flapped its wings (*marabefet*) upon the face of the waters'.

When a dove about to alight flaps its wings, the waft it produces is made visible by the lowered grass and the raised dust. It was conceived that this breath could give life, as with the Egyptians the female kite, an avatar of Isis, through the flapping of her wings, restored to life the inanimate body of Osiris.

The Genesis passage is the direct source ⁽¹⁾ of the phrase in the Gospels' narrative of Jesus' baptism: 'the holy Spirit [πνεῦμα, which in the LXX translates rūab] descended in bodily shape like a dove upon him' (Lk 3, 22; cf. Mk 1, 4, Mt 3, 17, Jn 1, 32). And at the Annunciation (Mt 1, 8, Lk 1, 35) the vital power of the πνεῦμα ἁγίου is manifested.

The question I should like to raise here is why the author of the Prologue to the fourth Gospel, in order to proclaim Jesus God without confusing him with the Father, did not identify him with the Spirit: did not simply think that it was the Spirit who by joining Mary had become incarnate. Why the Logos?

But first, what did this word mean to the author of the Prologue? He was directly inspired, as has been recognized long ago, by the beginning of Genesis: 'Ev ἀρχῇ clearly imitates *Be-rēšit*: the Logos is therefore the creative word implied in the Hebrew text a little further on, when 'God said, Let there be light, and there was light' ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ It seems to me an unnecessary detour to allege, with J. Starcky, *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1986, s.v. 'Saint Esprit', p. 175, the Biblical passage, Deut. 32, 11 in which God (not his Spirit!) is compared to an eagle, only to be obliged then to explain the replacement of the eagle by the dove.

⁽²⁾ This is what J. Starcky does not explicitly recognize when writing in the *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1957, s.v. 'Logos', p. 491, that 'Dieu pense le monde qu'il va créer'. Admittedly the Prologue uses a term which, translating Hebr. *dabbar*, was moreover burdened, since Heraclitus and the Stoics, with several other meanings. However, it seems to me idle to wonder which of these other meanings may have been present to the evangelist's mind. The meaning 'creative word', implied in the beginning of Genesis, sufficed him.

Coming back to the question, why did the author of the Prologue choose the Logos? Well, firstly, it seems to me, because, of all the divine potencies, the *lógos*, Hebr. *dabbar*, was the only one to be of the masculine gender, for *rūab* is feminine ⁽²⁾, *πνεῦμα* neuter, and *bokhma-ooqia*, also present at the Creation ('I was there' Prov. 8, 27), is feminine too; and so is *shekbina*, the divine Presence.

Another reason, but only a possible one for we don't know if the evangelist had read Philo, is because the Jewish author calls the Logos 'a son of God' (References in F. Prat, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1904, p. 326) ⁽⁴⁾.

Above all, the word of God, *dabbar-lógos*, was in several passages of the Bible imagined in a bodily form: 'So shall my word be that goes forth out of my mouth', says Yahweh, 'it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish what I please' (Is. 55, 11); similarly Ps. 147, 15 'He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth: his word runneth very swiftly': and in the Book of Wisdom (18, 14, 16) the word of God is personified as a warrior, an image that was to be taken up and developed in Revelation (19, 13 f.).

It may be objected that this was only a metaphor. But, from metaphor, or allegory, to incarnation there was only a step for the Prologue to take, leaving the Spirit free later to combine with the Father and the Son to form the Trinity ⁽⁵⁾.

In Acts, 1, the Holy Spirit is at first the instrument of Jesus in his preaching to the apostles, but, after the Ascension, it is his substitute, so to speak, on earth.

This was understood, I think, by Muhammad who, by identifying Jesus both with the Word and with the Spirit (which he might well do since in Arabic (*ar*)-*rūbu 'l-quḍus* was of the masculine gender), annulled the Trinity, and concluded: 'Do not say Threel' (Sura, 4, 169) ⁽⁶⁾.

We see that the prophet of Islam, far from rejecting Christianity lock stock and barrel, adopted one of its tenets (the identification of Jesus with the Logos) only to ruin its main dogma.

⁽²⁾ In the vast majority of cases. An exception is 'the east wind', Exod. 10, 13.

⁽⁴⁾ 'Le double problème de la nature du Logos philonien et de ses rapports avec le logos johannique n'a pas encore reçu de solution satisfaisante', wrote J. Starcky, *ibid.*, p. 474.

⁽⁵⁾ Not yet defined by Paul, who wrote, II Cor. 13, 14: 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all', a mere inkling of a trinitary doctrine. Mt 28, 19, without parallel in Mk, is considered interpolated.

⁽⁶⁾ On the development of *nūb* in the muslim tradition, see E.E. Calverley in A.J. Wensinck & J.H. Kramers, *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, 1941, s.v. 'Nafs', chiefly based on D.B. Macdonald, 'The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam', *ActaO*, 9, 1931, pp. 307 f.

South Arabian Notes, 4

by GHERARDO GNOLI

In 'South Arabian Notes, 2' I confined myself to publishing only three fragmentary inscriptions found in the outer walls of the house of the *šayḥ* in the village of Ya'ra, over 20 km south of Ma'rib on the road leading to the al-Ġūba region and about 10 km east of al-Masāḡid⁽¹⁾. Thanks to information conveyed to me by Christian Robin in a letter dated 19 May 1988 I found out that, of the twelve inscriptions found on this site by the Italian Mission in December 1987 (Y. 87. YR. 1-10 plus two monumental inscriptions already known of: see below), some had previously been photographed by the late Mahmud Ali al-Ghul while others were unknown (Y. 87. YR. 1 and 2) or only partially known of (Y. 87. YR. 3). Also unknown were five minor fragments, four on the outer walls of the same house (Y. 87. YR. 4-7) and one on a small block of alabaster in the outer wall of another dwelling (Y. 87. YR. 8). I therefore published Y. 87. YR. 1-8 in *EW* 1987 [1988], adding two further inscriptions discovered during the same campaign at Yalā/ad-Durayb: Y. 87. Y. 1 and 2⁽²⁾. Subsequently, in 'South Arabian Notes, 3', I completed photographic documentation of Y. 87. YR. 2, Y. 87. YR. 3 (for one of the three fragments), Y. 87. YR. 6, 7 and 8⁽³⁾.

I therefore omitted to publish four of the twelve inscriptions found at Ya'ra (Y. 87. YR. 9 and 10 and the two monumental inscriptions already known of) since they were already present in M.A. Ghul's records. They were to be published in the volume that the Centre français d'Études Yéménites was preparing in memory of our late colleague according to the wishes of Mme Rita al-Ghul. Thus I conveyed to the co-ordinator of epigraphic research, Christian Robin, the photographs and preliminary notes on the two inscriptions in case our common friend, François Bron, who was in charge of the publication of M.A. Ghul's photographs, should wish to use them.

However, for reasons unknown to me the *Mémorial Mahmud al-Ghul*, edited with great scholarship and care by François Bron⁽⁴⁾ as volume 2 in series under the direction of Christian Robin himself, makes no mention whatsoever of the circumstances recalled here or my 1987 note with its 1990 follow-up. I therefore believe it is worth going back once again to the inscriptions discovered in the house at Ya'ra.

⁽¹⁾ 'South Arabian Notes, 2', *EW*, 37, 1987 (pp. 441-50), pp. 441-48. The name of the village may be identified with *Y'ra* in RES 3946/1. According to this recent suggestion Ch. Robin has kindly given me, the correct form might be *Ya'ra*.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 448-50.

⁽³⁾ 'South Arabian Notes, 3', *EW*, 40, 1990 (pp. 283-88), pp. 283-85.

⁽⁴⁾ *Mémorial Mahmud al-Ghul, Inscriptions Sudarabiques* (L'Arabie préislamique, 2 — Centre français d'Études Yéménites, Şan'ā'), Paris 1992.

It was in fact in this house that the two known inscriptions referred to above were found, i.e. the two al-Masāḡid inscriptions, RES 3949 and 3950. I drew attention to these inscriptions in a preliminary report consigned to Alessandro de Maigret on 29 December 1987 and in a letter which I sent to Christian Robin on the same day ⁽⁵⁾. In the outer wall of the north side of the house, where the entrance door is situated, are set eleven fragments of the two architrave inscriptions from the *M'rbm* temple of al-Masāḡid — the object of painstaking study by Herrmann von Wissmann, as Bron ⁽⁶⁾ recalls: six fragments, about 3/4 conserved, RES 3949, and five fragments, about 2/3 conserved, RES 3950. In view of the quality of the photograph taken by A. Solazzi on 14 December 1987, which is superior to the one published in *Mémorial* (p. 90), I consider it now worth publishing (Fig. 1) ⁽⁷⁾.



Fig. 1 - Ghul-al-Masāḡid 2 = Y. 87. YR. 9.

The same house, and more precisely the north and east wall respectively (with an appendix in the south wall: see below), also contains Y. 87. YR. 3 and 4, which François Bron aptly publishes as Ghul-al-Masāḡid 2 and 3, identifying them as further inscriptions from the same *M'rbm* temple of the god Almaqah exactly like Ghul-al-Masāḡid 1 (pp. 92-93), of which I had no prior knowledge; nor had I known of Ghul-al-Masāḡid 4 which, as the photograph shows (p. 99), was not set in a wall. The present emplacement of the fragments of RES 3949 and 3950 and of Ghul-al-Masāḡid 2 and 3 = Y. 87. YR. 9 and 10 in the walls of the same house in the small village of Ya'ra supports the conjecture both I and Bron (p. 91) have advanced that they share the same origin in the temple of al-Masāḡid. As F. Bron points out, evidence for this lies in the reference to Almaqah *d-M'rbm* also to be found in Ghul-al-Masāḡid 4/1.

⁽⁵⁾ 'South Arabian Notes, 2', p. 441.

⁽⁶⁾ On p. 91, fn. 1, Bron cites by H. von Wissmann: *Das Grossreich der Sabäer bis zu seinem Ende im frühen 4. Jh. v. Chr.* (Sb. ÖAW. 402. Bd.), Wien 1982, pp. 208-18.

⁽⁷⁾ Of the eleven fragments, seven are set with the inscriptions upside down.

⁽⁸⁾ 'South Arabian Notes, 2', p. 443.

With regard to inscription Ghul-al-Masāḡid 3 = Y. 87. YR. 10, we must point out that it is not in its present form complete: in fact, the four lines inscribed on a block set in the outer west wall of the house of the *šayḥ* require the addition of a fifth line of only four letters in one single word, *fqḏn*, inscribed on another block set in the outer south wall of the same building, to the left of the left window ⁽⁹⁾. The four letters read normally, from right to left, but in fact follow the boustrophedonic order of the inscription, lines 2 and 4 reading from left to right as also in Ghul-al-Masāḡid 2 = Y. 87. YR. 9. The addition of this last word in no way changes F. Bron's interpretation but simply completes it, showing that inscription Ghul-al-Masāḡid 3 closes in the same way as Ghul-al-Masāḡid 2 which is, after all, closely related to it: *w-b ḏ'bm fqḏn*, 'and for *ḏ'bm*, the intendant'.



Fig. 2 - Ghul-al-Masāḡid 3 = Y. 87. YR. 10.

Also for Ghul-al-Masāḡid 3, I publish here the photograph taken by Mr A. Solazzi on 14 December 1987 (Fig. 2). It will be noted that subsequent to M.A. Ghul's visit to the site of Ya'ra a water pipe was installed on the outer west wall, passing over the block bearing the first four lines of Ghul-al-Masāḡid 3 = Y. 87. YR. 10. The transcription of the two inscriptions published by F. Bron is very precise: it only needs to be noted that at the end of line 3 in Ghul-al-Masāḡid = Y. 87. YR. 9 there is no vertical line after *ḏt*: the name of the divinity is written as *ḏtB'dn*, just as in Ghul-al-Masāḡid 3 = Y. 87. YR. 10/4, and thus like *ḏtHmym*, which precedes it in both inscriptions.

As F. Bron rightly points out, the two inscriptions pose one and the same problem of interpretation, also shared by Ghul-al-Masāḡid 4, of which I had no prior knowledge: i.e. the verb *šhr* and its direct object. The latter varies slightly in the three inscriptions:

- a) Ghul-al-Masāḡid 2 = Y. 87. YR. 9/2-3 = *šhr bḥrn*;
- b) Ghul-al-Masāḡid 3 = Y. 87. YR. 10/2-3 = *šhr kl bḥrn 'd s'lfn*;
- c) Ghul-al-Masāḡid 4/2: *šhr kl'y bḥrnḥn blq*.

(9) Unfortunately the photograph of this fragment is not available to me at present.

F. Bron pointed out the enigmatic aspects of these inscriptions. He recalls the occurrence both of *šbr* in RES 4761/2, Fa 90/2 and CIH 541/60 — reasonably enough opting for the interpretation Ch. Robin⁽¹⁰⁾ advanced for the great Abrahā inscription: 'pose de l'enduit' — and of the epithet of 'Athtar dhū-Dhibān *b'l Bbr Hṭbm*, in which *bbr hṭbm* or *bbr ḥṭybm* is the name of a sanctuary, and thus he translates the three phrases respectively as: a) 'ont recouvert le bassin d'un enduit (?)' (p. 94); 'ont recouvert tout le bassin d'un enduit jusqu'à...' (p. 97); 'a recouvert les deux bassins d'un enduit...' (p. 99)⁽¹¹⁾.

It is my opinion that, at least at the level of conjecture, we can take interpretation of these three texts a little further: in Ghul-al-Masāḡid 4/2 *blq* most probably denotes the material the basin or two basins were built in, i.e. limestone⁽¹²⁾, as in RES 3943/5, CIH 623/2, RES 4392: *kl mby blq*, 'the whole construction of *blq*-stone'⁽¹³⁾.

The three inscriptions evidently refer to the same action, i.e. the plastering of the stone used in the construction of one or two basins. One of the inscriptions actually says a little more, stating *kl bbrn 'd s'lfm*, a redundant phrase that I would translate 'all the basin'⁽¹⁴⁾ to (its) levelled surface', i.e. down to the bottom, opting for an interpretation of *s'lfm*⁽¹⁵⁾ differing from the one advanced with some doubt in the *Sabaic Dictionary* for *s'lf*, 'façade', and closer to the interpretation, again offered tentatively by the same dictionary, for the form *ms'lf*, 'levelled ground, platform'⁽¹⁶⁾. Thus the phrase in Ghul-al-Masāḡid 4/2 might be translated: 'has plastered both basins with limestone'.

With regard to the fragment recorded in *Mémorial Mahmud al-Ghul* as Ghul-al-Ġūba 4, F. Bron (p. 111) considers the provenance uncertain but possible to conjecture. Like the al-Masāḡid inscription, it is set in the outer walls of the house of the *šayḥ* of Ya'ra, where

⁽¹⁰⁾ 'Le calendrier himyarite: nouvelles suggestions', PSAS, 11, 1981 (pp. 43-53), p. 47. For *šbr* see *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 141, and also: J.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect* (Harvard Semitic Studies, 25), Harvard 1982, p. 418; K. Conti Rossini, *Chestomathia Arabica Meridionalis*, Roma 1931, p. 222.

⁽¹¹⁾ For the epithet for 'Athtar dhū-Dhibān, *b'l bbr hṭbm*, see the relevant comments by A. Avanzini Torzini, 'Studi di lessico sudarabico antico, II', in *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria'*, XLIV (N.S. XXX), 1979 (pp. 17-31), pp. 21 f. and also more in general for *bbr* (pp. 17-27) as 'basin', 'well', 'cistern'. See also by the same author: *Glossaire des inscriptions de l'Arabie du Sud* 1950-1973, II (Quaderni di Semitistica, 3), Florence 1980, pp. 147 ff.; and see below, fn. 14.

⁽¹²⁾ *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 29 under *blq*: 'limestone'; and cf. Avanzini, *Glossaire*, *cit.*, p. 151; Biella, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f.; Conti Rossini, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁽¹³⁾ Biella, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁽¹⁴⁾ As far as the interpretation of *bbr* is concerned, it is worth noting that Ch. Robin has tentatively proposed the meaning of 'deux compartiments à demi cloisonnés' for the dual *bbrmbyn* in an inscription (Y. 90. B.A 7/3) found by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Barāqīḥ: see A. de Maigret & Ch. Robin, 'Le temple de Nakrah à Yathill (aujourd'hui Barāqīḥ), Yémen, Résultats des deux premières campagnes de fouilles de la Mission italienne', CRAI, 1993 (pp. 427-96), pp. 481 and 468.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Theoretically, we cannot rule out the possibility of a proper name *s'lfm*, but the fact that it is preceded by '*d*' would imply a delimitation of space with the name of another place, which does not seem to tally with the interpretation of *bbr* as a 'basin' probably reserved for ritual purposes within a temple.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 126. See also A.F.L. Beeston, 'Studies in Sabaic Lexicography, I', *Raydān*, 2, 1979 (pp. 89-100), p. 93, cited by F. Bron (p. 98, fn. 9), also by Biella (*op. cit.*, p. 336). Attestations of the Sabaic term seem to be confined to CIH 329/2 and Gr 3/5.

we also find two other fragments of the same inscription (Y. 87. YR. 3: A + B + C) whose emplacement is described and illustrated in the previous notes (17). The text may be reconstructed thus:

...ll/bqny/'lmqb/s³nb
'...I has dedicated to Almaqah Šnb'

For s³nb I took reference from Ja 2121/3. F. Bron points out (p. 111) that it is also attested as an epithet for 'Athtar (RES 4673/3, Garbini-Hakir 2/1 = Gr 40) and as the name of a tomb (CIH 369/2), as also of another building — possibly a dwelling (AM 866, which is in fact Ja 2121/3), noting that s³nb is probably also the name of a building in the inscription under consideration here.

The lineage name *d-Hfry* in Ghul-al-Masāğid 1/1, 2/1 and 3/1-2 deserves particular attention. Here F. Bron saw confirmation of the provenance of these inscriptions from the temple of Almaqah *d-M'rbm* of al-Masāğid, since the name apparently also occurs in an inscription from that site, Gl 1141, as also in Ja 2850/1 and Ja 2225 (18). Given the proximity of the al-Masāğid, Ya'ra and Yalā/ad-Durayb sites, the latter excavated by the Italian Mission (19), I feel it is worth recalling that inscription Y. 85. Y. 3/2 published by G. Garbini (20) mentions the place name *Hfry*, which may be the ancient name of the site, preceded by *gn'* (21).

It is also worth noting that the inscriptions found by the Italian Mission at Yalā/ad-Durayb and the nearby sites of Ši'b al-'Aql and al-Ğafna in Ḥawlān at-Ṭiyāl in 1985 and 1987 bear attestations of some proper names and the name of a function or title also occurring in the inscriptions of Ya'ra and the wādī al-Ğūba. Apart from the name of the *mukarrib* of Saba' *Yd'li Dṛḥ bn S¹mb'ty*, the names of *mukarrib-s* such as *Yd'li*, *Yt'mr* and *Krb'li* recurrent in the hunting inscriptions of Ši'b al-'Aql and other fairly common names such as *'bkrb* (Y. 85. AQ 15 = Iryānī 59 and Ghul-al-Ğūba 5) (22), *'mdbr* (Y. 87. Y. 1/2 and Y. 87. YR. 2/1) (23), *Lḥy* (Y. 85. YR. 10/1) (24), it is also worth taking particular note of *D'bm* (Y. 85. GF 3 = Iryānī 67/2 and Ghul-al-Masāğid 2 = Y. 87. YR. 9/4, Ghul-al-Masāğid 3 = Y. 87. YR. 10/4) (25) and *Hlkm* (Y. 85. AQ 11 = Iryānī 57/1, Y. 85. AQ 12 = Iryānī 58/1, Y. 85. AQ

(17) 'South Arabian Notes, 2', p. 445; 'South Arabian Notes, 3', p. 284.

(18) See also Gnoli, 'South Arabian Notes, 2', p. 442.

(19) A. de Maigret, ed., *The Sabaeen Archaeological Complex in the Wādī Yalā (Eastern Ḥawlān at-Ṭiyāl, Yemen Arab Republic): A Preliminary Report*, Rome 1988.

(20) 'The Inscriptions of Ši'b al-'Aql, Al-Ğafnah and Yalā/ad-Durayb', *ibid.* (pp. 21-40), pp. 38 and 39. See also Gnoli, 'South Arabian Notes, 2', pp. 442 and 445.

(21) See also A.F.L. Beeston, 'The Sayhadic Hunt at Ši'b al-'Aql', *Études sud-arabes. Recueil offert à Jacques Ryckmans* (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 39), Louvain-la-Neuve 1991 (pp. 49-57), p. 54.

(22) Cf. S.A. Tairan, *Die Personennamen in den altsabäischen Inschriften*, Hildesheim 1992, p. 55.

(23) Cf. Tairan, *op. cit.*, p. 162, although these attestations are not recorded.

(24) Cf. Tairan, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 f., where attestation of Y. 85. AQ 25 is not recorded.

(25) Cf. Tairan, *op. cit.*, p. 115, where attestation of Y. 85. GF 3/2 = Iryānī 67/2 is not recorded.

19 = Iryānī 44/1) ⁽²⁶⁾, for which F. Bron (p. 113) cites the only attestation as lineage name (CIH 601/23).

The function name or title mentioned above is *fqḏn* ⁽²⁷⁾. It occurs in Ghul-al-Masāḡid 2 = Y. 87. YR. 9/4 and in Ghul-al-Masāḡid 3 = Y. 87. YR. 10/5 after the proper name *D'bm*. In the same position, i.e. after proper names *Ṣbbm* (Y. 85. AQ 1 = Iryānī 61/4 and 18 = Iryānī 54/1), *'mkrb* and *'m'ns*¹ (?) (Y. 85. AQ 10 = Iryānī 62: Garbini's and Iryānī's readings must certainly be correct since after the second proper name the reading must be *fqḏn bn M'km*) and, probably, *Lby* (Y. 85. AQ 25: where we may read *fq[ḏn]*), it recurs in the inscriptions of Ši'b al-'Aql. It is therefore worth recalling these attestations along with those cited by F. Bron (p. 96): CIH 955 + 418/1,4 and Robin-Ḥamir 2/1.

⁽²⁶⁾ Cf. Tairan, *op. cit.*, p. 224, where Y. 85. AQ 4/3 = Iryānī 50 is also recorded although interpretation is in fact uncertain.

⁽²⁷⁾ On which see Garbini, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Old Persian *niysy*

by ENRICO MORANO

Old Persian *niysy* occurs three times in the inscription *b* of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam. The first time at line 5: *by xrbum uta arvstm upriy Daryum xdaythym niysy*, the second time at line 46: *uta wnta tya Asrmzda upriy mam niysy*, and finally at line 49: *tya mam Asrmzda upriy niysy*.

The first attempt to explain this form was made in 1845 by C. Lassen ⁽¹⁾; he suggested comparing it with Sanscrit *śī-*, and translated 'legte'. Although Benfey (1847: 61) rejected this proposal (we should expect, in fact, if it belonged to Sanscr. *śī-*, -θ- instead of -s-) Weißbach ⁽²⁾ still accepted it in 1911.

In 1918 A.V. Jackson (1918: 123) published his explanation, read some years before in a meeting ⁽³⁾: he explains *niysy* as an impf. caus. of the root *yam-* + *ni*, translates 'set down, bestowed' and normalized *nīyasaya*, assuming haplology for **nīyasya*^o. This extension, however, as Kent (1953: 219 to 205a.31) pointed out in an addendum to the second edition of his book, 'can only be justified on the ground that the stem *yasa-* has been generalized and was no longer felt as a determinative'.

To avoid that Benveniste (1951: 24 f.; 1962: 41) took *niysy* as *nīy-asaya*, to a root *sā-*, Av. *spā-* 'jeter à terre, déposer sur le sol', and translated 'il a répandu' ⁽⁴⁾.

Some difficulties, however, arise against this etymology:

1) the Babylonian translation has, corresponding to *niysy*, *id-din-nu*, the same word that translates *adda* 'he created' in the first two lines: since *nādannu*, to which *id-din-nu* belongs, means 'to give' (see von Soden 1972: 701 f.), one wonders why the Babylonian translator did not use a verb meaning something like 'il a répandu';

⁽¹⁾ Lassen 1845: 121: 'Dann wohl Z. 5 *nījasaśa*, legte, skt. *śī*'.

⁽²⁾ Weißbach 1911: 93 'Ap. Z. 5 *nījasaśa* (Lesung jetzt sicher) hat Lassen (ZKM 6, 121) richtig erklärt; vgl. skt. *śī* + *ni* "hinlegen"'. It is noteworthy to say that Weißbach quotes here mistakenly Lassen's suggestion: Lassen evidently thought of Sanscr. *śīya* 'he lies', not of *śīśāti*!

⁽³⁾ Almost contemporaneously A. Meillet published his *Grammaire du vieux-perse* (Paris 1915) in which he reached the same conclusion. This etymology is upheld in Meillet-Benveniste 1931: 116, Herzfeld 1938: *ad loc.*, up to the first edition of Kent (1950: 205 s.v. *yam-*). The second edition (Kent 1953) bears an addendum (p. 219) with Benveniste's suggestion, see below.

⁽⁴⁾ Benveniste gives a list of Avestan, Sogdian, and Parthian words in which this root appears: Av. *apa spā-* 'rejeter (ses vêtements)'; *api spā-* 'jeter (de la bave)', *avi spā* 'rejeter (quelqu'un aux ténèbres)'; Man. Sogd. *fsp* 'tenture répandue'; Parth. *nyspy-*, *nysp't-* 'mettre (le genou) en terre', Sogd. *'sp'tz'mak-* 'agenouillé'.

2) if *niysy* belonged to Av. *spā-* one should expect rather **niyasāya*, since there is no evidence that Old Persian has shortened *ā* before *-i-* and *-y-* (?);

3) the position, at line 49, of *upriy* before the verb seems to indicate that *upriy* was actually a preverb, and *mam* was governed by the verb itself.

In view of these difficulties it may be worth-while considering an alternative etymology.

It has long been recognized (see Bailey 1933-35: 285 ff.) that a base **ke-* ⁽⁶⁾, attestations of which with the extension *-ei-* are found in Sanscrit, Greek and Iranian (?), essentially meant 'to increase'. The simple base is seen in Avestan *sew-* 'nützen, Nutzen schaffen' (Bartholomae 1904: 1612): cf., for example, Afrinakān 4.6: *yaθa vātō rapθβanatarāt naēmāt vīspam abūm ...frāδatica varōδatica saōfiēntica* 'as the wind from the South makes the whole world flourish, causes it to prosper, and gives it benefit'. The present stems of this base are *saōfiia-*, *sutia-*, and *sānuaitia-*, but Bartholomae (1904: 1612) postulated also a stem **spaiti-* (< **ke-eyō-*) to justify the formation of the noun *spaitiθra-* 'Gedeihen, Erfolg, Glück'.

My suggestion is therefore to take *niysy* as a transitive impf. 3rd sing. of an OP pres. stem *sey-* matching the Av. *spaiti-* of *spaitiθra-* and meaning 'to produce benefit'. The three sentences would therefore literally mean: lines 3-5 — *by xθunm uta ar*ustm upriy Daryum xdayθrym niysy* 'who (scil. Auramazdā) increased Darius in respect of wisdom and physical power (i.e. gave Darius the benefit of wisdom and physical power)' ⁽⁷⁾; lines 45-46 — *uta nomra tyā Aurmazda upriy mam niysy* and lines 48-49 — *tyā mam Aurmazda upriy niysy* 'and the skillfulnesses, of which Auramazdā gave me benefit'.

(?) See Henning 1944: 50. Henning demonstrated that this shortening reflects a dialectal fact, shared by Northeastern dialects.

(6) For all the IE cognates see Pokorny 1959: 592 ff.

(7) See, for example, Sanscr. *śrey-*, Av. *spaiti-*, Ossetic *nesayyn*, NBal. *sāy* 'swell', Gr. *χαίω*, etc. The same base, with the determinative *-en-*, found in Iranian **spaiti-*, **sauti-*, **senti-*, Lettish *sveits*, Lith. *svėitis*, Russ. *svjatoj*, etc., means 'strengthen (by supernatural power)'.

(8) *xθunm* and *ar*ustm* would then be accusatives of relation.

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A Scythian Vial

by ERKINGER SCHWARZENBERG

This note is about a small metal vessel — 15 cm high — said to have been found in the Russian steppe (Figs. 1-6). Its purpose is unclear. The mouth is too narrow for a cup and the lips too wide to make drinking easy. Nor can it be called a bottle, since bottles have cylindrical necks designed to secure the stopper. The rosette impressed on the vessel's bottom prevents it from standing firmly upright. It does not have a handle or even loops, but may have been suspended by a cord passing around its neck.

Although no measure to the thirst of a warrior or herdsman, anything larger dangling from a buckle would have proved cumbersome on horseback ⁽¹⁾. If we could be sure that it had originally served a strictly functional purpose, we would name it after the shape that it resembles most, a tumbler perhaps or a beaker. But since we are not, we are free to call it by a name that doesn't suggest a known type of container. I propose the word *vial*, since it derives from the greek *phiale*. Herodotus uses the word to describe it hanging from a Scythian girdle. Scholars disagree about its purpose and its shape, pointing out that, unlike the drinking-horn, it may well be pre-Scythian ⁽²⁾.

The vessel, be it a vial or not, displays a scene — subject A — borrowed from Greek art, made for the Scythian market and representing Scythians. Now Herodotus' Scythians were no better than other barbarians in one respect: they protestingly yielded to civilization; they thought they were refusing the culture that was influencing them the while. As for Herodotus himself, he was no better than other, later historians: he took the Scythians at their word and constructed an image of what they ought to have been, a useful model for Greeks to follow. He would have considered our vial, that was in fact made about a century after his death, bastard Scythian work. A true Scythian object would have been made out of pure gold ⁽³⁾.

The vial was made either by wrapping a heated bronze sheet around a resilient bituminous core and hammering around the outline so as to make the *planche* buckle back, or simply by pressing into a crude mould. Details were punched or engraved and the bottom added after removal of the core.

This technique recalls the fine beakers that were made in or after the 10th century B.C. in the area around Kirmanshah in western Iran ⁽⁴⁾. Moreover subject B was copied from one

⁽¹⁾ Herodotus, *Histories*, IV 10.

⁽²⁾ H. Kothé, 'Der Skythenbegriff bei Herodot', *Klio*, 51, 1969, p. 80.

⁽³⁾ *Histories*, IV 71: silver or bronze vials were banned from royal *kurgans*.

⁽⁴⁾ P. Calmeyer, *Reliefbronzen in babylonischem Stil, eine westiranische Werkstatt des 10 Jhdt. v. Chr.*, München 1973.

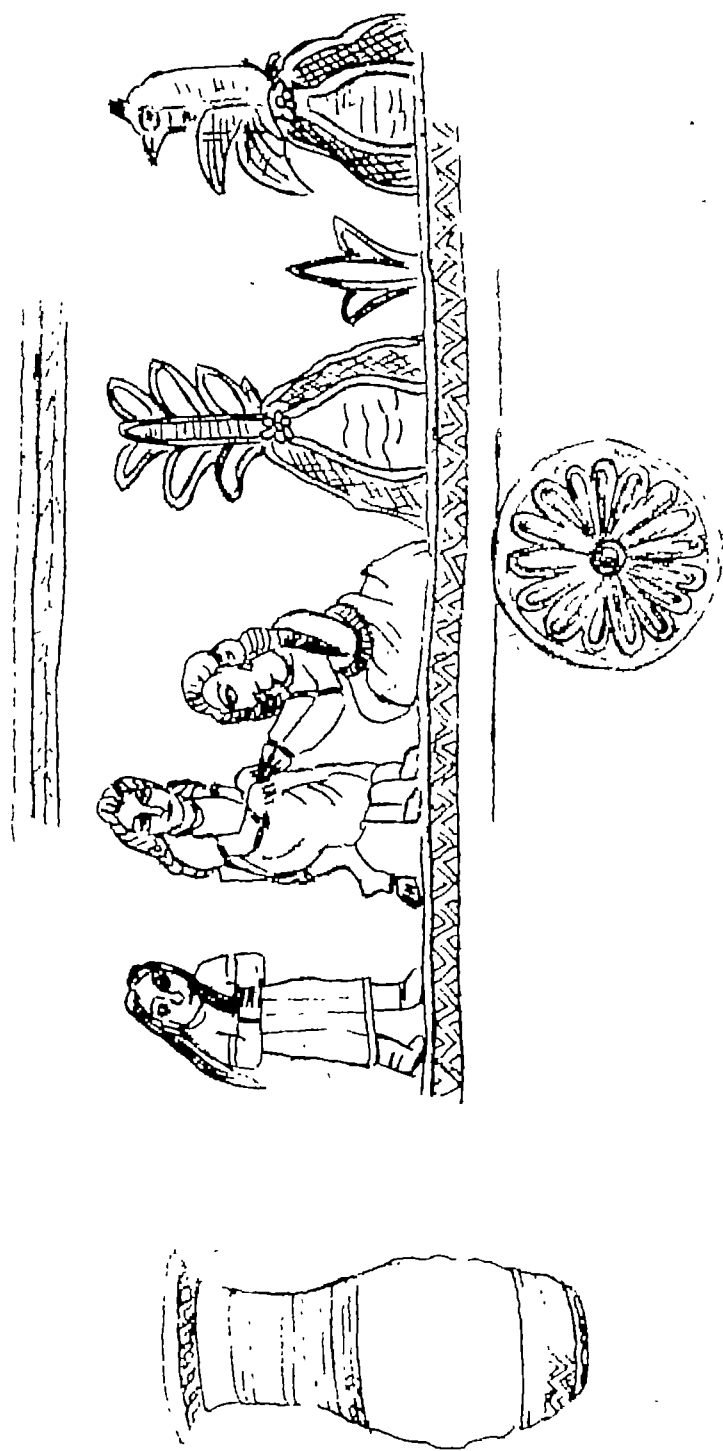


Fig. 1 - A Scythian 'vial', property of the author. Drawing by C. Brandis.



Figs. 2-6 - Scythian 'vial', property of, and photographs by the author.

of these Transcaucasian imports. On the other hand, the shape of our vial suggests a non-metallic prototype, such as clay or leather, and does not depend from the earlier beakers, with their drawn-in walls and drop-shaped bottoms.

The grooves — there are nine of them, covering the neck and shoulder — appear to be the only local contribution to a decoration blending Assyrian and Greek motifs. The *guilloche* that runs around the rim is common to both cultures.

The frieze consists of two scenes each composed of three figures. Subject B is centered on the figure of a flower made up of two leaves and a bud, derived from the lotus, a motif common to Near-Eastern art (Fig. 9) ⁽⁵⁾. The palm-tree growing out of a jar occurs on the Luristan beakers, upon which two streams of water appear to gush out of the rosette resting on the vessel's rim (Figs. 7a, b, c) ⁽⁶⁾. The tree reproduced on the vial bears only a faint resemblance to a palm, having six fronds disposed in pairs on three tiers. Moreover, the Scythian craftsman mistook the wavy bands of water flowing out of the jar for the sides of a mound,

⁽⁵⁾ Cf., e.g., an ivory from Nimrud in Baghdad, Inv. 7919. M.V. Seton-Williams, *Les trésors de Babylone*, Luxembourg 1981, p. 159.

⁽⁶⁾ Calmeyer, *op. cit.*, A 13 (New York, Metr. Mus.); G 3; H 10.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

despite the wriggly lines suggesting a liquid content. An artist familiar with the sluggish rivers of the great plains may never have seen a mountain and a spring of fresh water. He was

unaware of the meaning of the life-giving fountain, later to become a central theme in Persian art.

Fig. 6



He repeated the motif of the mount on the opposite side of the 'lotus', but replaced the sacred tree by a curious bird, having a beak and a comb but no claws. It holds its wings as if they were human limbs and sits on its rump as a person would, spreading out its tail as if to prevent crushing its feathers. This weird creature fills in the outline of one of the eagle-headed daemons occurring on the beakers where they are shown fertilizing the palm-tree. The pair of guardian spirits flanking the holy palm-tree on the beaker in Dumbarton Oaks is similarly engaged (Fig. 8) (7). The artists of the Luristan beakers may not have been fully aware of the

(7) Calmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f. = H 4.

significance of that ritual, for the winged daemons are occasionally replaced by sphinxes or wild goats⁽⁸⁾. A craftsman living far away and, possibly, centuries later did recognize the eagle-half of the *nisbrokb* on the beaker, but transformed its lower parts, the mighty lion-paws into a cloddy mountain, replacing the streams of paradise gushing out from under the life-giving tree.

The *nisbrokb* apparently did not remind the Scythian artisan of the griffin, the keeper of the sun's gold, which is a four-legged creature, at least in Greek mythology. He transformed instead its upper half into a bird-man. Shamans disguise themselves into birds in order to express their ability to depart from their own bodies and travel abroad, faster than a winged, Scythian arrow. So swiftly does the soul of these medicine-men fly that it has been known to appear in two places at practically the same time.

Many myths and fairy-tales, reaching back to the 2nd millennium B.C. and still alive, until recent times at least, describe these imaginary trips⁽⁹⁾. The hero becomes a crow and flies north to bring back the sun's golden rays. He crosses the land of the Arimaspians and the mountains guarded by griffins. He reaches the ever-greening grove of the god worshipped by the Hyperboreans, whom the Greeks called Dionysus or Apollo.

Drugs much older than wine sped the shaman to the god's magic mountain, called *meru* by vedic authors. As for the plant from which the magic potion was brewed, it is called *soma* in the *Rgveda*⁽¹⁰⁾. Our vial may on occasion have contained something stronger than water or milk.

The persons belonging to scene B wear long hair, leather trousers and a sleeved tunic, fastened at ankles and wrists. They are in fact dressed as Scythians. The principal figure is sitting on a grecian throne, with lion-feet resting directly on the floor, unlike those of Assyrian foot-stools⁽¹¹⁾. A second figure kneels in front of what must be the master of the household or, perhaps, the king. It is demurely extending its hands, putting them unto his. Unfortunately the particulars of its dress are not rendered sufficiently accurately to distinguish it from the other two figures and mark it as definitely female. The sleeves are there, but not the trousers, the feet and toes being hidden by what appears to be a broad-belted skirt.

The clothes of the weaker sex would appear to have been suited to its domestic chores⁽¹²⁾: Herodotus' Scythians were sufficiently hellenized to be attracted by the Amazons,

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. the Cleveland beaker (Calmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 f. = H 10) and the one in the Koutoulakis collection (*ibid.*, pp. 58 f. = G 3).

⁽⁹⁾ One of the strands making up the tale of the Argonauts appears to be Scythian. The sister of Medea Circe is supposed to have married a Scythian King. Diodorus, *Library of History*, IV 45,4 and 47,5. The Scythian word for river *danu* survives in the names of the Danube and of the Don that the heroes are said to have rowed up (IV 56,3). In fact they would have followed the Dniepr — the deep river — and the Dvina — these names have a familiar ring — to reach the Baltic at Riga.

Jason transferred his prophetic and shamanic powers to the Argo, that flew faster than an arrow when heading north. The powers of Aristaeas (*Histories*, IV 14 f.) and of Abaris (IV 36) can be matched with those of contemporary African medicine-men. M. Eliade, *Le Chamanisme*, Paris 1968.

⁽¹⁰⁾ G.M. Bongard-Levin & E.A. Grantovskij, *De la Scythie à l'Inde*, Paris 1981, pp. 88 f., 95.

⁽¹¹⁾ H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Kline*, Berlin 1969, pp. 14 f

⁽¹²⁾ *Histories*, IV 114.

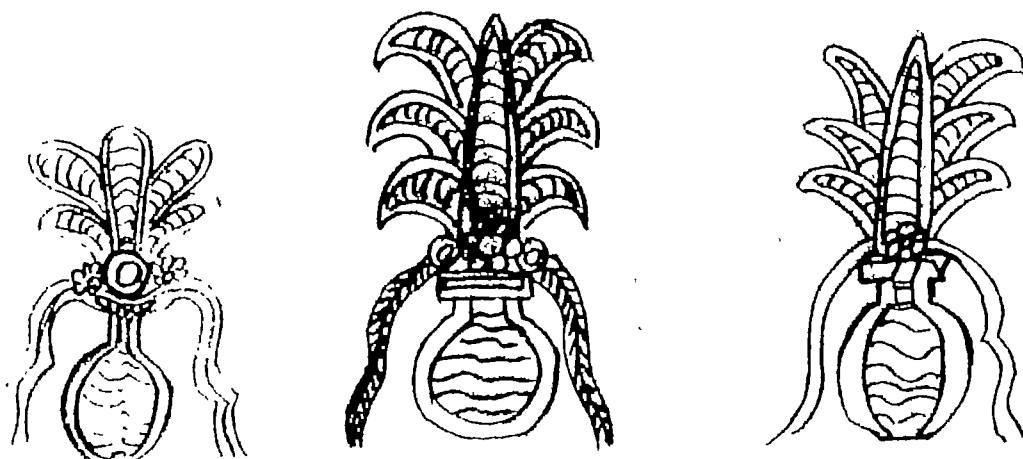


Fig. 7 - Details from Iranian beakers, after Calmeyer, *op. cit.*, H 10, G 3, A 13.

while remaining true to their nomad way of life. Those who succumbed to their fateful attraction reverted to a barbarous primitivism and became Sarmatians. But even those Scythians who stopped short of marrying Amazons tried to imitate them in their martial ways, and wore tight sleeves and narrow trousers ⁽¹³⁾. The Amazons appear to have been personifications of the Scythian ideal, as conceived by the Greeks. Sixth-century attic vase-painters represented them clad in the uniform worn by Scythian archers ⁽¹⁴⁾.

The gesture of the kneeling figure is reflected in feudal practice ⁽¹⁵⁾. As a token of voluntary bondage, the vassal placed his joined hands into those of his lord. On the vase a third person is seen approaching from the left, arms clasped to chest. Folding one's hands over the breast in greeting is a custom still common on the Asian continent. Subject B enables us to add two signs, as mute as they are eloquent, to the Scythian language or to the culture called Scythian by Herodotus.

Much of what we know about the early history of southern Russia is due to Herodotus, whose curiosity and open-mindedness led him to get interested in barbarians for their own sake, and not just as defeated enemies. They could henceforth be represented engaged not only in battle but living and resting in their own surroundings. A genre, which may have originated in Athens after Herodotus' visit there, was taken up by the goldsmiths of Panticapaeum or some other colony producing luxury wares for the Scythian princes. Scene B deserves to be taken into account, along with the more precious Tolstaja Mogila pectoral, the Gaimanova cup, the Voronezh vase, the Chertomlyk amphora, the Karagodevasch ornament,

⁽¹³⁾ *Histories*, IV 116

⁽¹⁴⁾ Exhibition-catalogue *Gold der Skythen aus der Leningrader Ermitage*, Wien 1989, pp. 253, 257.

⁽¹⁵⁾ On vassalage among the Scythians, G. Dumézil, *Romans de Scythie et d'alentour*, Paris 1978, p. 199; J. Le Goff, *Corriere della Sera*, 15.02.1991.

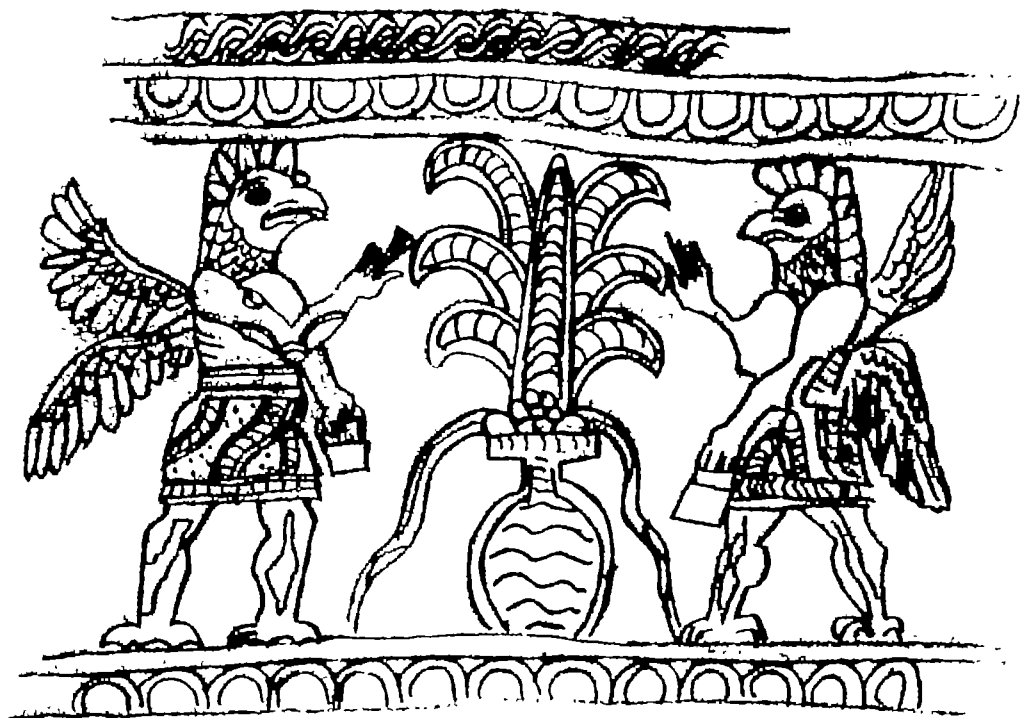


Fig. 8 - Scene from an Iranian beaker in the Dumbarton Oaks collection. After Calmeyer, *op. cit.*, H 4.

and the Kul' Oba finds, as evidence for Scythian culture ⁽¹⁶⁾.

A crude copy of a Greek design of the late 5th or 4th century B.C. was combined on the vial with a motif that can be traced back to Babylon ⁽¹⁷⁾. The rough workmanship suggests a place of manufacture equally distant from the Crimea and from western Iran, possibly the Kuban.

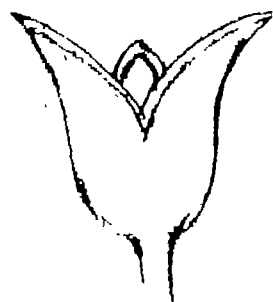


Fig. 9 - Lotus motif on Nimrud ivory. After Seton-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁽¹⁶⁾ M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922, pp. 108 f.; T. Talbot Rice, *The Scythians*, London 1957, pp. 66 f.; *Gold der Skythen*, Cat. No. 57; Exhibition-catalogue *L'Oro di Kiev*, Firenze 1987, No. 20

⁽¹⁷⁾ Upon driving the Cimmerians as far as lake Van in the 7th century B.C. the Scythians had come into contact with the Kingdom of Urartu. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1976 Italian edition, vol. III, p. 582.

More on the Buddha and the Naked Ascetics in Gandharan Art

by PIA BRANCACCIO

In an article published in a previous issue of this Journal (*EW*, 41, 1991, pp. 121-31) I considered a number of Gandharan bas-reliefs showing the Buddha performing the *yamaka-prātibhārya* — the 'Twin Miracles' — with a fat naked ascetic seated on a stool below a pavilion to one side. By means of a cord round his waist this protagonist of a particularly interesting episode rarely depicted by artists in Gandhāra is clearly being led by a figure of an upper caste. My suggestion was that this was the meeting between the Tathāgata and the naked ascetic Pāṭikaputta, as narrated in the *Pāṭika Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, XXV, 1 ff.).

To the series of reliefs considered I can now add another which seems to show the same scene⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 1), although the naked ascetic who should rightly be depicted in the missing right-hand side of the panel is not to be seen. In fact, this Gandharan bas-relief has both the left and right sides broken off, conserving only the Buddha on a throne in the middle, his feet resting on what look like tongues of flame although, given the unclear depiction, they might possibly be flowing waters. The Tathāgata is shown performing one of his greatest wonders, the *yamaka-prātibhārya*, a precise moment of which has been captured. He is surrounded by worshippers while below, to his left, is a figure with turban, jewels and *dbotī* looking in a different direction and, apparently, pulling a cord. His bust twists round as if with the effort of pulling on it and, although the key figure is missing, I believe we have all the *lakṣaṇas* here needed to identify the subject of the panel as another illustration of the story narrated in the *Pāṭika Suttanta*.

(1) Dr Anna Maria Quagliotti of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples kindly drew my attention to this relief, which is now in the Allahabad Museum, No. 142, ht. 0.38 m. It is described, although not reproduced, in Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum. A Descriptive Catalogue*, Poona, n.d. (1971?), pp. 66-67, no. 100, where the author identifies it as the Miracle of Śrīvastī: 'The Buddha, nimbate, stands on a stool, water issuing from his feet. The flames, sometimes shown issuing from the shoulders, are not depicted. The head with its rather large and bulbous *uṣṇīṣa* is covered with heavy curls crossed by incisions. The robe (*saṃghāṭī*) covers both the shoulders and clings to some portions of the rather squat body. The five subsidiary figures in attendance wear Kuṣāṇa turbans. The figure on the lower right has the upper garment tied around the waist over the *dbotī*. The top of the stele is bordered with a simple saw-tooth design. Reference: J. Hackin, *La sculpture Indienne et Tibétaine au Musée Guimet*, Paris 1931, p. 8, pl. XIII'.

In a recent study on the *yamaka-prātibhārya* ⁽²⁾ Prof. Dieter Schlingloff had some objections to make on my interpretation of these Gandharan reliefs, reasserting his opinion that they simply portray the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī ⁽³⁾. He argues that this 'by no means unique or singular' group of reliefs showing the mortification of the seated naked ascetic while the Buddha performs one of his greatest wonders, depicts the final stage of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, when the 'heretics' are humiliated. He sees the naked ascetic seated in the pavilion as the 'nigrantha Pūraṇa, prototype of the six heretics', while the figure shown from behind in the so-called Sikri panel is identified as the *yakṣarāja* Pāṇḍika. Also in the other reliefs considered the latter 'pulls the naked ascetic with a cord to get him up from his stool while the ascetic clings desperately to the mandapa pillar. The violent storm described by the texts as sweeping the mandapa away is beyond the depictive powers of the artists of Gandhāra. In the first of the newly published reliefs the companion of Pāṇḍika flings at Pūraṇa the pot of sand which, as the texts tell us, he had tied round his neck to drown himself in a pond. The third relief belonging to this group, unfortunately badly damaged, can be ascribed to the moment when the storm brings the pavilion down, showing Pūraṇa making off with the pot of sand' ⁽⁴⁾. Schlingloff also points out that 'The identification of these reliefs as depictions of the Pāṭikaputta episode in the Pāṭikasuttanta is therefore impossible since the miraculous demonstration is represented in the Pali canon alone, while the literary sources of the Sanskrit tradition — the one authority for the Gandharan reliefs — and notably the *Bhārgavasūtra*, make no mention of the miracle' ⁽⁵⁾. The *Bhārgavasūtra* survives in three fragments alone, in Sanskrit, coming from Central Asia ⁽⁶⁾. There are many gaps in the text and it is quite possible that the part of the narrative dealing with the Buddha's prodigious performance has been lost. An account of the contest between the Tathāgata and the naked ascetic Pāṭikaputta is also given in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* (*Ch'ang-a-ban-ching*, sūtra 15) ⁽⁷⁾, and Waldschmidt himself tells us that the Chinese version includes 'the entire episode as set out in the Pali text. However, there are some differences in the details. The text is in general richer and more ornate, as attested by the number of miracles performed by the Buddha, with the aim of defeating Pāṭikaputta. In Pali there are only eight, but the Chinese version has as many as 36' (*op. cit.*, 1980, V, p. 111). Elsewhere Waldschmidt points out that, although fragmentary,

(2) D. Schlingloff, 'Yamakaprātibhārya und Buddhapiṇḍi in der alterbuddhistischen Kunst', *Berliner Indologische Studien*, 6, 1991, pp. 109-31

(3) Recently Dr Ju-hyung Rhi, too, in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis (*Gandhāran Images of the 'Śrāvastī Miracle': An Iconographic Reassessment*, University of California, Berkeley 1991, pp. 66-69), identified the much-discussed relief from Sikri as a portrayal of the miraculous Śrāvastī episode. My thanks go to Prof. M. Taddei for giving me access to a copy of this important dissertation kindly sent to him by Dr Rhi.

(4) Schlingloff, *op. cit.*, Nachtrag, pp. 1-2.

(5) Schlingloff, *ibid*

(6) E. Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften aus der Turfanfunden*, Teil I, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 23-25; Teil V, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 107-211; 216-19.

(7) F. Weller, 'Über den Aufbau des Pāṭikasuttanta, II. Übersetzung des Chinesischen Textes', *Asia Major*, V, 1930, pp. 104-40.



Fig. 1 - Allahabad Museum, No. 142 (Photo, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, Neg. no. 14-69).

the Sanskrit text displays a wealth of detail equal to that of the Chinese and Pali versions, but that the course of events related in the *Bhārgavasūtra* shows greater analogy with the Pali sources. Considering the striking affinities to be found between the two versions of the episode, it seems quite probable that the *Bhārgavasūtra* also took account of the Buddha's miraculous performance. In fact, the narrative in the fragments found at Turfan goes straight from the story of the lion and the jackal, as recounted to Pāṭikaputta by Jāliya, to the final stage of the episode, leaving out the intervening part which is precisely where the wonders performed by the Tathāgata would be related. Although missing from the patchy fragments of the *Bhārgavasūtra* that have come down to us, description of the wonders worked by the Buddha might well have been included in the complete original Sanskrit version.

Moreover, although the Gandharan reliefs are undeniably inspired for the most part by episodes recounted in the Sanskrit sources, the possibility remains that the *sūtra* in the version found at Turfan may have undergone some modifications from the original version which those who created or conceived the reliefs in question drew upon. Among other things, given the affinity displayed by certain *sūtras* in the Sanskrit and Pali canon (although the latter places greater stress on the luminous aspect of the Tathāgata's miraculous deeds), it is in a number of cases hard to deny any credibility to the hypothesis that a Pali version of the stories is reflected in the Gandhāra reliefs ⁽⁶⁾.

The identification suggested by Prof. Schlingloff also shows a number of weak points. In the first place, there is as far as I can see no evidence that the figure pulling the ascetic seated on a stool with a cord is in fact Pāṇcika. To my knowledge, the *yakṣarāja* can be portrayed in various ways — as a prince, a beardless youth and, more often, a warrior with a spear, possibly showing Central Asian features. The Gandharan artists appear to favour the latter iconographic variant, never involving the figure in narrative episodes, and it therefore seems to me highly unlikely that he should in this case appear as protagonist of the action alongside the Buddha. Moreover, Pāṇcika plays a decidedly secondary role in the *Divyāvadāna* account, where he appears at the end, unleashing a violent storm against the heretics and putting them to flight but in no way comes into direct contact with the Buddha's rival ascetics. As the *Pratibhāyasūtra* tells us, Pāṇcika appeared on the scene when: 'Cette réflexion lui vint à l'esprit: Voilà des imposteurs qui tourmenteront longtemps encore Bhagavat et l'Assemblée des Religieux. Plein de cette idée, il suscita un grand orage, accompagné de vent et de pluie qui fit disparaître l'édifice destiné aux Tirthiyas. Ceux-ci, atteints par le tonnerre et par la pluie, se mirent à fuir dans toutes les directions' ⁽⁷⁾. Pāṇcika's role has decidedly little influence on the action in the story, and he could more appropriately be identified as the bearded figure

(6) It is worth recalling that when depicting the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī the artists of Gandhāra seem to favour the moment when the Buddha issues flames and waters, while the multiplication of the images of the Tathāgata is less frequently portrayed. The latter wonder belongs to the same episode but occupies a central position in the story as narrated by the Sanskrit sources, notably the *Divyāvadāna*. Thus the depictions do not always follow the Sanskrit version with absolute rigour. In this connection see R.L. Brown, 'The Śrāvastī Miracle in the Art of India and Dvāravati', *AAA*, XXXVII, 1984, pp. 79-95.

(7) The passage from the *Divyāvadāna* is quoted from E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, 2nd ed., Paris 1876, p. 165.

appearing above the pavilion in all the reliefs examined. Although he shows the features of Vajrapāṇi, this figure wields a *vajra* which could qualify him as one who stirs the tempest ⁽¹⁰⁾.

Moreover, the story of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī makes not the slightest mention of seated naked ascetics who cannot or will not stand up — on the contrary, they are very quick to flee. I should also like to point out that the naked ascetic who committed suicide on account of the mortification suffered during the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, and whom Prof. Schlingloff identifies with the fat naked figure seated below the pavilion, is not the 'nigrantha Pūraṇa' but, rather, Pūraṇa Kāśyapa — one of the 'heretical' masters close to the Ājīvika doctrines ⁽¹¹⁾.

In my 1991 article I also compared the bas-reliefs in question with a Gupta-period relief from Sarnath now in the Indian Museum of Calcutta: I was then unaware that this relief had already been published by Joanna Williams in an article she had written on the Sarnath stelae ⁽¹²⁾. Here the American scholar identifies the scene as the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, taking the fat naked ascetic to be the Pūraṇa Kāśyapa mentioned in the texts. Williams also publishes various other reliefs showing a fat naked ascetic beside the Buddha, who is performing the second part of the so-called 'Twin Miracle'. Four stelae are considered: two in the Sarnath Museum, one in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and one in the Allahabad Museum ⁽¹³⁾. In the case of the latter two stelae, moreover, the scene in the lower left-hand side showing the naked ascetic seated on a stool with a companion holding him at waist-level from behind appears to be repeated mirror-wise in the lower left-hand corner of the same relief. However, this emphasis on the detail of the naked ascetic appears somewhat anomalous in the context of

⁽¹⁰⁾ Although in the Pali version of the so-called 'Twin Miracle' referred to in the Dhammapada commentary (E. W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends Translated from the Original Pali Text of the Dhammapada Commentary*, Harvard Oriental Series, 28-30, London 1969, vol. 3, pp. 35 ff.) it is Sakka, or Indra, who unleashes the storm.

⁽¹¹⁾ See A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, London 1951, pp. 80-90. Misapplication of the appellation *nigrantha* to religious figures who took to nakedness although not followers of the Jain doctrine is quite common in the Buddhist sources.

In the version of the episode included in the *Ssu-pen-lu* (*Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*) cited by J. Rhi (*op. cit.*, pp. 225 ff.), in the place of Pūraṇa appears the naked ascetic Pāthikaputra, who commits suicide throwing himself into a pond with a large stone tied round his neck. Rhi sees this as a *contaminatio*: it appears certain that whoever compiled this version drew on the Pāthikaputra episode recounted in the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Dīrgha-nikāya* to reconstruct the account of the Great Miracle; he also points out that both the *Ssu-pen-lu* and the *Dīrgha-āgama* have connections with the *Dharmaguptaka* school (Rhi, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 234). Among other things, the formula used in the challenge the heretics issue to the Buddha is the same as that given in the *Pāṭika-suttanta* in the *Dīrgha-nikāya*: in particular, the statement about the 'half-way' meeting between the contenders in the Pāthika episode recurs in various versions of the Great Miracle apart from the previously mentioned source (in the *Ken-pen-shuo-i-ch'ieh-yu-pu p'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, or *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, and in the *prātibhārya-sūtra* of the *Divyavadāna*). All this suggests that the episode of the naked ascetic Pāthikaputra (Pāṭikaputta) — undoubtedly associated with the Buddha's performance of the *yamaka-prātibhārya* — was fairly well-known in the Buddhist world, or at least in some of its schools.

⁽¹²⁾ J. Williams, 'Sarnath Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life', *Art Orientalis*, X, 1975, pp. 171-92.

⁽¹³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 172, fig. 3; p. 173, figs. 6, 7, 8.

the Great Miracle. Finally, the two Nāgas Nanda and Upananda usually included in depictions of the Miracle of Śrāvastī are absent from the two reliefs in the Sarnath Museum.

One possibility is that these two panels may have something to do with the bizarre story of the naked ascetic Pāṭikaputta, although he is usually associated with portrayals of the second part of the *yamaka-prātibhārya* when the Buddha multiplies himself on myriad lotus flowers.

A point that emerges clearly when seeking evidence in the literary sources is that the luminous aspect of the wonders is given particular emphasis in accounts of the miraculous events in the life of the Buddha in the Pali texts, while the Sanskrit texts pass over this feature. Thus it is possible that these reliefs — removed from the Gandhāra reliefs in space and time ⁽¹⁴⁾ — may also have referred to other variants of the story, possibly present in the Sanskrit texts at the time.

The reliefs examined by Williams include two that do not show the naked ascetics we are concerned with but contain a number of interesting features ⁽¹⁵⁾. The main scenes on these two stelae are practically framed by Buddhas, either standing or seated on lotus flowers. Since the main scenes do not include the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī, the author suggests — despite certain misgivings — that these may in fact be further portrayals of the wonder. In fact, she points out that in these reliefs '[...] Buddhas are represented without one point of origin on either side of other life scenes: for lack of a better explanation for their presence on lotuses, however, the traditional identification of these as the Great Miracle seems acceptable' ⁽¹⁶⁾. However, in the absence of certain essential features characterizing depiction of the Great Miracle one cannot help wondering whether this type of portrayal might also be connected with the story of Pāṭikaputta.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The modes of depiction adopted in Gupta-period stelae can also be seen in sculptures of the same period connected with the Pāla art tradition: see, e.g., S. Kramrisch, 'Pāla and Sena Sculptures', *Rupam*, Oct. 1929, fig. 11.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 173, fig. 9; p. 174, fig. 10.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

A Newly Discovered Verse of the *Sekoddeśa*

by RANIERO GNOLI

While reading Vajragarbha's commentary to the *Hevajratāntra*, the *Hevajratāntrapiṇḍār-
tbaṭikā*, I came across a verse which is the same as *Sekoddeśa*, 52 cd ⁽¹⁾:

karnikāt karnikāmadhye 'vadhutyā gatir āgatīḥ

The verse is part of a long quotation of the *Hevajratāntramūlatantra*, that as far as I know, is quoted by Vajragarbha only. This implies that the unknown author of the *Hevajratāntramūlatantra* knew the *Sekoddeśa*, or possibly vice-versa. I am more inclined to the first hypothesis.

My retranslation into Sanskrit of this verse ⁽²⁾ is particularly clumsy and badly-rendered. I made the inexcusable mistake of rendering the Tibetan *lie ba* with *nābhi* instead of *karnikā*. Nāropā himself quotes correctly '*karnikāt karnikāmadhye*'. But (what is worse) I have declined the genitive of *avadbūtī* as *avadbūteḥ* and not as *avadbūtyā*. I hope that the retranslation of the other stanzas is not so unfortunate.

In the first stanza of the *Sekoddeśa* one should read obviously *śāstas* for *śāsta*.

⁽¹⁾ See MS 693, National Archives Kathmandu, Nepal, fol. 20b, 1 and MS 128, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, fol. 21a, 4

⁽²⁾ Recently appeared in 'On the Sanskrit Text' in G. Orofino, *Sekoddeśa. A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translations*, SOR, LXXII, Roma 1994, p. 136.

Historic Rock-Carvings in Dir District

by MOHAMMAD ASHRAF KHAN

Location and Previous Research

Rock-carvings in Dir District were first observed by Dr Ahmad Hassan Dani at Damkot and Mian Barangola and dated by him between the 6th and the 7th century A.D. (Dani 1968-69). Mane Tangai is about 3 miles north of Mian Barangola and preserves one of the most important groups of Buddhist carved boulders.

They are located on the banks of the river Swat in the heart of the mountains, but sometimes they are found at a considerable height, at the top of a mountain. In most cases these rock-carvings were executed on boulders near Buddhist shrines for the purpose of worship.

Recent Research

In October 1993 I revisited Mane Tangai (Figs. 1-2) with Dr Luca M. Olivieri of the Italian Archaeological Mission to verify the existence and the state of preservation of the rock-carvings. We took photographs and the measurements of the rock-carvings in order to document the present state of this important archaeological complex.

While surveying the area, I discovered some rock-carvings representing Buddhas, Bodhisattvas (including Padmapāṇi), and Gaṇeśa, which had not been noticed by Dr Dani, as was confirmed to me by Dr Abdur Rahman, Chairman, Department of Archaeology, Peshawar University, on October 27, 1993. He said, 'We saw only one huge granite boulder near a modern mosque at Mane Tangai, on which Buddhist images were carved; we saw no other rock-carvings at this village'.

Dr Dani (1968-69: 253-54) reported: —

[...] One group of these engravings is seen at the foot of the Damkot Range just on the bank of the Swat river worked on the stray rocks lying in the neighbourhood. These were possibly done by the Buddhist monks who lived in the monasteries on the top of the hill. They must have come down to the river Swat for fetching water and in their leisure hours they spent the time in carving these figures. The second group can be seen in the scattered boulders in the village of Mane Tangai, about three miles north of Mian Barangola, which is itself eight miles west of Chakdara fort. High up on the hill is the proper monastery but in the village itself near a modern mosque there is a huge granitic boulder standing upright facing east. There are other boulders scattered for about a mile. On the tall standing boulder and on a few of them in its neighbourhood the engravings have been done. It seems that the Buddhist monks on way up to the monastery must have stopped here for rest, and finding suitable stones they worked the figures on them.

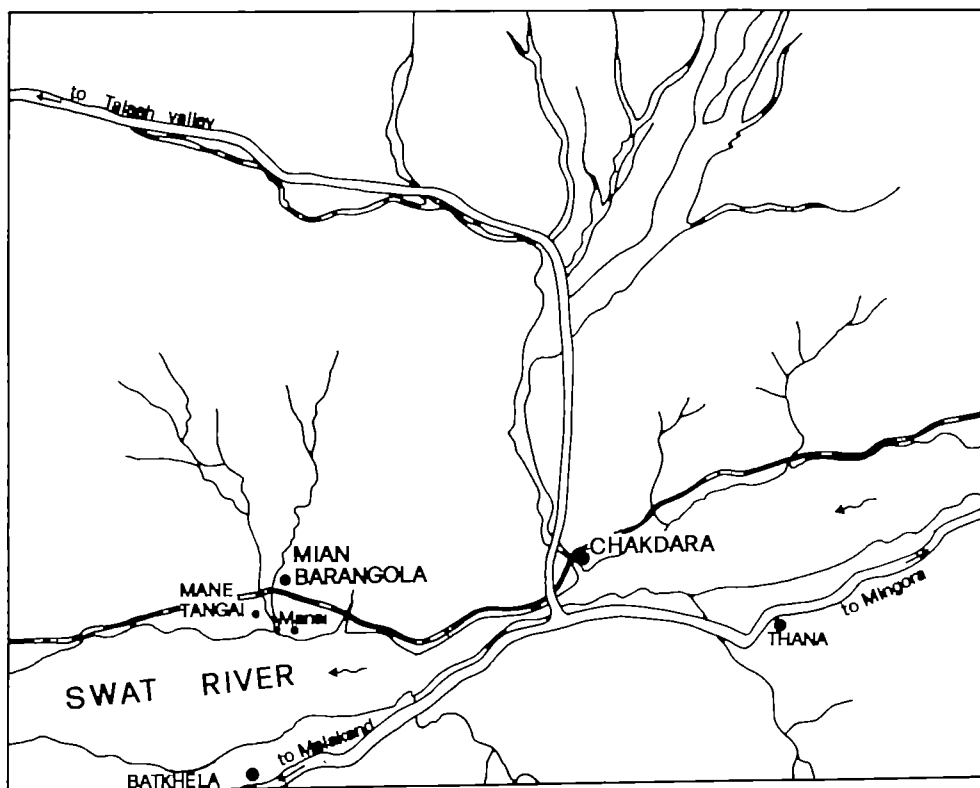


Fig. 1 - A sketch map including the area surveyed.

The carvings discovered by us are also in the vicinity of ancient ruins, presumably belonging to a Buddhist sacred area. In particular — as was kindly pointed out to me by Dr Olivieri — the carvings we found seem to be located along a path which climbs up the valley to a hillock where the remains of walls and a great number of sherds may be observed. At first sight this pottery appears to be fairly late.

Materials and Technique

Roch-carvings are found on the boulders of different geological formations, wherever they were conveniently visible to the traveller. In Swat and Dir they are usually executed on calcareous rock, granitic gneiss, and phyllite.

According to Dr Dani (1968-69: 254),

The usual method of carving was to smoothen the surface by undercutting and chiselling and leaving the space in the middle for the figures. The lines of the figures were drawn on the



Fig. 2 - The valley of Mane Tangai; the Swat valley in the background (Photo L.M. Olivieri).

left-over stone surface and the unwanted portion was cut out. Thus all these figures were actually made in low relief. But as the depth was too small, they have not come out boldly.

It seems that the images were carved with some metal instruments, especially the hammer, chisel, and knife.

State of Preservation

Today the state of preservation of our rock-carvings is not good. Most of them have been worn away and defaced, some by the flood waters of the river, as in the case of the images at Damkot village. In some places the images were blasted by the people in order to construct houses or a road; in some cases they were even fired at with guns by ignorant and fanatic people. In this connection Dani (*ibid.*) commented: —

[...] they have been constantly washed by the flood water of the river Swat. As a result they are much decayed and it is difficult to recognise the figures. Years of exposure have blackened the surface and the camera can hardly catch the lines of the figures.

In some cases people have cut off the heads of the images and now only the lower parts of the bodies survive. Nevertheless it is clear that these reliefs were not only damaged by the cruel hand of man, but also withered by the climatic conditions, humidity, pollution — foam and lichens appear directly on the boulders and penetrate into the surface. This is particularly true in the case of calcareous rock. However there are some images on boulders which were covered by layers of clay through a natural process, and are therefore in a good state of preservation.

Rock-Carvings at Mane Tangai and Manai

These two sites (Lat. 34°39'N, Long. 73°56'E; Survey of Pakistan 1:50,000 map, 2nd ed., 38 N/14) preserve rock carvings which depict images of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (a Mahayanic subject), and Gaṇeśa, a Hindu god.

The Buddhas are seated in *dhyānamudrā*, with half-closed eyes and clearly marked *uṣṇīṣa* and *ūṣṇā*.

Padmapāṇi is depicted both seated and standing, wearing a dhoti. When seated he is in *lalitāsana* on a throne, his right hand touching his chin, his left hand on his thigh, holding a lotus by the stalk. The standing Padmapāṇi holds a lotus stalk in his left hand while his right is in *varadamudrā*. Sometimes the hands are at waist height.

Gaṇeśa was first found in Dir District, but a similar image of this god was also noticed near Talegram on the site of Qala (Ugad valley, Swat) (Olivieri in Faccenna et al. 1993: 263, figs. 6-7). The fact that both at Manai and Qala, Padmapāṇi and Gaṇeśa were carved on the same boulder is clear evidence that Gaṇeśa was worshipped by the Buddhists as well.

Chronology

Professor G. Tucci was very cautious in suggesting a date for the rock-carvings in the Swat valley. He said (Tucci 1958: 324): —

[...] it is difficult to place these images chronologically, because they are of different workmanship and they may spread over a great space of time, but I should say that generally they cannot be older than the seventh century and later than the tenth.

Dr Dani (1968-69: 251) attempted a more precise dating for the rock-carvings in Dir District: —

[...] The new materials found in Dir have now placed at our disposal sufficient evidence to give a definite chronology to these carvings. According to this chronological scheme they fall in 6th-7th centuries A.D. and thus they bear out the chief evidence that the Gandhara art did not come to an end in the fifth century by the so-called destruction of the White Huns. It continued and evolved new forms and styles until it merged itself in the art of the Hindu Shahis.

* * *

CATALOGUE

Mane Tangai, Boulder 1

A large boulder of granitic gneiss which presents six images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, all facing east.

01. Buddha in *dhyānamudrā*
150 × 105 cm
Half-closed eyes; *urnā*, *uṣṇīṣa* and halo behind head visible.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 255, no. 193, pl. 99a; pl. 99b, 1st from left.
02. Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* on *padmāsana*
80 × 69 cm
Face much damaged; *padmāsana* hardly recognizable.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 255, no. 194, pl. 99b, 2nd from left.
03. Standing Padmapāṇi
140 × 55 cm
Lotus stalk in left hand; right hand in *varadamudrā*.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 255, no. 194, pl. 99b, 3rd from left.
04. Buddha in *dharmacakramudrā* on *padmāsana*
110 × 110 cm
Halo behind head visible; face and hands badly damaged.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 255, no. 194, pl. 99b, 4th from left.
05. Standing Bodhisattva
110 × 65 cm
Right hand against waist; left hand stretched down. The whole figure is badly damaged.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 255, no. 194, pl. 99b, 5th from left.
06. Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* on *padmāsana*
85 × 72 cm
Large halo behind head visible. Face much damaged.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 255, no. 194, pl. 99b, 6th from left.



Fig. 3 - Mane Tangai, Boulder 2, carving no. 7
(Author's photo).

Mane Tangai, Boulder 2

Five images are visible on this boulder of granitic gneiss, but there is also a faint trace of a sixth one (left of no. 9), consisting of part of the halo. No. 7 faces south, the other image face east.

07. Seated Padmapāṇi (Fig. 3)
162 × 115 × 10 cm

Padmapāṇi is seated in *lalitāsana* on a massive throne which is supported by a lotus flower. Head badly damaged. Its state of repair seems to have deteriorated from the time of Dr Dani's survey. Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 255, no. 198, pl. 101a.

08. Seated Padmapāṇi and other images
Main image: 150 × 90 × 10 cm
Similar to preceding one. A small-size seated Buddha is visible on either side of the Bodhisattva's head. Close to the seat there are two donors on either side. Another seated Padmapāṇi, smaller in size and poorly preserved, is seen at the bottom right.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 256, no. 199, pl. 101b.
09. Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* on *padmāsana* (Fig. 4, left)
66 × 70 cm
Halo behind head quite distinct. Badly damaged especially on face and *padmāsana*
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 256, no. 200, pl. 102a.
10. Two seated Padmapāṇis (Fig. 4, middle)
90 × 60 cm (left); 80 × 45 cm (right)
In *lalitāsana* on massive thrones. Both of them have halo behind head; each of them holds a lotus by the stalk in his left hand resting on thigh; right hand touches chin.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 256, no. 201, pl. 102b.
11. Two seated Buddhas (Fig. 4, right)
40 × 23 cm (left); 42 × 25 cm (right)
Both are in *dhyānamudrā* on *padmāsana*. Badly defaced.
Publ.: — Dani 1968-69: 256, no. 202, pl. 102c.

Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 3

This is a calcareous boulder (190 × 92 cm), found higher up than the preceding ones. It depicts a group of four Bodhisattvas, facing south. Not seen by Dr Dani.

12. A group of four Bodhisattvas (Fig. 5)
Left to right: 82 × 34; 90 × 74 × 6; 76 × 35; 71 × 58 cm
Alternating standing and seated Bodhisattvas. Right to left. A) Standing on low pedestal, with left hand resting on thigh, right hand in *varadamudrā*. Very badly damaged; halo dimly visible behind head. B) Seated on high throne in *lalitāsana*; lotus stalk in left hand, right hand touching chin. Badly damaged; halo dimly visible behind head. C) Standing on low pedestal, with left hand resting on thigh and holding lotus stalk, right hand in *varadamudrā*. Badly damaged. D) Seated on throne, with left elbow resting on knee, while the right hand, against waist, holds some round object; halo dimly visible behind head. The face of the figure is badly damaged.

Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 4

A calcareous boulder found at the same height as the preceding one, but slightly to the south of it. It shows two images, close to each other, both facing southeast. Not seen by Dr Dani.

13. Dhyāni-Buddha on *padmāsana* (Fig. 6, right)
135 × 63 × 6 cm
Seated on *padmāsana* supported by massive throne. Large and slightly elongated halo clearly carved behind head. Damaged especially on face and hands.



Fig. 4 - Mane Tangai, Boulder 2, carvings nos. 9 to 11 (Photo L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 5 - Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 3, group of carvings no. 12 (Photo L.M. Olivieri).

14. Seated Padmapāṇi (Fig. 6, left)

132 × 69 × 8 cm)

In *lalitāsana* on high massive throne, his left hand resting on thigh and holding a lotus by the stalk; right hand brought to shoulder height. Halo just visible behind head. Damaged especially on face and right arm and leg.

Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 5

A calcareous boulder a little higher up than the preceding one. It shows a group of three figures, facing south. Not seen by Dr Dani.

15. A Buddha and two Bodhisattvas (Fig. 7)

51 × 30 × 2 cm (the Buddha); 31 × 40; 77 × 48 × 4 cm (the two Bodhisattvas)

A) The Buddha is seated on *padmāsana*, with right hand in *bhūmisparsamudrā* (?) and left holding a bowl (?); a large halo behind his head. B) A small seated Bodhisattva (Padmapāṇi?), whose details are not clear. C) Padmapāṇi seated on *padmāsana*, with left hand holding a lotus by the stalk, right folded and touching his chin; badly damaged.

Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 6

As one climbs up the valley and turns west, one comes to this calcareous boulder. On its west face, five carvings are visible in one group. Not seen by Dr Dani.

16. A group of three Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas (Figs. 8-9)

Left to right: 71 × 31 × 3 (Bodhisattva); 25 × 12 (Buddha); 56 × 44 × 2 (Buddha); 66 × 27 × 5 (Bodhisattva); 27 × 17 cm (Buddha)

Left to right: A) Standing Padmapāṇi with right hand in *varadamudrā*, left holding a lotus by the stalk; elaborate headdress and long dhoti; locks of hair touching the shoulders. A fairly well preserved image (Fig. 9). B) A badly damaged Buddha in *dhyānamudrā*. C) A haloed Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* on a high throne. D) A Bodhisattva standing on a low pedestal, with left hand against the waist and right hand in *varadamudrā*; damaged especially on face. E) A small image of the Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* on *padmāsana*, with halo dimly visible behind his head; a badly damaged figure.

Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 7

This small boulder of granitic gneiss is found to the west of the preceding ones and at a much lower level, as one goes towards the streamlet of the Mane Tangai valley. It shows two carved images close to each other, both facing southeast (Fig. 10). Not seen by Dr Dani.

17. Seated Padmapāṇi (Fig. 11)

103 × 64 × 7 cm

Padmapāṇi in *lalitāsana* on a low throne, his left hand resting on left thigh and holding a lotus by the stalk, his right hand touching his chin. A badly damaged figure; head lost.

18. Gaṇeśa (Fig. 12)

74 × 41 × 4.5 cm

The pot-bellied, elephant-headed god is seated on a low throne with crossed legs; halo behind his head. He is four-armed: his upper right hand holds a radish or a trident (?), his lower right is in *varadamudrā*, his upper left holds an axe, his lower left resting on his thigh is lost. A bead necklace hangs on his chest. The god's face is damaged.



Fig. 6 - Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 4, carvings nos. 13 and 14 (Author's photo).



Fig. 7 - Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 5, group of carvings no. 15 (Photo L.M. Olivieri).

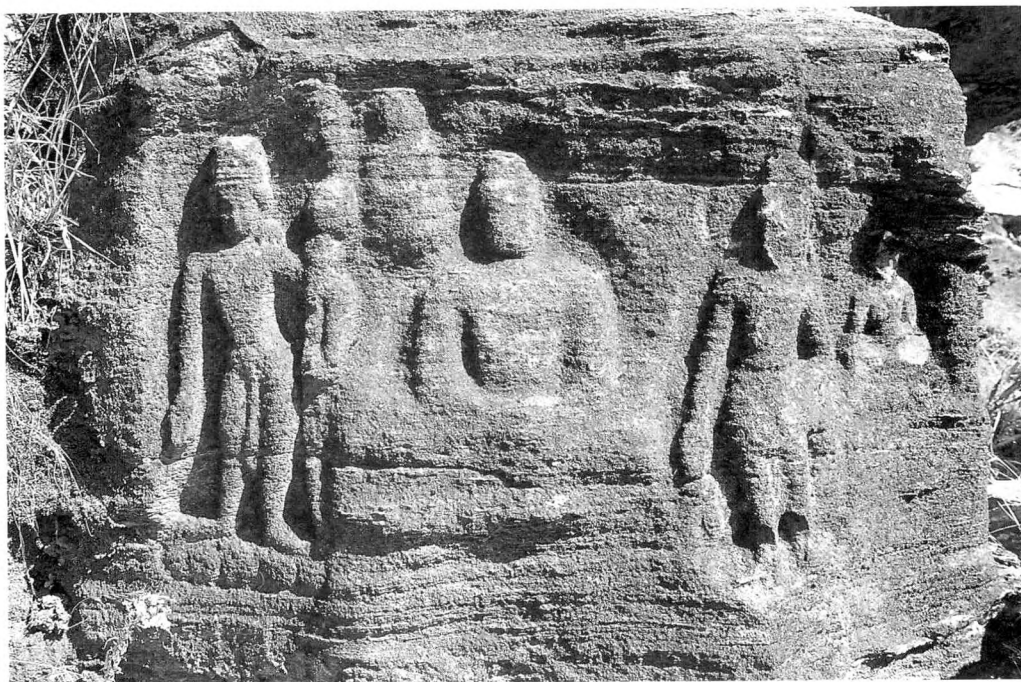


Fig. 8 - Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 6, group of carvings no. 16 (Photo L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 9 - A detail of Fig. 7, showing the Bodhisattva on the left (Photo L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 10 - Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 7 (Photo L.M. Olivieri).



Fig. 11 - Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 7, Padmapāṇi (Author's photo).



Fig. 12 - Manai (Mane Tangai), Boulder 7, Gaṇeśa (Photo L.M. Olivieri).

Recent Discoveries of Rock-Carving in Buner and Puran (NWFP, Pakistan)

by LUCA M. OLIVIERI

Introduction

In the context of the activities carried out by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan under the direction of Dr D. Faccenna, a large amount of space has recently been devoted to documenting Buddhist sculptures carved in rock, including reliefs and stelae, in the Swat region. The material in question is fairly late (probably 6th-7th century A.D.) and displays iconographic characteristics linked with world of Mahāyāna Buddhism, with the presence of Hindu elements identified in a few cases (see Taddei 1962; 1985; Olivieri in Faccenna et al. 1993; Ashraf Khan 1994). From the stylistic viewpoint, some of these carvings display a clear break with the Gandharan tradition coupled with an equally evident sensitivity towards a handling of volume and form that is closer to Indian and especially Kashmirian art (see Callieri 1985: 204-5). The work is of strictly religious character, being concerned specifically with worship and ritual, and is well known (see in particular Stein 1898; 1930; Barger & Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Taddei 1962; Dani 1968-69; Callieri 1985; 1986; Taddei 1985; Said Qamar & Ashraf Khan 1991; Sardar & Hashmi 1993) despite the lack of any systematic examination hitherto. The purpose of the recent activities of the IsMEO Mission in this direction was to carry out a photographic and documentary survey encompassing, as far as possible, all the sculptures *in situ*, many of which are already known, and those (particularly the stelae) collected over the years particularly in the Swat Archaeological Museum at Saidu Sharif. The survey commenced in 1987 (Callieri 1990; Olivieri in Faccenna et al. 1993) and can finally be regarded as complete. It will shortly be published by the IsMEO and by the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples, in the form of a book by Dr Anna Filigenzi with contributions by other scholars.

During this period, efforts were focused on the area covering the valley of the Swat river and the valleys of its major tributaries but were not confined solely to these sectors. Numerous but quite fruitless reconnaissance missions were carried out along the trails connecting Swat with the Gilgit region and at the mountain passes, especially those connecting Swat with the regions of Buner and Puran. Our interest in the mountain passes connecting Swat and the neighbouring regions stemmed from an interesting working hypothesis suggesting a possible connection between the rock carvings and the paths used by Buddhist pilgrims to reach places of worship in Swat (Callieri 1985: 205-6). Examination, including the documentation of over a hundred rock-carvings, showed that the location of the reliefs and stelae was nearly always connected with the presence of Buddhist sacred areas. They are in fact mostly found in the

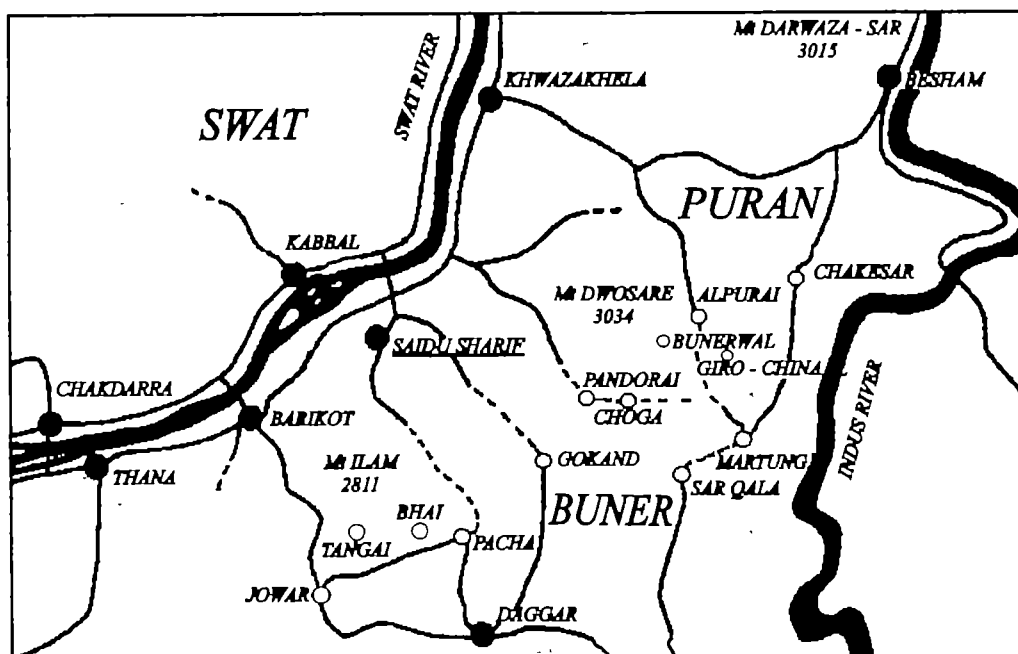


Fig. . - A sketch map of the areas involved in reconnaissance.

immediate vicinity of places of worship and follow a local pattern of distribution, almost like *place* of meditation for pilgrims arriving at the sacred areas.

It is thus possible to identify a number of places where these carvings are particularly common. These include the Swat valley from Jare to Mane Tangai and the valleys of the Ugad, the Landai, the Jambil and the Saidu as well as a number of distinct sites identified by the most recent research in Buner and Puran.

Fruitful reconnaissance missions were carried out in the latter areas in the autumn of 1993 with the help of Mr Fazal Wahid; the wealth of perspectives opened up in both regions make these surveys, which completed the research previously carried out, a starting point for further studies (Fig. 1).

Reconnaissance in Buner

The rock-carvings in Buner were the first of all to come to light (Stein 1898) and the first to be forgotten. Our research thus followed the literary 'clues' left by Sir Aurel Stein with a view to carrying out a photographic survey of the material discovered by the great scholar but unfortunately not photographed. As Stein himself put it, 'In view of the interest attaching to these sculptures, I regret that no photographs could be obtained of them' (*ibid.*: 14).

The site of Tangai was visited first (*ibid.*: 13-14; lat. $34^{\circ}34'$ N, long. $72^{\circ}19'$ E; SP 43 B/6); it is located NNE of Jowar, close to the end of the Charai valley (Fig. 2), where a relief

Fig. 2 - Valley of Charai seen from the south (Dep. CS Neg. L 17905/5a; photo L.M.O.).



is carved on a smooth cliff face (Fig. 3). A plateau with abundant remains of masonry structures lies at the bottom of the cliff.

The site of Bhai was visited next (*ibid.*: 22-23; lat. $34^{\circ}35'$ N, long. $72^{\circ}25'$ E; SP 43 B/6). The village of the same name lies at the foot of Mt Ilam on the alluvial plain formed



Fig. 3 - Tangai, the cliff face with carvings (Dep. CS Neg. L : 7905/7a; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 4 - Valley of Barandu seen from inside the shelter Bhai I (Dep. CS Neg. L 17905/30a; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 5 - The carvings of Bhai II seen from the south (Dep. CS Neg. L 17905/32a; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 6 - The carvings of Tangai (Dep. CS Neg. L 17905/12a; photo L.M.O.).

by the confluence of the Barandu and the Burjokanrai rivers. Above the village, near a spring at Jurjurai, a short distance after the ruins of the two *stūpas* (*ibid.*: 22-23), which can no longer be visited, a series of small reliefs (Fig. 4) are preserved inside a cave in the rocks (Bhai I). A second relief (Bhai II) not mentioned by Stein is found higher up on a broad plateau (Fig. 5) strewn with the remains of masonry structures (apparently belonging to a Buddhist monastery) ⁽¹⁾.

CATALOGUE

Location: Tangai

Fig. 6

Material: granitic gneiss

Measurements: a) $80 \times 57 \times 8$; b) $157 \times 86 \times 9$; c) $84 \times 56 \times 8$

Preservation: good

The relief depicts three haloed Bodhisattvas in a niche, the one in the middle being larger in size. They are bare-chested and dressed only in a dhoti. They wear tall tiaras and have shoulder-length hair. The relief is delimited at the top by a cable decoration in the shape of a *torāṇa*.

⁽¹⁾ Another relief, probably representing a Padmapāṇi, was noted (but unfortunately not photographed) by Stein in the village of Topdarsa, close to a Buddhist sacred area (about 6 km north of Daggar; Stein 1930: 96; $34^{\circ}34' \text{ N}$, $72^{\circ}31' \text{ E}$; SP 43 B/10). The relief was destroyed a few years ago during the construction of the Daggar-Gokand road.



Fig. 7 - The series of carvings inside the shelter Bhai I (Dep. CS Neg. L 17905/25a; photo L.M.O.).

- a) Padmapāṇi seated to the left in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* on a lotus cushion with a *dharmacakra* in the centre. Right hand resting on the knee and left holding the stem of a lotus flower.
- b) Padmapāṇi seated in the middle in *lalitāsana* on a high podium-throne with a lotus plinth. Index finger of right hand pointing at forehead (in pensive pose) and left holding the stem of a lotus flower.
- c) Padmapāṇi seated to the right on a lotus cushion in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana*. Right hand outstretched in *abhayamudrā* and left holding the stem of a lotus flower.

Location: Bhai I

Figs. 7-8

Material: granitic gneiss

Measurements: a) $71 \times 30 \times 9$; b) $95 \times 60 \times 9$; c) $70 \times 53 \times 4$; d) 42×35 ; e) $45 \times 35 \times 3.5$

Preservation: very poor

The poor state of preservation of this series of reliefs makes them barely decipherable.

- a) Standing figure in frontal view on the left, possibly a Bodhisattva (Fig. 8). Right hand positioned low and holding an *akṣamāla*; left hand holding a pilgrim's staff ⁽²⁾.
- b) Padmapāṇi seated in *lalitāsana* on a high throne. Right hand on forehead in pensive pose and left holding the stem of a lotus flower.

⁽²⁾ I am most grateful to A. Filigenzi for details of this attribute, which will be examined in detail in her forthcoming general work.



Fig. 8 - Bhai Ia: standing Bodhisattva (Dep. CS Neg. L 17905/27a; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 9 - The carvings of Bhai II (Dep. CS Neg. L 17905/33a; photo L.M.O.).

- c) Padmapāṇi seated to the left in *lalitāsana* on a high throne. Right hand resting on knee and left holding the stem of a lotus flower.
- d) Buddha seated on high throne in *padmāsana* with hands joined in *dhyānamudrā*.
- e) Padmapāṇi seated in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana*(?) on a high throne. Right hand on forehead in pensive pose and left holding the stem of a lotus flower.

Location: Bhai II

Material: granitic gneiss

Measurements: a) $147 \times 63 \times 8$; b) $140 \times 74 \times 6$

Preservation: good

Fig. 9

Two haloed Bodhisattvas both wearing high tiaras and plaited hair hanging behind the shoulders.

a) Padmapāṇi seated to the left in *lalitāsana* on a high podium-throne with a lotus plinth. Right hand on forehead in pensive pose and left holding the stem of a lotus flower. Bare-chested with loins covered by dhoti. Cushion foot-rest at the base of the throne.

b) Figure identified as Maitreya standing in frontal view to the right on lotus base. Right hand outstretched in *varadamudrā*; left hand positioned low and holding a *kamaṇḍalu*. Bare-chested with loins covered by long dhoti.

Reconnaissance in Puran

Though forgotten by the scholars as regards this type of carved monument, the region of Buner has attracted a great deal of attention from archaeologists. The same cannot be said of Puran, a region situated very near Swat but, at the same time, very difficult to reach because of the absolute lack of roads that are usable all year round and completely ignored by scholars until recently (apart from a brief mention in Stein 1930: 95). As regards the rock-carvings, the reconnaissance carried out by P. Callieri that led to the discovery of the highly interesting relief at Bunerwal (Fig. 10; Callieri 1985) can even be described as a pioneering enterprise. It was P. Callieri himself who had insisted that further reconnaissance should be carried out in Puran in the search for other items of Buddhist rock-carving, of whose existence he was absolutely convinced. In the event, his views were fully confirmed.

The reconnaissance mission of 1993 also confirmed the close connection between the presence of rock-carvings and places of worship or Buddhist sacred areas (which had also been borne out by investigations in Buner). The ruins of a large *stūpa* were in fact discovered at Giro-china, not far from the site of Bunerwal (lat. 34°44' N, long. 72°40' E; SP 43 B/10). Other mounds calling for closer examination were also identified in the vicinity of Bunerwal at Gumbad (*gumbat* is the Pukhtu term used to denote a *stūpa*).

Despite the large number of rock-carvings reported (e.g. at Milkanai and Shakolai above Choga), it was decided in view of the limited time available and the difficulty of moving camp to confine investigations to the reported presence of rock-carvings above Pandorai.

The village of Pandorai (Fig. 11) is situated beneath the Dwosare pass (which provides access to Swat after a two-day trek) near a steep hill called Kafir-dherai (lat. 34°41' N, long. 72°36' E; SP 43 B/10). By leaving the village in the SSE direction, skirting a beautiful, fully preserved wooden mosque and climbing back along the Mangweldara pass, one reaches a small limestone cave containing a large number of well-preserved relief-carvings. The onset of rain, which would have blocked the only road for days, made it impossible to remain at the site long enough to check out another interesting report regarding the presence of very abundant remains of masonry structures — possibly belonging to a Buddhist sacred area — at the top of the hill of Kafir-dherai. This claim appears quite plausible both because of the position and because of the place name commemorating a 'hill of infidel' (*kafir-dherai*).

CATALOGUE

Location: Kafir-dherai

Figs. 12-20

Material: limestone

Measurements: a) 127 × 74 × 14; b) 44 × 27 × 5; c) 70 × 50 × 8; d) 64 × 23 × 4; e) 47 × 44 × 4; f) 78 × 43 × 4; g) 68 × 35 × 4; h) 230 × 118 × 15; i) 34 × 24 × 2.5; j) 60 × 23 × 3.5; k) 74 × 43 × 3

Preservation: good

The cave contains a large number of projecting rocks with reliefs carved on their faces in no apparent order. These are described below starting from the right.

a) Haloed Buddha sitting in *padmāsana* on a high throne with podium, hands joined in *dhyanamudrā* and eyes closed (Figs. 12, 14). Wearing *paridhāna* and *uttariya*. The uprights of the back of the throne each end in a lanceolate point decorated with a rosette. The podium displays a *dharmacakra* on a plinth



Fig. 10 - The carving of Bunerwal (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/7; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 11 - The village of Pandorai seen from the Mangweldara pass; in the background the Dwosare pass (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/13; photo L.M.O.).

flanked by seated gazelles facing one another. The upper left-hand portion displays a very poorly preserved figure standing in frontal view and wearing a long flared tunic; possibly a donor.

b) Padmapāṇi seated to the left of the above carving in *lalitāsana* on the high throne with podium (Fig. 12). Halo barely distinguishable. Right hand on forehead in pensive pose, left hand holding stem of a lotus flower. Bare-chested and wearing a dhoti. Wearing a tall tripartite tiara with a high border and shoulder-length hair. There appears to be a swastika below the figure.

c) Practically in front of the first carving is another, severely damaged relief depicting Padmapāṇi seated to the left in *lalitāsana* on a high throne (Fig. 13). Left hand holding an unidentifiable attribute⁽²⁾.

d) Behind the previous carving there is a Padmapāṇi standing in frontal view on a lotus base (Fig. 15). Right hand held low in *varadamudrā*; left hand holding the stem of a lotus flower. Bare-chested and wearing a long dhoti with a short necklace and a tall tripartite tiara with a high border. Shoulder-length hair. The lower left-hand portion displays the small figure of a worshipper kneeling to the right with hands joined in *añjalimudrā*; frontal view of face surmounted by large tiara.

e) Padmapāṇi seated in *lalitāsana* on high throne with podium (Fig. 16). The figure is broken. Right hand probably in pensive pose; left hand holding the stem of a lotus flower. Bare-chested and wearing a dhoti.

f) In front of the previous carving is a Padmapāṇi with halo seated in *lalitāsana* on a high throne with podium (Fig. 17). In pensive pose with right hand on forehead and left hand holding the stem of a lotus flower. State of preservation not excellent but good enough to distinguish the dhoti and high tripartite tiara.

g) At the end of the cave is a Padmapāṇi (Fig. 18) identical to the previous figure. It is worth noting the lotus flower with four large petals and four smaller ones placed diagonally.

h) Standing to the right of the previous carving and in a similar position is a colossal relief depicting a Padmapāṇi (Figs. 19-20) flanked by three lesser figures (i, j, k). The Bodhisattva is sitting in *lalitāsana* on a high podium with a lotus plinth, the right hand in a pensive pose and the left hand delicately holding the sinuous stem of a lotus flower. The whole figure displays a very naturalistic pose accentuated, for example, by the slight inclination of the head to the right. The body is softly but fully modelled, as shown by the round stomach and other naturalistic features such as the folds of the neck. The excellent state of preservation makes it possible to observe a number of features (in particular of the tiara and the jewels) that are typically represented in this type of carving but difficult to examine in detail because of the very poor state of preservation generally found. Attention should in any case be drawn to the tripartite tiara, the necklace of large beads (Fig. 20), the typical collet-type bracelets and the natural rendering of the lotus leaf in profile.

i) Relief carved on the podium of the throne depicting a Bodhisattva seated in *lalitāsana* on a throne (Fig. 19). Right hand on knee and left hand apparently holding a *kamandatu* which hangs beyond the knee. Possibly representing Maitreya.

j) Carving situated to the right of the large-sized Padmapāṇi depicting a Padmapāṇi sitting in *lalitāsana* (Fig. 19). The right hand is held low in *varadamudrā* and the left holds the stem of a lotus flower.

k) A similar position is occupied by the figure of a Bodhisattva to the left of the large-sized Padmapāṇi (Fig. 19). The right hand is in *varadamudrā* but the left is bent backwards, possibly to hold a *kamandatu*. The figure could again represent Maitreya.

(2) This type of Bodhisattva is a recurrent figure in the Swat rock carvings.



Fig. 12 - Kafir-dherai, a, b: Buddha in *padmāsana* and Padmapāṇi to the left (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/19; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 13 - Kafir-dherai, c: Bodhisattva (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/26; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 14 - Kafir-dherai, a: detail of previous Buddha (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/23; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 15 - Kafir-dherai, d: standing Padmapāṇi (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/35; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 16 - Kafir-dherai, e: Padmapāṇi (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/24; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 17 - Kafir-dherai, f: Padmapāṇi (Dep. CS Neg. L 17919/7a; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 18 - Kafir-dherai, g: Padmapāṇi (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/27; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 19 - Kafir-dherai, h, i, j, k: colossal relief of Padmapāṇi in the middle (h); Bodhisattva on throne possibly representing Maitreya (i); Padmapāṇi to the right (j); another Bodhisattva, possibly Maitreya, to the left (k) (Dep. CS Neg. L 17915/30; photo L.M.O.).



Fig. 20 - Kafir-dherai, h: detail of face of colossal Padmapāṇi (Dep. CS Neg. L 17918/13; photo L.M.O.).

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The Earliest Temple of Lajjāgaurī? The Recent Evidence from Padri in Gujarat

by VASANT SHINDE

The recent excavations carried out at Padri, Gohil ni (Lat. 22°22' N, Long. 72°95' E), located in Talaja Taluka of Bhavnagar District, Gujarat, have produced significant evidence most probably concerning the presence of the earliest temple of Lajjāgaurī. The village is situated approximately 8 km to the west of Talaja and 50 km south of Bhavnagar town. Excavations at the ancient site, which lies roughly 2 km to the west of the village, revealed a threefold cultural sequence, namely the Pre-Harappan Padri culture (c. 3000 B.C.-2600 B.C.), Mature Harappan (c. 2500 B.C.-2100 B.C.) and Early Historical. The latter can be dated to the beginning of 1st century B.C. on account of the discovery of a copper coin similar to those issued by the Ksatrapa king Nahapana and the clay tablet bearing Brahmi script characteristic of the beginning of the Christian era (Shinde 1992).

The excavations carried out during the season of 1991-92, has brought to light a stone structure (No. 7), roughly rectangular with rounded corners, which was exposed partially at the base of layer (2). It is located almost in the central part of the habitation. Three courses of stone (basalt) foundation were visible. A large part of this structure still remains unexposed as it underlies the undug portion. The floor of this structure is well made and consists of alternate layers of gravel and clay rammed hard and plastered. The structure is 5.20 m long but its width could not be measured as the structure is not fully exposed.

On the southern side of this stone structure, a well made compact floor (structure 3) was exposed over an area of 5.90 m (north-south) and 3.70 m (east-west) (Fig. 1). The nature of this floor resembles in all respects the one encountered in stone structure (No. 7). At least five post-holes, two on the western periphery, one in the southern half of the floor and two almost in the central part of the floor, were found. Most of the postholes were located equidistant (1.40 m) from each other. The presence of these postholes on the periphery suggests that there was some sort of superstructure over this patch of floor. In the northwest part of this floor was a hard and roughly circular (diam. 1.50 m) mud platform, the height of which, visible in the section, is 20 cm. Unfortunately, most of the platform was destroyed in the process of digging (see Fig. 1). To the south of this platform, at a distance of 3.80 m, was another similar mud platform, slightly smaller in size (diam. 1.10 m). This floor is connected to the stone structure (No. 7) described above and was thus identifiable as its courtyard, with an overlying superstructure. The absence of cooking or storage facilities suggests that it was a non-domestic structure.

What is interesting to note here is that two terracotta plaques of Lajjāgaurī, one image each of lord Ganeśa and Viṣṇu, made in sandstone, were retrieved from the top of the floor

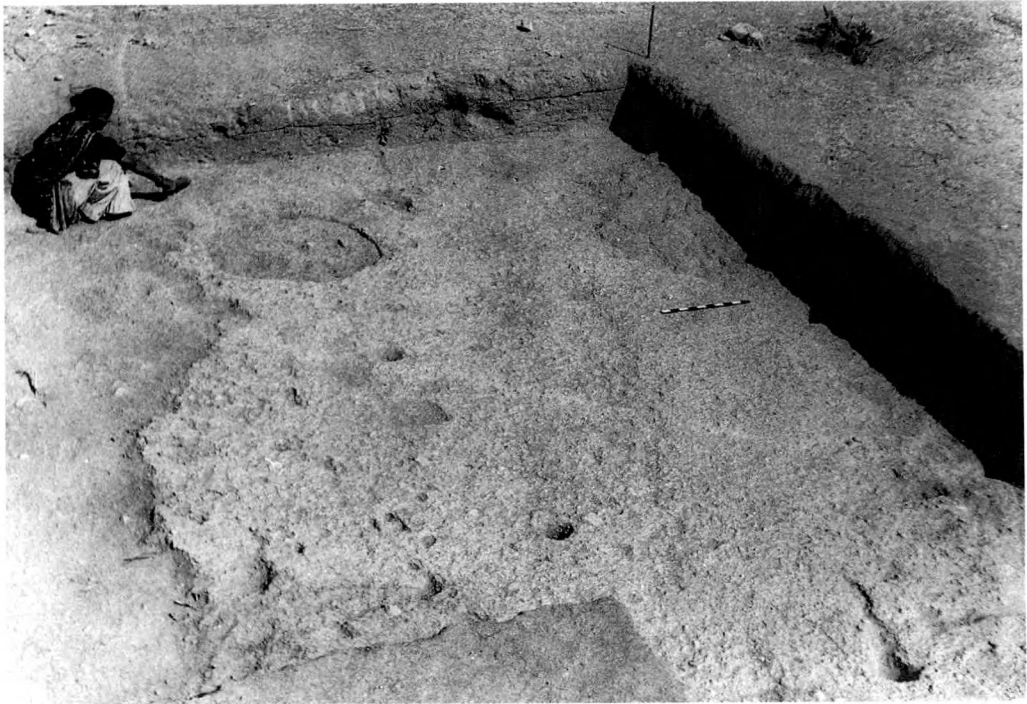


Fig. 1 - Roughly oval floor with one of the mud platforms visible in the eastern section.

(structure 3). The floor and two mud platforms assume great significance in the light of the discovery of these figurines. It is not far fetched to believe that it was a temple of Lajjāgaurī and the mud platforms were meant for the installation of these images.

In all, three Lajjāgaurī plaques have been found at Padri, of which the two recovered from the top of floor (structure 3) were made of terracotta and the third found on the surface is in slate stone. Of the two figurines recovered from the structure, one is complete and the other broken. The complete one is roughly rectangular in shape and measures 8 cm × 6.5 cm × 1.8 cm. The figure is in bas relief and all the details are not clearly visible. The human-headed goddess is shown seated as usual in her characteristic form, legs stretched apart and bent at the knees and hands raised upwards at the elbow. There is no trace of any ornamentation. On the left of the sculpture there appears to be a seated Nandi in a north-south direction with its head towards the south, whereas the figure on its right, which is partially damaged, appears to be a devotee (Fig. 2). The Lajjāgaurī plaque found at Valabhipur, roughly 80 km north of Padri, which is located in the same district, appears to be the closest example to this complete specimen from Padri. The Valabhipur specimen is in dark green schist stone and measures 11.5 cm × 5 cm × 3 cm. It represents the human-headed Lajjāgaurī in bold relief. The nude deity is shown seated in the usual fashion, prominently displaying pudenda and breasts and holding a lotus-bud in each hand, both of which are raised at the elbow. The noteworthy feature of this plaque is that the seated Nandi is depicted on the right

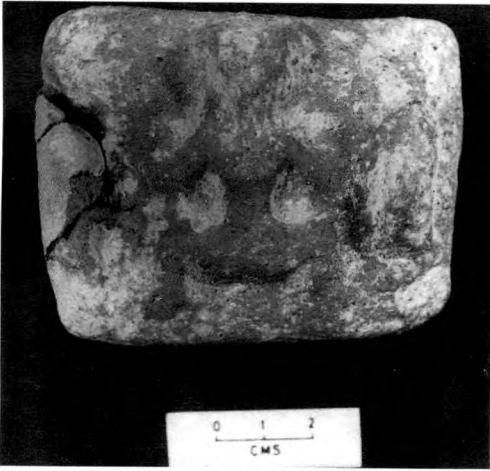


Fig. 2 - Rectangular plaque with a 'Lajjāgaurī' in low relief.

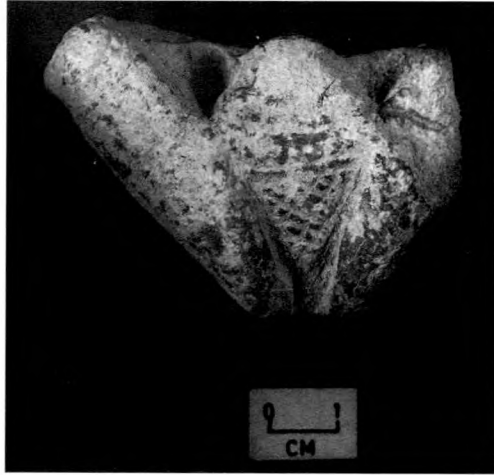


Fig. 3 - Female genital organ, possibly of a 'Lajjāgaurī'.

side and a crouching devotee in *añjali-mudrā* on the left. The sculpture could be assigned to the 7th century A.D. (Sonawane 1988). Two other sculptures of Lajjāgaurī associated with Nandi come from Dhank, 15 km west of Upleta town of Rajkot district in Gujarat and Bhinmal in Rajasthan (Shah 1955-56). Both these sculptures bear ornamentation and are dated to the 7th century A.D.

On the same floor was found another fragment of terracotta plaque, probably the *yoni* portion (female genitalia) of the goddess Lajjāgaurī. This fragment displays the pudenda prominently, often exaggerated in size. The central portion of this organ bears incised decoration consisting of a group of five horizontal lines and an upside-down latticed triangular pattern suspended from the lowermost horizontal line. It is shown in a bold relief and all the details are clearly visible (Fig. 3). From the close proximity of these two Lajjāgaurī plaques was found the head portion of lord Gaṇeśa. This small figurine of Gaṇeśa made in fine-grained sandstone shows very fine workmanship. It should be mentioned that the images of Gaṇeśa are sometimes shown along with Lajjāgaurī, the best example of which comes from Dhank in Gujarat, where the sculpture is found in the niche of the Manjeshwari step-well, which could be dated to 7th century A.D.

One more Lajjāgaurī plaque in black slate stone was found on the surface roughly 10 m to the north of the structure 3 mentioned above. The plaque, the upper part of which is partially broken, appears to be squarish in shape, measuring 8.5 cm × 8.5 cm × 1 cm. The head and right hand of the figure are missing as the plaque is partially broken. The figure is shown in deep relief with all the parts of the body shown in perfect proportion and is highly polished. The nude deity is shown seated on a roughly circular *āsana* (seat), which is decorated by radiating incised lines, in her characteristic form. What is interesting about this figure is that the pudenda and breasts are not exaggerated as is the case of most of the Lajjāgaurī figures found elsewhere, but are in perfect proportion. The deity is shown wearing a necklace and a double-waist girdle, both decorated with vertical short strokes, and had eight bangles in her left hand. In her



Fig. 4 - Squarish plaque of slate with a 'Lajjāgaurī' engraved on it.

left hand, which is raised at the elbow, is a lotus-bud. Near the elbow on the eastern side is a human head between double incised horizontal bands whereas on the right-hand side, slightly below the knee portion, there appears to be the head of some animal, probably a Nandi (Fig. 4).

Besides Padri, a number of other Early and Late Historical sites in Gujarat such as Kanad (6th-7th century A.D.) and Variav in Surat district, Kavi in Broach district, Pavi Jetpur (8th-9th century A.D.) in Baroda district, Tarsang (6th century A.D.) and Bavaka (10th-11th century A.D.) in Panchmahal district, Valbhipur (7th-8th century A.D.) and Gadhali (12th century A.D.) in Bhavnagar district, Amreli (6th-7th century A.D.), the district headquarters, Dhank (7th century A.D.) in Rajkot district and Sathal (7th century A.D.) in Ahmedabad district have yielded evidence of Lajjāgaurī plaques. Only two sites, namely Kanada and Bavaka, have

produced evidence of Lajjāgaurī images with lotus-heads. Otherwise the human-headed images are very common in Gujarat, as the evidence from the remaining 11 sites indicates. Considering this fact, Margabandhu (1976) stated that the human-headed depiction of the goddess Lajjāgaurī is a regional variation of Gujarat. This statement, however, is not acceptable to some scholars (Sonawane 1988), because the human-headed sculptures of Lajjāgaurī have also been reported from a few sites outside Gujarat, like Bhinmal (Rajasthan) (Shah 1955-56) and the Rameshwar cave at Ellora (Maharashtra) (Sankalia 1960). Although there are a couple of specimens of Lajjāgaurī in the form of a lotus-head, the majority of them found at various places in Gujarat show a general preference by the people to produce and worship this goddess in the form of a human-head.

Most of the images of the Lajjāgaurī found elsewhere in Gujarat belong to the 6th-7th century A.D. when the Maitrakas of Valabhipur were at the zenith of their power in this region. However, the present evidence from Padri suggests that possibly the worship of this deity began in Gujarat at the beginning of the Christian era during the reign of Western Ksatrapa. This appears to be the earliest evidence for the worship of Lajjāgaurī in Gujarat and probably in the whole of India. What is important is that the images were found in a well-defined stratigraphical context. The Early Historical levels at Padri could be dated accurately to the 1st century B.C.-A.D. Considering the context associated with the structure, it could be presumed that it was a place of worship, possibly a temple. In that case this is the earliest and the only known evidence of the temple of Lajjāgaurī in India.

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A Meaningful Miniature Relief from Paṭṭadakkaḷ

by T.S. THANGAMUTHU

The Kāfi-Viśvanātha temple at Paṭṭadakkaḷ, which lies close to the famous Virūpākṣa temple to its left, is an important centre of early Cālukyan art and architecture. It depicts a *mitbuna* motif on its plinth section. In the other Cālukyan temples at Aihole, Badāmī and Alampūr no such representation is found. The motif illustrates two horses engaged in sexual intercourse. The mare stands facing north while the stallion pounces upon the former in rearing attitude and in coitus. The motif appears on the *tripaṭṭakumuda* part of the *adbiṣṭbāna*. This motif faces the west while on the other side of the corner, facing South, the head of a woman alone is carved (Fig. 1). Being a single carving of its type, it has escaped the attention of scholars and would seem to be of importance, on account of its location and the iconographic programme of the temple. This short article examines the significance of the carving.

The horse, noted for swiftness of movement, known to Indian tradition from time immemorial has been adapted to suit the taste of myth-makers and temple-builders. Its ritual value is also famous because of the *asvamedha* sacrifice that emperors used to perform ⁽¹⁾. In Hindu iconography the horse is associated with Viṣṇu as a symbol of the yet to come Kalki *avatāra*. Viṣṇu in another manifestation of a minor order is said to have appeared as Hayagrīva 'the horse-headed' to dislodge the horse-headed demon, also called Hayagrīva (Ions 1975: fig. p. 24) ⁽²⁾. Sāñjinā, the wife of Sūrya (Sun god), is said to have assumed the form of a mare according to the *Viṣṇu-* and *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇas*. It is said that Sāñjinā was horrified by the fiery effulgence of Sūrya and left his residence for a remote place to live in peace, leaving behind Chāyā, her personified Shadow. Later, learning of the trick, Sūrya went in pursuit of his beloved wife and found her roaming about a lonely place in the form of a mare. In order not to terrify her again with his effulgence, he assumed the shape of a stallion and courted her. As a result of their sexual union the Aśvins and Revanta were born to them. The horse-headed Aśvins became the divine doctors while Revanta had for his vehicle the *aśva* (Sharma 1975: 26-27).

The Paṭṭadakkaḷ motif seems to illustrate the erotic dalliance of Sūrya and Sāñjinā ⁽³⁾,

⁽¹⁾ Noted among the *asvamedha* myths are those of Mahābali, overcome by Trivikrama, and king Sagara whose attempt at the sacrifice was responsible for the flow of celestial Gaṅga on earth. Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* notes the sacrifice performed by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

⁽²⁾ Ions (1975: 24) has identified the figure with Kalki which appears to be not well founded.

⁽³⁾ Murukan (= Skanda) in Tamil tradition has two wives, Devasenā of the Sanskrit school and Valli. Valli is purely an autochthonous goddess, supposed to have been born to a *ṛṣi* and an antelope. This myth is elaborated in the *Kanda-Purāṇam* (Skt. *Skanda-Purāṇa*) of Kacciappa Cīvācārya. According



Fig. 1 - Horse *mithuna*. Kāśi-Viśvanātha temple, Paṭṭadakkaḷ.



Fig. 2 - Sūrya in horse form mating Sañjnā (?).
Detail of temple car, Sivakasi.

the latter's face appearing in the carving. An inquisitive scholar could not refrain from posing the question: why is there such a motif at a particular section of the temple? and in reply to the query the iconographic programme of the temple itself offers a clue and solves the riddle.

To begin with the mating horses have a ritual connotation. The horse in Indian tradition is a fertility symbol (Iyer 1977: 36-42) (*). Southwest is the direction of Nṛutti whose vehicle is an ass, an apology for a horse. So, the horse motif appears at an appropriate place to convey the ritual value of horse-oriented sexual implications, suggesting thereby that the temple is the venue of cosmic creation. To prove this, we may look for other evidence in the main temple itself.

Kāśi-viśvanātha is a small structure when compared with the Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna temples of Paṭṭadakkaḷ. The *garbhagṛha* houses the Liṅga while an image of Somāś-kandamūrti appears on the ceiling in front of the *sanctum*. Both the themes, the Liṅga and Somāśkanda, are related to fertility. The Liṅga in union with *āvudai* or *yoni* is suggestive of sexual union. What we find in Somāśkandamūrti is Śiva with Umā and the baby, Skanda. That is to say from the sexual intercourse (cf. Kālidāsa's forceful descriptions in *Kumārasambhava*) Kumara or Skanda was born (?). So, it has already been proposed that the *garbhagṛha* in a Hindu temple is the venue of cosmic creation (Kalidos 1991). This may also be the reason why the Liṅga and Somāśkandamūrti images appear within the *sanctum* in the Pallava temples at Kāñcīpuram and Māmallaḷapuram (Kalidos 1988: chap. III *passim*). Among the Cāḷukyan temples, the Kāśi-viśvanātha is the only one in which an image of Somāśkandamūrti appears (Kalidos 1991a). This, along with the horse motif, enhances the main thesis put forward in this article. That is to say, the *sanctum sanctorum* in a Hindu temple is the place of cosmic creation.

Now, on threading these facts together, the result is that the ritual union of the horses (†) points to the temple as the venue for the symbolic function of cosmic creation (‡‡‡).

to this version of the episode, a *ṛṣi* is said to have cohabited with a gazelle, leading to the birth of Valli. In sculptural form a few rare pieces are found in the temple cars of Tamiḷnadu, recorded in the pioneering work on the subject by Professor Raju Kalidos (1989: 127-28). Thus we find a *ṛṣi* in anthropomorphic form engaged in sexual union with an antelope (Kalidos 1986: 77-78). The presentation in erotic terminology is called bestiality. In a few other illustrations two deer are in sexual union like the horses found on the Paṭṭadakkaḷ temple. The analogy with deer would point to the fact that animals in art need not necessarily be the fanciful creations of sculptors but are based on mythology (Kalidos 1989: 216).

(*) Other motifs are illustrated on temple cars in which bestiality is illustrated in another way. In such carvings a stallion is found cohabiting with a woman. This may also refer to the subject of Sūrya (in the form of a horse) mating his wife Saffinā who is anthropomorphic (Fig. 2). Besides the myth, the motif points out the inseminating character of the horse and stands as proof of the fertility symbol.

(†) Śiva and Umā are supposed to have mated in the form of elephants, leading to the birth of Gaṇapati, the elephant-headed God of obstacles (Vignēśvara). For the myth and its Tamil redaction see Kalidos (1992: chap. I).

(‡) According to the *Kāmasūtra* (Upadhyaya 1970: 95) the horse is a symbol of sexual virility. Men are classified according to the size of their phalluses (*liṅga*). The horse phallus is the biggest type. The other two are bull (medium) and rabbit (small). These are supposed to mate with their equivalent female types: the cow elephant, mare and doe respectively. Now, the three animals (elephant, horse and deer) stand out significantly as symbols of sexual virility. These are associated with sexual dalliance in Hindu mythology (cf. fn. 3, 5) as they are supposed to derive the maximum pleasure during coitus. This may be the reason why puranic heroes assume the form of the said animals so as to attain orgasm at a high pitch.

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Ardhanārīśvara: Samples of Cōla Masterpieces

by P. KANDASAMY

Ardhanārīśvara, the Androgyne or Hermaphrodite, is a syncretistic iconographic form ⁽¹⁾ known to Indian tradition since at least the early medieval period. From among a sum total of 541 Śaiva images surveyed 22 (4%) of Ardhanārīśvara have been reported from the cave and structural temples of Elephanta, Ellora, Mahākūṭa, Paṭṭadakkaḷ, Aihole, Alampūr, Māmallapuram and Tirupparāṅkunram (Kalidos 1988: chap. I, II and III *passim*) ⁽²⁾. Though in Tamilnadu the subject was not that popular when compared with the Chālukyan experiment, under the imperial Cōlas during the later medieval period the Androgyne is a coveted theme. What is important is that few specimens exist in and around Thanjāvūr, the core zone of Cōla art. This small article examines the rare qualities of the images found in the Cōla temples at Karandai, Tiruvaiyāru, Tiruvēdikkuḍi and Khaṇḍiyūr, all within reach from the Cōla metropolis, Thanjāvūr, and lying within a radius of 15 kms.

Thanjāvūr in the heart of the Kāvēri delta is a geophysical region cloaked with evergreen paddy fields, especially during the monsoon season. It is indeed an enchanting sight to look at both the land and the temples of great antiquity which appear quite profusely amidst a sea of rice fields (Harle 1958: 96). Herein a scholar in search of the antique traditions of the subcontinent finds masterpieces, frozen into lithic tablets of temples and sculptures. One such example is the imagery of Ardhanārīśvara, especially found in the four temples, noted above.

Canonical books writing about the form usually bring Ardhanārīśvara under Śiva. For example, the *Śrītatvanidhi* (I 3.57) includes Ardhanārīśvara under *Śīvatatvanidhi*, which is part III of the book ⁽³⁾. The *Kāśyapaśilpasastra* (Pāṭalam 72) and *Agastyasakalādbikāra* (Adhyāya 12) have an orientation towards Śaiva iconography and deal with the form. The *Sārasvatīyacitrakarmasāstra* (Adhyāya 23) is also concerned with Śaiva iconography, including Devī, Gaṇapati and Skanda, thus pointing to a family connection, and brings Ardhanārīśvara under Śiva. The *Mayamata* and *Śilparatna* deal with the Hindu pantheon in general and bring Ardhanārīśvara under Śiva. According to *Śrītatvanidhi*, which quotes the *Kāraṇāgama*, Ardhanārīśvara is one among the *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five' *līlāmūrti* 'sporting lord' forms of

⁽¹⁾ Harihara (Hari + Hara) who unites Śiva and Viṣṇu and Brahmaśasta who unites Brahmā and Skanda are the other examples.

⁽²⁾ Out of the 22 images, 3 are from Upper Deccan (in and around Ellora), 17 from Lower Deccan (in and around Badāmī and the Kṛṣṇā delta) and 2 from the Far South (Tamilnadu). For a detailed study, see Kalidos 1988.

⁽³⁾ For a detailed enumeration of the iconographical concepts, see Kalidos 1992.

Śiva. It specifically states that the male half is Śivarūpa and the female half Umādevīrūpa. Thus, by assigning the right half to Śiva an emphasis on the masculine principle is placed.

In sculptural work (e.g., the 22 early medieval specimens, noted above) the left half is assigned to Devī. The canons of sculpture also assign the left half to Devī, thus projecting the personality of Śiva (*). But it is interesting to find that three out of the four images from Karandai, Tiruvaiyāru and Tiruvēdikkūdi include Devī on the right side. This is a factor worthy of investigation. An attempt is made herein to explain this rare phenomenon. In order to place the arguments cogently a brief description of the images with reference to the Cōla artistic tradition may be presented first of all.

The Vasiṣṭheśvara temple at Karandai is assigned to the period of Uttama Cōla (late 9th-early 10th century A.D.). The temple in its northern *devakoṣṭha* houses an image of Ardhanārī who is *caturbhūja* and includes Devī in its right half.

The Vedapurīśvara temple at Tiruvēdikkūdi houses the image of Ardhanārīśvara in its west *koṣṭha*. This early Cōla temple of the 10th century A.D. is much dilapidated and so are the sculptures. Ardhanārīśvara is a standing *tribhanga* image fitted with four hands. None of the emblems is discernible due to the bad preservation of the image. The Lord is attended by the Nandi-*vāhana*. Devī occupies the right half (Fig. 1).

The Aiyārappar (Skt. Pañcanadiśvara) temple at Tiruvaiyāru houses Ardhanārīśvara in its west *koṣṭha*. The image, which is standing in *tribhanga* attitude, is *dvibhūja*. The left hand rests on the bull's head who appears behind and the right hand holds a flower (?). The temple is assigned to the late 10th century A.D. and it is interesting to find the image in *dvibhūja* aspect (Fig. 2; cf. Kalidos 1993: fig. 9).

There is a stray image of Ardhanārīśvara in the Brahmasīrakhandīśvara ('the Lord who cut the head of Brahmā') temple at Khandiyūr. The uniqueness of the image is that it is seated (*). Of all the known images of the type this is the one in seated aspect. The image appears to be fitted with three hands (?), two on the male and one on the female side. The one hand on left side holds a *padma*. One of the right hands holds a *ṭaṭka* and the other rests on the bull. The image is seated in *mabārājatilāsana* attitude. The head of the bull appears to the right side (Fig. 3). Though the right half is occupied by Śiva, the seated aspect makes it unique. Besides, the local myth attaches some importance to it. According to the *sthalamātmya* Śiva is said to have cut the fifth head of Brahmā in his Ardhanārīśvara form. Abhirāmi Bhaṭṭar, a Śākta luminary of the 18th century A.D., in his work *Abhirāmi Andādi* (v. 87) refers to this incident. To quote:

Ayaṅ ciraṁoṅṅu ceṇṇakaiyāṅ iṭappākam ciraṇṭavālē

'O Mother you bring glory to the left half of the Lord whose hand cut one of the heads of Brahmā (T. Ayan)'.

(*) The iconographical features of the different types of Ardhanārīśvara as outlined in canonical books have been summarized (see Table 1).

(?) The image conforms to the *dvibhūja-mūrti* described in the *Kālyāṇaśilpaśāstra* and *Sārasvatīyacitra-karmasāstra* (see Table 1).

(*) Harihara is also presented usually in *sthānaka* form. Best iconographical illustrations are found in Caves I and III of Badāmi. An interesting example of the seated type appears in the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal (Kalidos 1986: 355, 363, 390).

(?) Cf. *Māyama* (see Table 1).

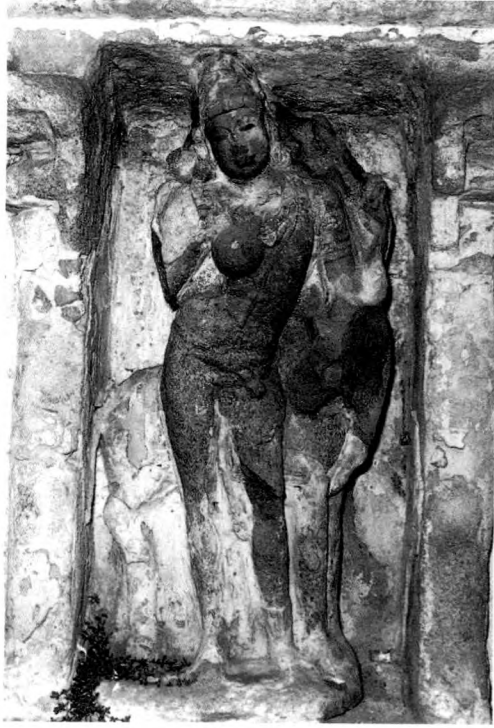


Fig. 1 - Ardhanārī, Tiruvēdikkudī.



Fig. 2 - Ardhanārī, Tiruvaiyāru.

The placement of Ardhanārīśvara images at strategic quarters of the four Cōla temples under study is of some importance. In two (i.e., Tiruvaiyāru and Tiruvēdikkudī) the image appears in the west *devakoṣṭha*. In the Karandai temple it is on the north *koṣṭha*. We may note here that in early Cōla temples the *garbhagrhas* 'holy of the holies' are fitted with three *devakoṣṭhas*, facing the cardinal directions, excepting the east because the *sanctum sanctorum* in most cases faces the east. In these three *koṣṭhas* images of Dakṣiṇāmūrti (south), Liṅgodbhava (west) and Brahmā (north) usually appear. In few cases Viṣṇu occupies the west, examples being the Kailāsanātha temple at Sembiyaṁmādēvi and Gaṅgājaṭādhareśvara temple at Gōvindapuram (Kolliḍam). Thus, three (viz., Liṅgodbhava, Viṣṇu and Ardhanārīśvara) appear coeval with each other. Similarly, in some instances the north *koṣṭha* is occupied by Ardhanārīśvara. Evidences of such temples are Kailāsanātha temple at Sembiyaṁmādēvi, Umāmaheśvara temple at Kōṇērīrāḷapuram and Cōlīśvara temple at Kuttālam. In this case the Androgyne replaces Brahmā (Balasubrahmanyam 1971).

All these evidences point out the fact that by about the 10th century A.D. Ardhanārīśvara was gaining hold within the pantheon of the Tamil country. This emphasis contrasts with the early medieval experience in respect of its visual representation in art. In most cases the iconography of Ardhanārīśvara in Cōla temples compares with the pan-Indian tradition. That is to say Devī occupies the left half. Good examples are the specimens from the temples at

Uyyakoṇḍān-tirumalai, Tirukkarukāvūr, Anaṅkūr and Tiruvārūr (Balasubrahmanyam 1971: pls.). Spoken with reference to the Karandai, Tiruvaīyāru and Tiruvēdikkūḍi specimens, the question, why Devī on the right side? remains yet to be answered.

The left in Indian tradition is something low whereas the right side stands for superiority (Kalidos 1994). By assigning the left half to Umā and Viṣṇu in forms like Ardhanārīśvara and Harihara and including both forms under the Śaiva head, a deliberate attempt was made to denigrate the personalities other than Śiva. This should have been due mainly to sectarian animosity and rivalry. So, in Śākta and Vaiṣṇava creeds there should have been some reaction against the Śaiva bellicosity. The result should have been that the Śāktas by placing Devī on the right side reacted to Śaiva attitude.

Recently an attempt has been made to explain the significance of the Karandai Ardhanārīśvara with reference to an antique folk deity of the Tamil country who was endowed with a single breast. This Goddess is called by the name Pattinidēvi 'Goddess of Chastity' and glorified in a Tamil epic, called *Cilappatikāram*, written by Iṭaṅkōvaḍikaḷ, a product of the 4th-5th centuries A.D. This literary masterpiece is actually a biography of the popular heroine of the land called Kaṇṇaki. After her death, she was deified, her images made in stone and worshipped. The author of the book calls her *Orumulai-kuraṭṭa-tirumā-pattinī* 'the Goddess who cut short her breast by one'. She is said to have removed her left breast. That means when images were made they should have appeared with a single breast which was the right-side one. We have no monumental evidences to substantiate Iṭaṅkōvaḍikaḷ's perspective of this Goddess whom he equates with the Supreme Mother Goddess Herself in *Cilappatikāram* (Kalidos 1992).

In explaining the unique character of the Karandai, Tiruvaīyāru and Tiruvēdikkūḍi images the perspective of the Devī as appearing in *Cilappatikāram* is of much help. This aspect has been examined with more evidences by Raju Kalidos (1993) in one of his papers recently. In fact this interpretation adds to our existing knowledge of Ardhanārīśvara. It is possible that an ancient tradition of one-breasted deity existed in the Tamil country. Later she was incorporated into the Śaivite pantheon with the breast shifted to the left side. The image is likely to have been Sanskritised by providing the iconographical attributes, characteristic of Śiva and Umā, and thus a folk Goddess turned into a manifestation of Śiva.



Fig. 3 - Ardhanārī, Khaṇḍiyūr.

Table 1

Pratimālakṣaṇa of Ardhanaṛīvara

Authority	Stance	Number of Hands — Emblems	Other Features
<i>Kāśyapīya</i>	right leg: erect left leg: bent	2 right: <i>varadamudrā</i> left: <i>puṣpa</i> 4 right: <i>sūla & varada mudrā</i> left: resting on head of bull & <i>puṣpa</i> 6 right: <i>abhaya mudrā, taṭka & agni</i> left: resting on bull's head, <i>kaṭakabasta & puṣpa</i>	right half with Śiva's attributes and left with Devī's
<i>Agastya</i>	right leg: <i>sustika</i> left: <i>kuñcita</i>	4 right: <i>abhaya mudrā & taṭka</i> left: rested on head of bull & <i>kaṭakamudrā</i> with <i>puṣpa</i>	ornaments and attributes meant for men and women to be on right and left sides respectively
<i>Śilpa</i>	right leg: erect left: bent	4 right: <i>abhaya mudrā & taṭka</i> left: resting on head of bull & <i>kaṭakamudrā</i> with <i>puṣpa</i>	endowed with all ornaments, right half of the form of Paramaśiva and left Pārvatī
<i>Sārasvatī</i>	<i>abhaṅga</i> or <i>samabhaṅga</i>	2 right: <i>sūla</i> or resting on bull left: <i>puṣpa</i> or <i>varadamudrā</i> 4 right: <i>abhaya & taṭka</i> left: resting on bull's head & <i>puṣpa</i>	<i>kuṇḍala</i> in right ear and <i>karnapatra</i> in left — garment made of tiger skin (right) right half of the form of Paramaśvara and left Pārvatīdevī — half eye on right forehead
<i>Mayamata</i>	standing on <i>padma pīṭha</i>	3 right: <i>kapāla</i> or <i>triśūla</i> left: <i>utpala</i> flower	right half of the form of Īśa and left Umā — headgear and ornaments differ on both sides — breast on left side — right red and left dark coloured
<i>Agastya</i>	<i>Agastyasakalādbhikāra</i>		
<i>Kāśyapīya</i>	<i>Kāśyapaśilpaśāstra</i>		
<i>Sārasvatī</i>	<i>Sārasvatīyacitrakarmasāstra</i>		
<i>Śilpa</i>	<i>Śilparatna</i>		

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'Blind Passions and Unreal Dreams'

Notes on a Recent Essay on the Culture of the Ming and Qing Dynasties

by PAOLO SANTANGELO

A Chinese essay is itself evidence of the recent evolution of economic and cultural relations between Peking and Taipei in that it belongs to the new *Zhonghua wenku* series jointly founded a few years ago by the large publishing houses of *Sanlian* and *Jinxiu wenhua qiye beixue*, based respectively in Beijing and Taiwan (Guo Yingde, *Chiqing yu buanmeng*, Sanlian, Beijing 1992, 8-213 pp.). The author discusses the complex, multifaceted intellectual world that developed between the 14th and 19th centuries with special attention to literature, outlining the successive cultural trends and interests that have contributed so much China's intellectual development. The title, *Blind Passions and Unreal Dreams*, stems from the author's view that the keynotes of Ming and Qing literature are to be found in the passionate love of those authors who were deeply involved in life and the utopian dreams of those who despised the world. The essay is concerned with the relationship between these two strands.

The first chapter examines the heterodox and anti-traditional aspects and elements that developed over the period in question, encompassing Li Zhi's views, Gu Yanwu's practical attitude and Dai Zhen's critical method.

The second chapter discusses four main literary schools: 1) the Archaists, who sought to revive the ancient, official style; 2) those who stressed the expression of emotion; 3) those concerned with practical wisdom and statecraft; and 4) the orthodox followers of Zhu Xi. Those examined include Tang Yin (1470-1524), one of the Four Ming Masters famous for his uninhibited life and romantic attachments, the members of the Gong'an group, the painter and writer Xu Wei (1521-1593) and the playwright Tang Xianzu (1550-1616) up to and including Yuan Mei (1716-1797).

Chapter 3 addresses three main points, the first being the debate on loyalism and opportunism-realism in the political struggles of the late Ming dynasty and under the harsh Manchu rule. The third point addressed is the historiographical debate on the rise and fall of dynasties, starting with the problems dealt with by Luo Guanzhong in the *Sanguo yanyi* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms). Guo Yingde here makes most interesting use of literary sources to demonstrate the existence of various conflicting conceptions of history and destiny as well as the way in which the relationship between 'historical' and 'private' events was experienced. These themes continue into the next chapter. The loyalty of subjects and ministers and female heroism constitute the opening subject of chapter 4, which discusses the *Shuibu zhuan* and its influences on subsequent literature. The heroic virtues comprise irreproachable honesty, a sense of responsibility with regard to the affairs of the empire and the condition

of the people, love for one's country and loyalty to one's sovereign, and readiness to face death in the name of justice and humanity. This theme is resumed at the end of the same chapter from the standpoint of the relationship between historical vicissitudes and destiny. In his discussion of female heroism and virtue in Ming and Qing literature, the author outlines the position adopted by Ling Mengchu in two stories.

The role and evaluation of the emotions and desires in literature is a subject deserving more thorough examination both by virtue of its objective importance in the history of ideas and attitudes in China and because of the stimulating observations put forward by the author. Suffice it to mention, for example, the debate on the supremacy of principle or of the emotions, on the desirability or otherwise of the free expression of emotions and the natural satisfaction of desires (cf. Tang Xianzu, Yuan Hongdao and Chen Jiru) and, in more general terms, the cult of the passions that flourished between the end of the Ming dynasty and the middle of the Qing up to the time of Cao Xueqin ⁽¹⁾.

Guo Yingde draws a distinction between what is known as the *zhiqing guannian* or 'pan-emotional view' (e.g. Li Zhi and Tang Xianzu), which regards principle and nature as included within emotion, and the *fenglin-daocue guannian* or 'romantic within morality concept', where the sentiments are ruled by principles, *yi li zhi qing* (e.g. Li Yu). This interesting distinction deserves more space than it actually occupies in the book. In fact, to be best of our present knowledge, Li Yu's hedonism does differ from that of Tang Xianzu or Yuan Hongdao but appears to show no substantial difference with respect to the relationship between morality and the emotions. On the other hand, it seems to me that the tradition of celebrating the 'moral' sentiment and domesticating the emotions is common to all scholars and shared also by less moralistic writers. I should say rather that the identification of the sentiments and desires with the Confucian virtues or with universal needs itself contains a large dose of ambiguity that the Chinese authors must have been aware of. In fact, this identification involves recognizing only the moral emotions as valid emotions and thus a forceful intervention of morality in the educational and psychological field. At the same time, the elevation of the *qing*, with its multiplicity of meanings and implications, to the level of the virtues also means rejecting both the whole framework of Neo-Confucian morality, which is based on the contrast between principles and desires, and the insistence on rigour shared by many schools of philosophical and religious thought.

In the case of Tang Xianzu, it could be objected that the celebration of the power and freedom of love reflects only a part of *The Peony Pavilion*. It is tempting to divide each of his plays into two parts, one dominated by passion and the other moralistic. If the most authentic part of each work is that which celebrates the passions, should the conversions described be regarded as a technical expedient used by the author to conform to conventional morality? The plays can in fact be viewed both as the celebration of passion rising triumphant over life and death and as an assertion of the supremacy of the values of society over the dreams and subconscious life of the individual.

From the standpoint of artistic creation, however, the current view of *The Peony Pavilion* as a hymn to the power of the passions is unquestionably correct. It is true that after the

⁽¹⁾ On the cult of the passions, cf. Chen Wanyi, 'Feng Menglong <qingjiaoshuo> shihun', *Hanxue yanjiu*, 6, 1, 1988.

heroine Liniang has been resuscitated and the male protagonist Mengmei has passed his state examinations, they appear to attain an awareness of their place in society and their conduct and sentiments both conform to the conventional norms. However, all the principal and most evocative themes lead the reader to participation in the fulfilment of passion. Liniang's passion is awakened by a love poem from the Confucian 'Classic of Odes' (2). The parody of the interpretation of the text by the pedantic tutor Chen, a comic character, in scenes 7 and 9 represents not only the author's rejection of the orthodox allegorical interpretation of the Odes but also the fundamental importance attributed to literature as conveying the code of the emotions. The evocative power of literature, combined with that of nature (3), in awakening the desires demonstrates the 'natural' character of the passions, as though the protagonists had passed with no regret beyond those limits that Baoyu sees as absurd, the boundary between the world of youth or ideals on the one hand, and the world of adults or realism on the other. Liniang's erotic dream is a metaphor for the rejection of conventional values, which are ignored even by the judge of the next world, commonly represented as a harsh punisher of crimes against morality and decency. Liniang is thus an incarnation, even more so than Yingying, of the superiority of amorous passion over society and over life itself. It is for this passion that Liniang dies and returns to life. It should also be pointed out that if the first part of the play corresponds to the author's 'revolutionary' need to assert the authenticity and superiority of true passion, Liniang's 'mission' does not end with the fulfilment of her dream in that she assumes the goal of giving this sentiment concrete form in human life. Tang Xianzu thus turns in masterly fashion from the world of the passions to that of social concern. Liniang therefore makes sure first of all that Mengmei is not married (4). Then, from scene 36 on, the main focus shifts from personal to social, to winning *social recognition* of the relationship. The heroine thus strives to ensure that the marriage meets all the necessary requirements, and that of parental consent in particular. This is obviously a difficult task. While the mother is soon satisfied with her daughter's choice, the father is too faithful to Confucian morality, which makes him insensitive to the free manifestation of human sentiment. The situation is only resolved by an imperial edict acknowledging the propriety of Liniang's conduct and giving approval of the marriage. The final reconciliation with society implies no compromise or submission on the heroine's part but does mean a change in attitude: from the passions to the institutions (5).

The level of intellectual repression has the effect that literary works — which should have

(2) Cf. the beginning of *Chipozi zhuan*, repr. Taipei, n.d., First Part, pp. 7-8 (The Story of a Woman Madly in Love), an anonymous novel dating from the end of the Ming dynasty, which describes the morbid and confused feelings of its then adolescent female protagonist as she reflects on certain erotic passages in the *Sijing*, mentioning six poems (*Maoshi yinde*, 18/86, 18/90, 14/64, 19/94, 19/91, 66/253, 12/58, 18/87, 14/63, 12/55).

(3) The natural character of amorous passion and the contribution made to it by the contemplation of nature are extensively presented in Tang Xianzu's work. At the allegorical level, see the response of the Flower God to the charge of having excited the girl with the beauty of his flowers: the beauty of the flowers obeys heaven's commands.

(4) Cf. *Tang Xianzu ji, Mudanting*, 32: 1975; C. Birch, transl., Tang Xianzu, *The Peony Pavilion (Mudan ting)*, Bloomington 1980, pp. 183-84.

(5) Cf. Cheng Pei-kai, *Reality and Imagination: Li Chib and Tang Hsien-tsu in Search of Authenticity*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1980, pp. 284-94.

greater freedom in expressing the deepest feelings and the 'subconscious' — are ambiguous and 'inconsistent'. They unquestionably display a certain participation in the passions but also a degree of censorship. They express one attitude and then its opposite. The only effect of the various attempts at interpretation — from the earliest critics to the most recent — is to bring out the multiplicity of possible readings. It is hard to arrive at one general unified conception and the occasional apparent glimpses of consistency often prove illusory.

The same could be said for the analogous identification of certain desires with mankind's basic needs. In dealing with the relationship between principle and the desires, Zhu Xi repeatedly asserts their incompatibility, but then comes to identify them on two conditions, i.e. that the desires should be balanced (*zhong*) or that they should correspond to vital needs. When asked which of the two desires of hunger and thirst corresponded to the celestial principle and which to human desires, he answered that both were the principle. The distinction between the principle and the desires was then identified in the difference between the necessary and the superfluous, which recalls the Platonic distinction between 'necessary' and 'superfluous' appetites: gluttony (literally the pursuit of sophisticated tastes) corresponds to (selfish) human desires ⁽⁶⁾.

Zhu Xi's opinion is basically that man must reduce his desires quantitatively and eliminate those which do not conform to the innate moral norms and the social norms ⁽⁷⁾. It is not clear, however, what is to be understood by 'desires', i.e. if they are physical impulse (like the appetite), inclinations common to all men (like attachment to life and fear of death) or tendencies which are anti-social or contrary to human nature. While they are sometimes meant in the third and fourth senses, at other times a distinction is drawn between those which are dictated by universal needs (*yu*), like the appetite, and therefore blameless, and desires which are hedonistic (*renyu*) and therefore 'selfish' (*siyu*).

Finally, the identification of the 'natural desires' with needs enabled him to make them moral and social. If each of us feels certain impulses, it is easy to be aware of those felt by other men. The greater the emotional tension, therefore, the clearer the need to understand our fellows and to try to meet the needs that others cannot succeed in satisfying. Desire, which might appear to be selfish, is thus transformed into a moral imperative and political commitment. Zhu Xi bases his views on two passages from the 'Dialogues':

He who possesses humanity, if he wishes to assert himself, he seeks the assertion of others; if he wishes to expand himself, he seeks the expansion of others ⁽⁸⁾. [and] Do not do to others that which you would not like to be done to you. ⁽⁹⁾

⁽⁶⁾ 'Of thirst and hunger, which is regarded as celestial principle and which as human desire? — Thirst and hunger are celestial desires; but the pursuit of sophisticated tastes is a human desire'. (Cf. *Zhu Xi yulei*, 13: 224; cf. also 94: 2414, 96: 2472, and *Jinsilu jiji*, 5: 165-66, 175-76). See also Zhang Liwen, *Zhu Xi sixiang yanjiu*, Beijing 1981, pp. 528-29, and D. Munro, *Images of Human Nature — A Sung Portrait*, Princeton 1988, p. 40. As regards the Platonic concept, see *The Republic*, 558d-559d (*Dialogues*, V, 362-64).

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. Munro, *op. cit.*, 1988, pp. 112-91.

⁽⁸⁾ *Lunyu*, 6, 28.

⁽⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, 15, 23.

By analogy, each person puts himself in the other's place and finds in the desires an indispensable means of extending his humanity to all (*tui ji suo yu yi ji yu ren*). This process, which is called the 'extension of the desires' or 'universalization of the desires' (*tuiyu*)⁽¹⁰⁾, can be compared in western culture to the 'sympathy' put forward by Adam Smith (1759) as a eudemonic criterion for emotional participation in the feelings of others. We cannot therefore ignore this attitude in Zhu Xi even if, unlike later thinkers such as Wang Fuzhi, he still emphasizes the 'victory of the heavenly principle over selfish desires' (11).

Zhu Xi regards impulses, desires and emotions as divisible into the following three categories: 1) selfish desires (morally negative and to be suppressed); 2) positive sentiments (a. correct, b. incorrect if not manifested in moderate and appropriate fashion); 3) needs and desires (a. morally neutral, b. negative, if their satisfaction involves harm to others, c. positive, if felt in relation to the virtue of reciprocity).

Taking the needs and desires of the biological ego as his starting point, Wang Gen brought the doctrine of Wang Yangming into the sphere of the common man. Wang Gen's ideas were inherited and developed by his son Wang Bi (1511-1587), who echoed Taoists and Chan Buddhists in the following assertion:

In the song of the birds and the fall of petals, in the majesty of the mountains and the flowing of the waters, in the satisfaction of hunger and thirst, in the adaptation of dress to the changing seasons, in all this the ultimate Truth manifests itself [...].

After condemning all efforts to attain self-control as mistaken, he returned to his father's concept of the 'delight in learning':

If you do not obstruct the natural flow of your behaviour (*lixing*), true happiness will appear by itself. One learns in order to complete this joy, without which there would be no knowledge. (12)

Appealing to the authority of Mencius (13), He Xinyin took up the latter's admonition to the sovereign to regard the people's desires as his own and as worthy of satisfaction. He then developed the concept of the 'education of the desires' (*yu yu*), which sees self-satisfaction as satisfying the desires of others and universalizes the desires of individuals (14). He attacked Zhou Dunyi's theory of the 'absence of desires' (*wu yu*), which he criticized as Taoist, denied that it was possible for the mind to be without desires, and proposed a moderate cultivation

(10) Cf. *Zhuji yulei*, 27: 689-95, 33: 842-54; see also A.C. Graham, *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*, Singapore 1986, pp. 428-30.

(11) Cf. *Zhuji yulei*, 33: 842, 845, 850-51.

(12) *Mingru xue'an*, 32: 318.

(13) Cf. *Mencius*, 1b, 5.

(14) Cf. He Xinyin, *Guantong ji*, 3, cit. in Rong Zhaozu, *Mingdai sixiang shi*, Taipei 1962, p. 229; He Xinyin *ji*, 2: 40-41, 3: 72, cit. in Jiang Guoxu, Zhu Kuiji, *Zhongguo lishi shang de renxing lun*, Beijing 1989, p. 277.

and selection of the desires in that the pursuit of virtue and even the determination to free oneself of desire also constitute desires. He supported this view by reference to the well-known passage of Mencius on the choice between the fish and the bear's paw (6a, 10) ⁽¹⁵⁾.

It was, however, above all Li Zhi who identified certain universal desires and passions with the fundamental biological needs, to which he attributed absolute priority, seeing them as the very foundations of morality and social relations:

Dress and food constitute the concrete principles of human relations. Without the former, the latter would not exist. Everything in the world is included in these two categories, so that it is sufficient to mention them for everything to be naturally included. [This means that] there is nothing that interests the people apart from eating and dressing. ⁽¹⁶⁾

The Confucian tradition is therefore not lacking in concrete acknowledgement — albeit in more or less marginal positions — of the importance of the individual's primary needs, from the 'Dialogues' to Zhu Xi ⁽¹⁷⁾, not to mention the legalistic school. In Li Zhi's writings, however, these natural tendencies and needs are provocatively contrasted with abstract

⁽¹⁵⁾ Cf. He Xinyin, *Cuantong ji*, 2, cit. in Rong Zhaozu, 1962, pp. 228-29; *He Xinjin ji*, 2: 42, cit. in Jiang and Zhu, 1989, p. 277. cf. also Huang Zongxi, *Mingru xue'an*, 32: 312:

What Confucius and Mencius called <lack of desires> does not correspond to Zhou Dunyi's concept of the same name. It is sufficient that the desires should be reduced in order for the mind to be preserved because it cannot be without desires. It is a desire to want a fish or a bear's paw. Giving up the fish in preference for the bear's paw means reducing one's desires. Attachment to life and to justice is a desire. Giving up one's life for the sake of justice means reducing one's desires. Is it not a desire to seek humanity? Once humanity has been acquired, does striving for nothing further not mean reducing one's desires? Is it not desire to follow the tendencies of the mind? And does non-excessive desire not mean reducing one's desires? [...]

Cf. also Dimberg Ronald G., *The Sage and Society: The Life and Thought of Ho Xsin-yin*, Honolulu 1974, p. 62.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Li Zhi, *Fenshu*, 1, *Da Deng Shiyang*, 1: 4. Li Zhi celebrates sexual desire, recognizing its importance in terms of reproduction and, more in general, of social functions (*Fenshu*, *Fufulun*, 3: 90-91) but also for its passional and pleasing aspects (cf. *Fenshu*, *Hongfu*, 4: 194-95, where he praises the play *Hongfuji* by Zhang Fengyi, 1527-1613, and its heroine).

⁽¹⁷⁾ Cf. *Lunyu*, 12, 7:

The Master answered Zígong's question about government as follows: 'The requisites of government consist in sufficient food supplies, sufficient military strength and popular support for the sovereign'. Zígong asked, 'If it is not possible to satisfy the three requisites, which of the three should be given up?' 'Military strength' replied the Master.

Confucius answered the following question as to which of the remaining two should have priority by saying that it was better to give up a part of the food supplies in that

from ancient times death has always been the fate of all men, but if the people has no trust in the sovereign the state cannot last (*ibid.*).

In his commentary on the Four Books, Zhu Xi did not ignore the importance of the primary needs of

principles, the former being seen as the basis of the life of the people (18). At the same time, the passions and desires felt by the 'man in the street' (19) in his everyday life are identified with true ritual and true morality (20). He states that we can learn not only from the sages but also from humble folk like peasants, potters and fishermen (*gengjia tao yu zhi ren*) (21). This idea of the universality and respectability of the desires felt by all constitutes the core of a form of 'individualism'. This could also be understood as the basis of a conception comparable with the theory of 'human rights' (22) in the sphere of the Chinese tradition, which starts from the basic needs of the 'people in the street or in the market-place' and can be extended according to the each person's standard of living and economic status. After all, is the 'child's mind', free as it is from all outside authority, not identical in each man as are all the basic desires and emotions?

While Tang Zhen still regards the first duty as that of controlling one's desires (*zhiyu*) (23), he also maintains that some basic and general desires should be respected in that they correspond to the natural needs. It could be objected that the acknowledgement of certain needs is thus in reality the negation of the desires. This is partly true, but Tang's arguments are to be seen in the context of the centuries-old dispute among Confucian moralists, some of whom regard the natural needs as closely bound up with the individual and hence unworthy of any consideration except in cases where they might have repercussions on public order. Tang Zhen instead recommended the moderate satisfaction of the main desires — i.e. those regarding food, clothing, love and dwelling place — as a precondition for moral development itself (24). It is wise to content oneself with the just amount and to renounce the goal if it cannot be achieved. At the same time, we must avoid abandoning ourselves entirely to our

the people. In this tradition the reader will recall, for example, the assertion of the above-mentioned Wang Wei:

If the sovereign wants the energy of the world to be in harmony, he must comply with the nature of the masses [...]. (Cf. *Zhuici*, 4a).

(18) It is tempting to compare this emphasis on the desires with the discovery of 'interest' in 16th and 17th century Europe. Cf. A. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests. Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph*, Princeton 1977.

(19) Li Zhi, *Fenshu*, 1: 30-31. *Da Geng sikou*.

(20) Li Zhi, *Fenshu*, 3: 132. *Da Geng zhongben*.

(21) Li Zhi, *Fenshu*, 1: 31. *Da Geng sikou*.

(22) The problem of 'human rights' is an extremely complex matter for China in that the concept has never existed there in the form it has assumed in western political thought. See H. Rosemont Jr, 'Rights-Bearing Individuals and Role-Bearing Persons', in M.I. Bockover, ed., *Rules, Rituals and Responsibility. Essays Dedicated to Herbert Fingarette*, La Salle 1991, as well as my own review and comments in *EW*, 43, 1-4, p. 355.

(23) Cf. *Qianshu*, p. 95. Tang distinguishes three levels of nature: the superior level of those concerned with justice and not with personal advantage; the middle and most common level of those who seek their own advantage but do not forget justice at the same time; and the lower level of those concerned solely with their own interests (cf. *ibid.*, p. 138).

(24) Cf. *Qianshu*, p. 91.

desires and striving in every possible way to satisfy them ⁽²⁵⁾.

In a letter to Xu Haijiao, Shen Yao (1798-1840) also recalled the concept of the priority of needs over the principles in the following terms:

It is the teaching of the ancient sovereigns that respect for rites and morality follows the satisfaction of the basic needs [food and clothing]. Conversely, it is the opinion of Song Neoconfucianism that it is necessary to persist in one's ideals even at the cost of starving to death. But how can this concept of starving to death be imposed on others? Is the teaching of Song Neoconfucianism perhaps superior to that of the ancient sovereigns, and can it be regarded as founded on human sentiments? ⁽²⁶⁾

The 'defence' of the desires continued until the end of the 19th century with those modernists who combined the concepts of the traditional monistic schools with the new ideas borrowed from western thought. Reflecting on the virtue of humanity, Tan Sitong (1865-1898) thus returned to criticism of the moral distinction between human nature and emotions and between principle and desires. He demonstrated that food and drink are good in the same way as sexual love and wealth. The emotions were obviously required to be moderate and to manifest themselves as suitable times ⁽²⁷⁾. As he wrote in favour of sexual satisfaction and liberation,

If an ordinary woman makes a mistake in her life or is suspected of having an affair with someone, [...] she is forced to flee, or sold as merchandise, or obliged to carry out menial work, or falls to the level of a prostitute and ends up killing herself out of shame and anger. It is not realized that the sexual relation between man and woman is only the momentum of two mechanisms and nothing to be ashamed of or to lose one's life over. ⁽²⁸⁾

Neo-Confucianism, in many aspects the heir to Buddhist influence but alien to its ascetic temptations, did not confine itself to accepting these claims but incorporated them by assuming a series of concrete objectives, such as the satisfaction of the primary needs, comfort in life and prestige, and setting them within its scale of values. The reduction of desire to need and the identification of pleasure or good with the absence of suffering made the Neo-Confucian doctrine, like the Epicurean, a powerful tool for control over the desires and passions. By so doing, it successfully sought at the same time to 'domesticate' the emotions and desires, to control them 'rationally' and to allow them to the extent that they could be identified with socially recognized 'needs' or even as instruments of self-cultivation.

Neo-Confucianism inherited and rationalized the distrustful outlook of Buddhism and Taoism, seeking on the whole to recognize its legitimacy as long as it was moderate and even

⁽²⁵⁾ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁽²⁶⁾ *Luofanlou wenji*, 9, cit. in Yu Yingzhi, 'Rujia sixiang yu jingji faxian. Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingzhen', *Zhisbi fenzi*, 1986, p. 29.

⁽²⁷⁾ *Tan Sitong wenxuan zhu*, pp. 112-14.

⁽²⁸⁾ Cf. *Tan Sitong wenxuan zhu*, p. 116. Cf. Chan Sin-wai, transl., *An Exposition of Benevolence: the Jen-bsieh of T'an Ssu-t'ung*, Hong Kong 1984, pp. 86-87. Cit. in B. Elman, 'Criticism as Philosophy: Conceptual Change in Ch'ing Dynasty Evidential Research', *Qinghua xuebao*, 17, 1, 1985, pp. 193-94.

to channel it in accordance with social needs. The sentiments were thus regarded as good as long as they were identified with the moral norms of social behaviour. The desires and emotions were 'lawful' to the extent to which they were reduced to 'needs', i.e. the physical necessities that are essential for the life and reproduction of the population. This is the origin of the intermingling of many sentiments with social duties that can strike us as ambiguous, if not false. Consistently, all the passions were condemned, with no distinction between 'noble' (e.g. religious and aesthetic passions in the western tradition) and 'ignoble', since the end could not justify the means and excessive passionate rapture could only prove harmful.

The relationship between desire and literature, which forms the main subject of a very recent publication ⁽²⁹⁾, is also addressed at the end of chapter 4 of Guo Yingde's book through the two emblematic characters Ximen Qing and Wang Xifeng. Nor could the work omit one of the most popular subjects of the last dynasties, i.e. the man of letters and the beautiful maiden (*caizi jieren*) who finally succeed in marrying after a series of vicissitudes. For the history of the evolution of certain motifs and their appraisal, see the papers by Lorraine Dong ⁽³⁰⁾ on Yingying and Isobe Yuko ⁽³¹⁾ on Sima Xiangru and Zhuo Wenjun.

Emblematic of the atmosphere of the period is the hedonism of Yuan Hongdao, who seeks to identify human nature with man's striving for well-being ⁽³²⁾, which coincides with freedom with regard to one's own person. His views are expressed clearly in a letter to his maternal uncle Gong Weichang, where he identifies five joys: the first consists in the pleasures of the senses and of conversation, the second in the company of male and female friends, the third in reading the many books collected in his library, the fourth in travelling with no set destination on a boat together with singers and concubines, and the fifth in freedom from economic interests and in living on a day-by-day basis among one's friends and neighbours. He sees this as the only way to live without regrets and to die without corruption ⁽³³⁾.

The last two chapters deal with the relationship between imagination and reality, ideals and passions. A great deal of attention is focused on the psychological tendencies, the spirit of which can be summed up in the famous remark by Tang Xianzu: 'Owing to passions, dreams arise; owing to dreams, dramas are composed'. In other words, literature arises from unreal dreams and such dreams stem from the feelings and passions. It is precisely these mad passions of the soul, this striving towards the genuine and this recourse to the fantastic, that keeps the literature of the period topical.

It is a pity just for a few schematic observations that could have been avoided. For example, the 'materialism' of Dai Zhen is celebrated as though Neo-Confucianism could be regarded as spiritualistic. Greater differentiation would also have been desirable in dealing with

⁽²⁹⁾ Cf. the very recent book by Li Wai-ye entitled *Enchantment and Disenchantment. Love and Illusion in Chinese Literature*, Princeton 1993.

⁽³⁰⁾ L. Dong, 'The Many Faces of Cui Yingying', in Guisao & Johannesen, eds., *Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship*, Youngstown, New York 1981.

⁽³¹⁾ Isobe Yuko, 'Xiangru-Wenjun ju zhi yanbian', *Hanxue yanjiu* (*Chinese Studies*), 6, 1, 1988.

⁽³²⁾ Cf. Guo Yingde, 1992, p. 86.

⁽³³⁾ Cf. *Yuan Zhonglang quanji*, *Yuan Zhonglang chidu* (Epistolary correspondence of Yuan Hongdao), p. 2.

the 'progressive' thinkers, including Gu Yanwu, whose rigid orthodoxy should not be underestimated. The attribution of the spread of 'human desires' also to the spread of Wang Yangming's School of Mind again calls for more clarification. While it is right, in the final analysis, to recognize that Wang did undermine the basis of traditional Confucian morality within Neo-Confucianism itself, one cannot forget his rigour, as expressed in the well-known formula 'maintain heavenly principles and eliminate human desires' (*cun tianli, qu renyu*)⁽³⁴⁾.

Despite a few touches of schematic thinking due to the ruling ideology, this is an extremely interesting and stimulating book and one which clarifies a number of comparatively lesser known aspects of Chinese history and literature.

⁽³⁴⁾ *Chuanqilu. Yangming quanshu*, 1: 7a.

A Symposium on Longmen Studies Luoyang, 1993

by ANTONINO FORTE

From 6 to 12 September, 1993, the 'International Symposium for the 1500th Anniversary of Longmen Grottoes' took place in Luoyang. The conference celebrated also the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the special institute for the study and preservation of the grottoes which was established in 1953. The institute was originally called 'Longmen shiku wenwu baoguan suo' (Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Properties of the Longmen Grottoes), but changed the name to 'Longmen shiku yanjiu suo' (Longmen Grottoes Research Institute) in 1990. Staffed in 1953 with only seven persons in all, the Institute has grown in importance little by little and more than seventy persons are now working in it. In this forty years the Institute has done a tremendous amount of work and its members have greatly contributed with their scholarly publications to the advancing of Longmen studies.

The participants were one hundred eighteen from nine countries, mostly from mainland China (84). Taiwan and Japan were also solidly represented (respectively 11 and 10), followed by the United States (5), Germany (3), South Korea (2), Italy (1), Kazakhstan (1) and Singapore (1). Takashi Hamada made the address at the inauguration of the symposium on September 6 in representation of the foreign participants while Antonino Forte made it at the closing session on the 12th. There were sixty-four papers presented in Chinese, Japanese, and English. Twelve of them were presented at the joint session held on the first day, while the others were distributed among the four sections (1. Archaeology, 2. Art, 3. Restoration and Conservation, 4. History and Texts) held the following days. While giving here a short summary of the twelve papers presented at the opening joint session on September 7, for lack of space, only the titles of the others will be listed, with some exceptions, however. For practical reasons all the summaries and titles below are in English.

Papers Presented at the Joint Session of September 7

1. Jin Weinuo (China), 'On the Style Mutations of Longmen Statuary: Southern Creations in Buddhist Painting and Sculpture and their Influence on the Northern Dynasties'.

Jin Weinuo concentrates his attention here in the formative period of Buddhist art in the south during the period of political separation between North and South (3rd to 6th century). The first really innovative artist was Dai Kui (d. 395) who transmitted his art to his son Dai Yong. Dai Kui is one of the rare Chinese sculptors whose name was handed down by the literary tradition, no doubt because he was also a famous painter, the art of painting being

considered much worthier than sculpture. With Dai Kui the so-called sinicization of Indian art was not the result of casual adaptation and unconscious changes, but the conscious act of an artist who was also profoundly religious. His artistic production became popular both among the cultivated gentry and the common people and contributed to further popularizing Buddhism. With all the importance of Dai Kui and Dai Yong in the history of Buddhist art in China and although from the south their influence reached far, we cannot say that the conscious sinicization started by them had a direct influence and produced changes in the style of Longmen early sculpture.

But the author insists on the fact that certain themes and representations found in Longmen are the result of the artistic interplay between South and North, notwithstanding the existing political division. The role of Wei Xie, Zhang Mo and their contemporary Gu Kaizhi (346-450), the influence of the art of Lu Tanwei (d. 485) are stressed. Prof. Jin points out especially the influence on the North of the southern representations inspired by the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*.

Last, the great influence of Zhang Sengyou (active in the South in the first half of the 6th century) and of his sons Zhang Shanguo and Zhang Rutong in modifying the previous style was described. It cannot be denied that such innovations had a direct influence among the Northern Qi (550-577) and the Northern Zhou (557-581).

2. Chen Qingxiang (Taiwan), 'On the Arhats in the Grotto of the Kanjing Monastery at Longmen'.

The grotto of the Kanjing Monastery is situated in the Eastern Hill of Longmen Grottoes. In the walls of the grotto there are twenty-nine statues of arhats which were sculpted during the period from the reign of Empress Wu (690-705) to the early period of the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (712-756). Most scholars believe that they portray the twenty-nine patriarchs described in the *Lidai Fabao ji* (A Record of Buddhism through the Ages), representing the transmission line of the Chan/Zen sect. Chen Qingxiang is not of the same opinion. She remarks that the *Lidai Fabao ji* was written much later and could not be the text which inspired the number twenty-nine for the statues.

3. Koyama Mitsuru (Japan), 'The Longmen Grottoes in the Sui Dynasty'.

It seems at first that there was sparse activity in Longmen during the Sui period, and this contrasts with the otherwise well-known Buddhist policy of the Sui emperors. Actually it is not so. Let us take the case of the Guyang Cave. The general opinion is that it was sculpted during the Northern Wei dynasty. Nevertheless, the inscription 'Guyang Cave' on the inner side of the right wall means 'grotto of ancient Luoyang', so it's somewhat difficult to regard it as a product of the Northern Wei dynasty. Basing himself on a comparison with the Shuiquan Grottoes in the northern suburbs of Luoyang whose niches are very similar to the niches in the Guyang Cave, he draws the conclusion that the Guyang Cave was formally constructed or repaired after Wendi of the Sui was enthroned.

4. Long Hui (China), 'The Emperor Xiaowendi and the Carving of the Longmen Grottoes'.

While most scholars explain the carving of the Longmen Grottoes in terms of artistic influence from abroad and of the interests of the emperors and empresses, Long Hui points to the 'filial piety' as the main reason for such an explosion of Buddhist art. He emphasizes that Emperor Xiaowendi of the Northern Wei Dynasty thought so highly of the 'Scripture of the Filial Piety', that he decided to carve grottoes in memory of the Grand Empress Dowager

Feng as soon as he moved the capital to Luoyang in 493. Although the Empress Feng was not his mother, but his grandmother, it was she who educated him like a mother. The author considers the Longmen Grottoes to have been first carved by Xiaowendi only for two or three years, and then, Xuanwudi continued his work.

5. C.K. Chan (Chen Zejing) (USA). 'Proposals on the Work of Restoring Longmen Statues to their Original Locations'.

C.K. Chan has collected for more than thirty years one hundred odd statues of Wei, Jin, Tang, Song, Liao dynasties which had been scattered outside China. He is proud for having retaken the statues from the foreigners. Inspired both by his love for Chinese art as well as by patriotic feelings, he suggests a) that the departments concerned establish special teams to search for the grotto statues lost overseas; b) that a museum be set up to collect grotto statues lost overseas; c) that experts write the history of the theft from Chinese Caves to teach Chinese of future generations that they should not permit this to happen again.

6. Ku Cheng Mei (Gu Zhengmei), 'A Study of the Two Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's Images in the Northern Cave of the Leigu Tai'.

The Leigu-tai, on the eastern hill of Longmen grottoes, consists of three grottoes which are considered by scholars to have been dug in the period of Empress Wu of the Zhou (690-705) for the purpose of meditation. The northern grotto still keeps two carved standing images of the Tantric Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, one is eleven headed and four armed, while another is eleven headed and six armed (or eight armed). These cannot be identified with any of the Tantric Bodhisattva images during the Empress Wu period or before. In her paper Ku Cheng Mei tries to find out the reasons for producing mixed images like this during this period and who could possibly be the founder of these three grottoes. She remarks that Tantric Buddhism was introduced into China very early, but it never enjoyed so much popularity as during the reign of Empress Wu. Among the Tantric deities prevailing during this period, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was the most widely worshipped and promoted both for political and religious reasons. Ku Cheng Mei thinks that Ratnacinta (I prefer to reconstruct his name as Manicintana) may have been the person who dug the three grottoes of the Leigu-tai in the early 8th century as he had the ability and knowledge to take such liberty in creating a new style of the image of Avalokiteśvara in that period.

7. Stanley K. Abe (USA), 'Sculpture and Religious Associations in the Guyang Cave'.

Among the patrons of Chinese Buddhist art under the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534) was a type of religious association known as *yiyi* or *beyi*. The paper focuses on the four earliest inscriptions and images dedicated by such associations at the Longmen grotto site. The inscriptions, dated to 502 and 503 C.E., are located in Guyang grotto. It is clear that the core membership of *yiyi* was lay Buddhist devotees and the position of *yizhu* was held by a lay person. The one position that is mentioned in almost every *yiyi* inscription is that of *weina*. It appears that *weina* were monks who were officials of the Northern Wei government charged with the task of overseeing the Buddhist clerical community. The presence of at least one *weina* in virtually every inscription by a *yiyi* during this period strongly indicates that these religious associations were strictly regulated by the Northern Wei administration. The four dedications by *yiyi* in the Guyang grotto allow us to understand the variety of social classes and interests that were represented by religious associations in the years 502 and 503. Further research is necessary to bring about a more complete understanding of group donations by Buddhists under the Northern Wei.

8. Wang Kefeng (China), 'About the Dancing Figures in Longmen Grottoes'.

The paper considers the dancing figures during the Northern Wei and Tang. A large number of stone carvings of beautiful deva-dancers appears in a dozen large and medium-sized grottoes, including Guyang Bingyang carved during the Northern Wei period. Well-arranged in composition and in different postures, these deva-dancers are arranged symmetrically and gracefully. The female devī-dancers all have delicate features and are represented in graceful movements. The sculptures of devī-dancers of Tang dynasty in contrast look life-like. They are often under the seats of buddhas or at the lower part of the walls and not in outstanding places. Surrounded by a long cotton band around their body, devī-musicians play different musical instruments and the scenes in which they appear are very realistic. Wang suggests that the important place given to the devī-dancers in the halo of the great buddha statue at the Fengxian Monastery grotto might have something to do with the importance Empress Wu attributed to music and dance.

9. Antonino Forte (Italy), 'About the Origins of the Great Fengxian Monastery at Longmen'.

According to the stele inscription of 723, placed in the northern side of the base of the great Vairocana statue in Longmen, the Da Fengxian-si was established at Longmen on September 25, 679 (Tiaolu 1.8.15). We do not know the original motivation for its establishment, nor do we have any contemporary evidence that the monastery's original name was Da Fengxian-si. The most plausible hypothesis is that it was founded by the emperor Gaozong (r. 649 to 683) for the 'posthumous well-being' (*zhui fu*) of his father, but other hypotheses cannot altogether be dismissed as long as final proofs are not produced. A certain number of manuscripts, including at least one from Dunhuang, have hitherto passed unnoticed by Longmen specialists, but they show that the monastery was certainly called Da Fengxian-si by the date of October 7, 693 (Changshou 2.9.3). This is the earliest extant evidence we have on the monastery, as it is thirty years earlier than the stele inscription of 723. Interestingly, it shows that the *śāhāvira* of the monastery at that time was the *śramaṇa* Huileng, a religious leader whose activity is documented from 685 and who was very instrumental in the establishment of the Zhou dynasty in 690. Huileng's close connection with other religious leaders belonging to the Da Fuxiansi in Luoyang (founded by Empress Wu as an ancestral monastery in 675) shows that the Longmen Great Fengxian Monastery was closely associated with Empress Wu, even if the hypothesis that it was an ancestral monastery of Tang Gaozong will find confirmation.

10. Lu Shoulin (China), 'Technical Problems on Protection of Grottos'.

China's grottoes are cut on natural cliffs for religious purposes, especially Buddhist activities. Grottoes combine historical, artistic and scientific values and reflect a country's politics, economy, culture, ideology, science and technology and productive forces at a certain period, hence the tremendous importance attributed to the grottoes in China. In the past, due to natural causes, grottoes have been damaged in different degrees. The rise and fall of Buddhist religion through the centuries led to both protection and damage of the grottoes, and as a result Buddhist sculptures suffered at times even severe damages. Later, many statues and murals in the grottoes were stolen. A series of technical measures must urgently be adopted in order to preserve the grottoes. In order to restore a whole image of a statue left incomplete or a broken statue, someone makes creative restorations. But the effect is highly questionable. Actually, incompleteness is often an original feature of history. In order to maintain the

authenticity of the statues and murals, the author of the paper strongly opposes the undertaking of creative restorations on broken or incomplete statues and murals. Lu Shoulin is also seriously concerned with the tourist oriented policy. China's tourism expands more and more. But many newlybuilt spots and service facilities have damaged natural features of grottoes and even led to erosion and damage of grottoes and murals. He then advocates to pay the greatest possible attention to the high level technology of relic protection and to use up-to-date science and technology to protect the rare cultural relics preserved in the grottoes.

11. Liu Mingshu (China), 'The Misunderstanding and the Development of Buddhistic Language'.

The paper deals first with the misunderstanding of the language of Buddhist scriptures that occasionally occurred among Chinese. Intentional or not, it is clear that such misunderstandings affected the essential features of Buddhism. Then Liu remarks that, contrary to the general view that the vocabulary of Buddhism is usually regarded as limited, parochial and lacking vividness, in fact the masses outside the Buddhist circles created over the centuries hundreds and thousands of new words and phrases derived from Buddhism. These words and phrases eventually evolved into idioms, sayings or proverbs, which reflect the vitality and momentum of Buddhism in China.

12. Li Yukun (China), 'The Figure of Guanyin in the Longmen Grottoes and the Belief in Guanyin in China'.

The earliest sculpture of Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin) in Longmen is found in the Weizi Grotto and was made in the second year of Xiaochang era (526). This familiar Bodhisattva is frequently part of the triad called 'the Three Saints of the West' (*xifang sansheng*). Constituted by Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, but it is well known that Avalokiteśvara is represented in China in many other aspects. Li Yukun points out that the statues of Guanyin in Longmen were mainly made for three purposes. a) Those who suffered setbacks in the struggle among the ruling class sought help from Guanyin. Examples are the statue in Wanfo Grotto in the Eastern Hill which was made in the seventh year of Zhenyuan era (791), and the statue in the Shizi Grotto; b) Safety in war; c) Recovery from illness. Generally speaking the sculptures of Guanyin were made for rebirth into the Pure Land of the West, getting out of sufferings and quick attainment of Buddhahood.

Papers Presented at the Four Section Meetings

Here is a list of the other papers distinguished according to the relevant sections. Unless otherwise specified, the authors are from Mainland China.

1. Archaeology

Wen Yucheng, 'Persons in the Two Histories of the Tang Dynasty as seen in Longmen Inscriptions'.

Zhang Baoxi, 'The Pattern of the Two Disciples Statues during the Northern Wei at Longmen'.

Kao Musen (USA), 'A Brief Study of the Formation and Change of the Style of the Longmen Grottoes in the Late Northern Wei Dynasty'.

Wang Long, 'The Sūtra Cave (*zangjing-dong*) at Yijue Grottoes'.
 Okada Ken (Japan), 'On King Udayana's Statues'.
 Ishimatsu Hinako (Japan), 'On the Statues of Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī'.
 Wang Zhenguo, 'The Dangqushu Grotto at Longmen and Connected Questions'.
 Chang Qing, 'A Preliminary Analysis of Longmen Images and Niches during the Late Period of the Northern Dynasties'.
 Wang Diaying, 'Longmen Stone Carvings in the Palace Museum'.
 Wang Zeqing, 'Longmen Grottoes and Statues of Popular Buddhism'.
 Shao Dianwen, 'On the Medical Prescriptions Carved in the Cave of Medical Prescriptions'.
 Huang Wenkun, 'A General Survey of China's Buddhist Grottoes'.
 Dong Yuxian, 'A Brief Account on the Rise of Buddhist Cave Temples in North China during the Northern Wei Dynasty'.
 Gao Yingmin, 'Characteristic of the Statues at Youju Temple and Mt. Fenglong'.
 Gong Daxiong, 'Buddhas of the Three Periods (Past, Present and Future) from the Wei to the Tang in Jin, Yu and Ji Regions'.
 Jia Yingyi, 'History and Present Situation of the Studies on the Grottoes in Xinjiang'.
 Liu Jianhua, 'The Sui Dynasty Niches of Carved Sutras at the Bahui Monastery in Quyang County (Hebei)'.
 Xiang Yifeng, 'Buddhas of the Three Periods (Past, Present and Future) in Maijishan Grottoes during the Sixteen Kingdoms and the Northern Dynasties'.
 Liu Fengjun, 'The Grottoes in Liangzhou and the Diffusion of Dhyāna Practices'.

2. Art

Katherine R. Tsiang (USA), 'The Development of the Flamelike Pattern in Aureoles of Early Buddhist Images and Some Thoughts on the Beginnings of the Guyang Cave'.
 Li Wensheng, 'Research on Music at Longmen'.
 Zhang Fuling, 'Gandhāra Elements and Central Plain Style in the Art of Longmen Grottoes'.
 Chen Yikai (Taiwan), 'On the Shapes of Relief Pagodas in the Yungang and Longmen Grottoes'.
 Fang Chuhui (Taiwan), 'Different Styles of Apsara Paintings and Carvings during the Northern Wei Dynasty'.
 Yang Zhiqiang, 'The Style of the Reliefs at Longmen during the Early Period of the Northern Wei'.
 Judy Chungwa Ho (USA), 'The "Goddess Scattering Flowers" (*tiannu sanhua*) in Chinese Buddhist Art'.
 Kim Mosi and Shen Mingahu (South Korea), 'A Survey and Study of Buddhist Dancing Images Preserved in Ancient Buddhist Monasteries in South Korea'.
 Li Ximing, 'The Relationship Between the Maijishan Grottoes and the Hexi and the Central Plain Grottoes'.
 Li Guanglin, 'On Three Landscape and Human Figures Mural Paintings in No. 127 Grotto of Maijishan and the "Six Methods"'.
 Huo Xunchu, 'Some Considerations on the Apsaras at Qiuci'.
 Ma Zhongli, 'The Artistic Features on the Xiangtang-si Grottoes'.
 Song Langqiu, 'The Stone Inscription Culture of Dazu'.
 Wang Yi, 'The Artistic Beauty of the Anyue Stone Statues'.

3. Restoration and conservation

- Jiang Huiying, 'Review and Appraisal of the Protection Work in Longmen Grottoes'.
Liu Jinglong, 'The Protection of the Longmen Grottoes Yesterday and Today'.
Yang Shaoyong and Zhang Chengzhi, 'The Destroying Process of Condensation to Grotto Cultural Relics'.
Shao Xihui, Xiao Shinong and Xing Zhangbao, 'The Study and Application of Close Range Photogrammetry in the Surveying of Longmen Grottoes'.
Ling Qingmei (Germany), 'Survey of Research on and Protection of the Big Buddha Cave at the Dafo-si in Bingxian Country (Shanxi): Record and Maintenance'.
Huang Kezhong and Ma Jiayu, 'Research for the Restoration of the Grand Buddha at Leshan'.
Shao Xihui, 'The Current Situation and the Prospect of Grottoes: Surveying by Close Range Photogrammetry in China'.
Zhou Jun and Cao Shesong, 'Exploration of Ancient Geology and Geomorphology of Longmen Area'.

4. History and texts

- Zhang Gong, 'Tang Buddhist Monasteries: the Formation and Characteristic of their Distribution'.
Jiang Tingyu, 'Buddhist Remains in Guangxi of the Tang and Song Periods'.
Luo Shiping, 'Early Buddhist Images in China and the Communities of Hu People'.
Lu Qingfu, '"Five Liang Buddhism" and its Transmission to the East' (1).
Zhang Naizhu, 'Further Considerations on Buddhism during the Northern Dynasties as seen from the Inscriptions of Longmen'.
Du Doucheng, 'Some Questions concerning Wu Zetian and Buddhism'.
Cheng Yourwei, 'On Henan's Buddhism in the Sui and Tang Dynasties'.
Chen Chang'an, 'About the Sūtra-Pillars (*jingchuang*)'.
Wang Bangwei, 'Buddhist Nikāya Through Ancient Chinese Eyes'.
Han Shunfa, 'The Statue of a Goddess at Niuheliang and Buddhist Culture'.
K. Sh. Khafizova (Republic of Kazakhstan), 'Manuscripts about the District and Town of Tarbagatay in the Russian National Library'.

It would be too long to summarize all these contributions, so I will limit myself at just singling out five of them which particularly attracted my attention. They were all presented by scholars working at the Longmen Research Institute and other Luoyang institutions and constitute a good demonstration of the vitality of research in Luoyang.

1. The paper presented by Wen Yucheng, a member of the Longmen Research Institute, deals with the 'Persons in the Two Histories of the Tang Dynasty as Seen in Longmen inscriptions'. His study is based on the epigraphic evidence found among the 2,839 Longmen

(1) 'Wu Liang' or 'Five Liang' refers to the Former Liang (314-376), Later Liang (386-403), Southern Liang (397-414), Western Liang (400-421) and Northern Liang (397-439) dynasties which controlled the region of Liangzhou from 314 to 439.

inscriptions and is conceived mainly to supplement historical evidence about those persons who are from through the two Tang histories, that is the *Jiu Tang shu* and in the *Xin Tang shu*. It is well known, in fact, that the two works — the *Xin Tang shu* in particular — tended to exclude from record all references concerning Buddhism. The historian then will greatly appreciate the evidence collected and discussed by Wen Yucheng. The persons in question are grouped into three categories as follows:

(a) Tang Imperial family: 1. Li Yuanqing (Prince Dao, d. 664), 2. Li Yuanfeng (Prince Guo), 3. Li Yuanying (Prince Teng), 4. Li Sujie (Prince Xun), 5. Li Xiaogong (Prince Hejian, 591-640), 6. Li Shen (Prince Ji, d. 687), 7. Li Tai (Prince Wei, 618-652), 8. Li Xian (Prince Zhou, the future Emperor Zhongzong), 9. Li Zhongmao (Prince Wen), 10. Li Longye (Prince of the Zhongshan Commandery, d. 734), 11. Li Huai (Prince Ji), 12. Princess Nanping and 13. Princess Yuzhang (3rd and 6th daughters of Emperor Taizong), 14. Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu.

(b) The Wu family. When Empress Wu overthrew the Tang dynasty and founded the Zhou dynasty in 690, the name of the imperial family changed to Wu. This explains why Wen Yucheng has grouped together the members of the Wu family whose traces in Longmen supplement the official histories. The persons considered are: 1. Wu Chonggui (Prince of the Gaoping Commandery), 2. Wu Sansi's third son Wu Chongzheng and his older sister, the nun Lingjue (c. 687-738), who received the monastic orders from the Chan Master Puji (651-739) (the official histories have no record at all of the son and daughter of Wu Sansi [Prince Liang], the powerful nephew of Empress Wu), 3. The Lady Wu (Princess of the Yonghe District) and the nun Huideng (650-731) who was a disciple of the nun Zhiyun, a Chan Master of the Imperial Chapel (*nei daochang*), probably the same person who had the Wanfo-dong sculpted at Longmen.

(c) High officials of the Tang: 1. Cen Wenben (594-644), 2. Fang Xuanling (578-648), 3. Ashina Zhong and his son Ashina Shijian, 4. Doulu Renye, 5. Yu Wenjie, 6. Tang Lin, 7. Wang Xuance, 8. Xue Rengui, 9. Yao Chong (651-721), 10. Zhao Renben, Qiu Yue, Zhao Dongxi, 11. Zhang Jiuling, 12. Gao Lishi (684-742), 13. Yang Sixu (660-740), 14. Lu Zheng (737-800), 15. Li She (in 711 he sustained Manicintana in the construction of the Tianzhu Monastery at Longmen), Xin Mi (757-820), Lu Jun (776-862) and others.

2. The vice-director of the Longmen Research Institute, Wang Zhengguo, in his 'The Dangqushu Grotto and Connected Questions', discussed a so far little studied grotto. The Dangqushu-dong is a medium sized cave which was carved on the wall of a cliff above the Cave of Medical Prescriptions (Yaofang-dong) during the Northern Wei Dynasty. It is so steep, declares Wang Zhengguo, that it has attracted little attention and has not been researched enough. Recently the author has made a special investigation and gained some data which are presented in his paper. The author is thus able to correct several mistakes made by previous scholars. So, for example, the name 'Tiantong-dong' given to the cave in recent studies is wrong. The error is due to the fact that a statue inscription dated the '4th year of Datong' (538) of the Western Wei dynasty was mistaken for the '4th year of Tiantong' (568) of the Northern Qi dynasty; consequently the cave where the inscribed statue was found was wrongly named the 'Tiantong Cave'. Another important point stressed by Wang Zhengguo is that since the publication in 1941 of the well-known work on Longmen by Mizuno and Nagahiro (see the chronologically arranged section on epigraphy entitled 'Ryūmon sekkoku mokuroku', p. 392, no. 544) what was believed to be the statue of the Anāgāmin in reality represents

Vairocana. This Vairocana statue was sculpted in the 2nd year of Yifeng (677), that is two years later than the colossal Vairocana in the Fengxian-si. Wang suggests that actually the colossal Vairocana may have been the model adopted for this small Vairocana statue in the Dangqushu Grotto.

3. Liu Jinglong, Director of the Longmen Research Institute, in his paper 'The Protection of the Longmen Grottoes Yesterday and Today', underlines how important is to evaluate the ways adopted since ancient times to protect the grottoes so as to profit from the past experience. In fact, protective measures were taken from the very beginning of the opening of the grottoes. Most of them have vaults and central pillars. The Fengxian-si Cave and the Binyang Cave at Longmen, as well as other caves in other parts of China, have drainage trenches. Today, the pillars and trenches still play an important role in the protection of the grottoes. Over the outer parts of the Longmen caves, there are awnings made of stone slabs and caves to protect the caves from erosion due to rain. During the Tang Dynasty, an anti-erosion coating was also used. Measures taken during the Tang Dynasty were simple yet effective. They can be used for reference even today. Other structures added for protection thorough the ages, however, often were esthetically disputable and in some cases even destructive. In the 1960s, China began to make use of modern technology and the protection has become far better than it was previously. The debate on which protective measures to adopt continues today. The government agencies concerned with the development of tourism hold that projects that are solely for protection are unnecessary. Their concern is that tourists be able to enter the grottoes and see the carving inside. The author estimates that the present measures are in conformity with the Venice Charter of 1964 and with the ideas of the prominent scholar of traditional Chinese architecture Liang Sicheng who upholds that protective measures should be so discrete as to give the impression that they are not there (the so-called 'you rwo wu' theory). Against the attempts of passing disastrous projects, Liu Jinglong says that the basic and guiding principles must be to enable the cultural relics to retain their original appearance and to keep intact the original environment of the whole area. Liu is also convinced that a well-pondered adoption both of the most effective traditional measures and of modern materials and techniques can serve the delicate task of preserving the cultural properties.

4. Zhang Naizhu, of the Supervising Board for the Protection of Cultural Properties in Luoyang, Section for Art Protection, presented a paper entitled 'Further Considerations on Buddhism during the Northern Dynasties as seen from the Inscriptions of Longmen'. As the title clearly indicates, Zhang has attempted to add some other evidence and consideration on a subject already treated by Li Yukun in his article 'Buddhism during the Northern Dynasties as seen from the Inscriptions of Longmen'. 'Northern Dynasties' is a general term for the Period during which the Northern Wei (386-534), the Northern Qi (550-577) and the Northern Zhou (557-581) were in power in the northern part of China, that is a period of almost two centuries; but it is clear that essentially the Northern Wei after the shift of the capital to Luoyang in 493 is under consideration. Zhang Naizhu's conclusions are: (a) Buddhism was an essential element of the state policy; (b) it had a wide following in the society and among the masses; (c) it had a well-conceived organization; (d) it greatly influenced all the strata of the society; (e) Luoyang's monasteries continued to have their devotees even after Luoyang ceased to be the capital of the Northern Wei.

5. Chen Chang'an, of the Luoyang Ancient Art Museum (Luoyang gudai yishuguan), dealt with the *jingcbuang* (sūtra pillars), that is the stone pillars on which was carved the text of

the *Uṣṇiṣevijayadbhāraṇī*. Such pillars were extremely popular because they were strictly connected (in my opinion) with the cult of Mañjuśrī in China. Although an edict of 844, during the persecution of Buddhism, ordered that such pillars were all to be destroyed, a great quantity were preserved. Chen Chang'an informs us that thirty-five such pillars have been unearthed in Luoyang. Their inscriptions contain important evidence on the reasons why the pillars were erected, on Luoyang monasteries, on the tangled history itself of the five different Chinese versions of the *Uṣṇiṣevijayadbhāraṇī*, etc. Of particular importance is, according to Chen, the pillar discovered at the Fuxian Monastery in Luoyang.

I would not conclude this rapid survey without considering also a paper which regretfully could not be presented at the symposium as scheduled because its author, Sun Xiushen (China), could not come from Tokyo where he was at the time. Judging, however, from the summary he had sent, his paper ('Evidence on Wang Xuanze's Missions to the Western Regions') seems of great interest. In anticipation of its publication, here is a short summary.

Epigraphic evidence and statues at Longmen inspired by the so-called prototype made by King Udayana show that the protagonist of the paper, Wang Xuanze (7th century), was directly connected with Longmen. It could be added that Wang Xuanze may have influenced enormously the passion for India and Buddhism among Chinese contributing to create the context which permitted the rapid production and creation of Buddhist art in the late years of his life and after. In any case, the fact that Wang Xuanze was borne in Luoyang and extensively travelled to India (four times, according to Sun) fully justifies that he should not have been forgotten in an international symposium on the Buddhist grottoes of Longmen held in Luoyang.

Sun Xiushen deeply regrets that such an outstanding Chinese has always been much ignored and almost forgotten by his countrymen. Fortunately it was not so abroad where Sylvain Lévi and Paul Pelliot noticed his importance and carefully studied the surviving evidence on Wang Xuanze and the fragments of his travel accounts they were able to collect. Then Feng Chengjun followed. The data they found, Sun remarks, played an important role for the knowledge of cultural exchange between China and foreign countries. Thereafter, however, nobody seems to have paid any further attention to Wang Xuanze. Now Sun has collected a remarkable number of other pieces of evidence not known to previous scholars. It leads him to conclude that Wang Xuanze's contribution to promoting Chinese friendly relations with India is even superior to the contribution of Xuanzang (d. 664), the famous scholar and pilgrim who went to India before him.

I hope to have given here some useful indications about this symposium which for the first time has brought together scholars of Longmen studies and has revealed to the wide public the centrality of such studies for understanding 250 years of Chinese history, in particular the periods when Luoyang was the effective capital. The publication in one or more volumes (rather than scattered in different journals and other publications) of the papers presented at the symposium would be of great help. I was informed in November 1993 by Wang Zhenguo that a group for the editing of a *lunwenji* (collection of papers) was actually constituted at Longmen Research Institute. Thus we may expect that such a collection will appear in the course of 1994 or in 1995.

Obituaries

MARIANO IMPERIALI

1905-1994

A sailor's trumpet sounds, the coffin lies on the church floor *more nobilium* and the crowd is hushed on a June morning in Rome. This was the funeral of the *comandante*, as Mariano Imperiali, IsMEO Secretary General from 1953 to 1972, always liked his friends and collaborators to call him although he had been promoted Admiral.

A naval officer heading IsMEO's administrative and cultural services? It is a question we were often asked by Italians and foreigners alike. It is worth recalling that the Italian Navy had on various occasions supported the missions of the former President of IsMEO Giuseppe Tucci in areas unbathed by any seas, as the Himalayan regions. This help consisted in gifts of medicines and a detachment of naval doctors on the expeditions guided by Tucci. After the Second World War a number of Italian naval officers who had not yet reached retirement age were seconded to state and government-controlled organizations with administrative roles.

So it was that Mariano Imperiali, the *comandante*, arrived at IsMEO. His only experience of Asia had been in the Italian battalion in China for a few months in 1927. In the twenty years he spent as the Institute's Secretary General he not only collaborated with exemplary efficiency in the activities promoted by Giuseppe Tucci but also took the opportunity to play a part in relaunching the Institute, especially in the international arena, thanks to his qualities as an organizer and, moreover, to his gift for public relations. On more than one occasion Mariano Imperiali accompanied Giuseppe Tucci on his Asian travels from Japan to Hong Kong, from Nepal to Pakistan, from India to Iran. In 1957, together with the then Vice-President of the Institute Alberto Giuganino, sinologist Martin Benedikter and myself he successfully led the first, by no means always easy, IsMEO cultural mission to the People's Republic of China. Even more than in the daily round of IsMEO office work, this gave me the opportunity to admire certain innate qualities of the *comandante*: firmness, skill in mediation, calm and the aptitude he inherited from his father, former Ambassador to London, for diplomatic negotiation. Having reached the age limit, in 1972 he retired: *dura lex*, the bureaucratic law, *sed lex*. In the twenty years that have gone by since then many have missed the guidance of the *Comandante*, and will undoubtedly continue to do so in the future.

Lionello Lanciotti

Book Reviews

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A. Rigopoulos, *The Life and Teachings of Sai Baba of Shirdi*, p. 524 (A. Pelissiero).

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H. van Ess, *Politik und Gelehrsamkeit in der Zeit der Han* (202 v. Chr.-220 n. Chr.). *Die Alttext/Neutext-Kontroverse*, p. 563 (L. Lanciotti).

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Hok-lam Chan, *The Fall of the Jurchen Chin. Wang E's Memoir on Ts'ai-Chow under the Mongol Siege* (1233-1234), p. 564 (L. Lanciotti).

L. Cooke Johnson, ed., *Cities of Jangnan in Late Imperial China*, p. 564 (L. Lanciotti).

M. Eggert, *Rede von Traum. Traumfassungen der Literatenschicht im späten kaiserlichen China*, p. 565 (L. Lanciotti).

N. Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687). Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries*, p. 565 (L. Lanciotti).

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

Henri Frankfort, *Il dio che muore. Mito e cultura nel mondo preclassico*, Lexiconi, 3. La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1992, XXI-145 pp.

One publication that *East and West* cannot afford to ignore is this collection of six papers by Henri Frankfort, offering an excellent picture of the scholar with his many interests and extraordinary teaching. Few orientalist or scholars of the preclassical world have achieved such clear focus on the profound links between early oriental culture and the classical world — a subject he tackles and illustrates from many points of view, drawing support from various disciplines (an approach also reflected in this collection, which may seem too wide-ranging to be reviewed in our 'History of Religions' columns; it could equally well have come under 'Archaeology' but the title itself finally dictated our choice).

The six papers selected include four lectures, three given in London and one in Amsterdam between 1949 and 1954, a chapter (which closes the volume) of *Cylinder Seals* (1939) and an article published in 1941 (for bibliographical reference see below), ranging in subject matter from the history of religions to art history and archaeology.

An introduction by Paolo Matthiae (pp. VII-XXI) offers a sensitive but graphic picture of this multifarious scholar, from his early studies in London with William Flinders Petrie to his mature years, working with his Danish friend Thorkild Jacobsen. We are taken through his collaboration with English and German archaeologists, the intellectual and scientific interests he pursued from London to Amsterdam and Chicago, and then again between London and Amsterdam, his field work, first in Egypt (Tell al-'Amarna, Abydos and Armant) with the Egypt Exploration Society (1926-1929) and subsequently in Iraq (Khorasabad and the Diyala sites: Tell Asmar, Khafajah, Tell Agrab, Ishtahali) with the Iraq Expedition of the Oriental Institute of Chicago (1929-1937). With the help of the Introduction the reader has immediate perception of the consistent methodological approach underlying the author's wide-ranging research, as his attention turned from pottery to statuary, from sculpture to glyptics, architecture and on to the vast

problems of history, art history and the history of religions — or dwelt on the survival of preclassical images in our common western art heritage⁽¹⁾. It was in fact this latter point that concerned him as director of the Warburg Institute and underlay his keen but critical interest in Ernst Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms and Carl Gustav Jung's school of analytic psychology, as also revealed in the lecture he gave in Hamburg in the year of his untimely death (pp. 47-69). Apart from the wealth of data and perceptive observations contained in the Introduction we may add two further valuable bibliographical references: first, there is the obituary notice written by Pinhas Delougaz and Thorkild Jacobsen⁽²⁾ and the accompanying bibliography compiled by Johanne Vindénas⁽³⁾; secondly, the article by Th. Jacobsen published in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*⁽⁴⁾.

We have already cited one⁽⁵⁾ of the six papers included in this collection: the other five deal with the 'symbolic form' of the dying god, conceived at the level of 'survival as rebirth' (pp. 3-21)⁽⁶⁾; the religious reform of Akhenaton as a case of heresy asserted in a theocratic state (pp. 23-43)⁽⁷⁾; state religious festivals in Egypt and Mesopotamia (pp. 71-90)⁽⁸⁾; the survival of preclassical images in western art (pp. 91-102)⁽⁹⁾; the origins of monumental Egyptian architecture, approached in terms of the relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia (pp. 103-36)⁽¹⁰⁾. The volume closes with bibliographical references for the published works (pp. 137-38), recorded in the previous notes, and an analytic index (pp. 139-45).

We must be grateful to La Nuova Italia for publishing this significant, intelligent collection of papers by the great Dutch scholar, enhanced with an illuminating introduction and presented in an accurate Italian translation by Gabriella Scandone Matthiae.

Gherardo Gnoli

(1) For bibliographical reference see the notes to the Introduction, the bibliographical references on pp. 137-38 and the references given below in notes 5-10, as well as the bibliography presented with the obituary notice published in 1955 (see below, fn. 3).

(2) 'Henri Frankfort, 24 II 1897 — 16 VII 1954', *JNES*, XIV, 1955, pp. 1-3.

(2) 'Bibliography of Henri Frankfort', *ibid.*, pp. 4-13.

(*) 'Frankfort, Henri', *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (Editor in chief M. Eliade), New York 1987, vol. 5, pp. 411-12.

(2) The original English title of which is 'Archetype in Analytical Psychology and the History of Religions', a lecture delivered in German at the Joachim-Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Hamburg, on 27 January 1954. It is one of the three lectures (the other two correspond to the first two papers in this collection, see fn. 6 and 7) published under the title 'Three lectures' in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XII, 1958 (cf. p. 137).

(6) Original title 'The Dying God', a lecture given in London on 10 November 1949.

(7) Original title 'Heresy in a Theocratic State', a lecture given in London on 18 June 1952.

(8) Original title 'State Festivals in Egypt and Mesopotamia', a lecture given in London in October 1949 and published in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XV, 1952, pp. 1-12.

(9) Final chapter of *Cylinder Seal. A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, London 1939.

(10) Original title 'The Origin of Monumental Architecture in Egypt', an article published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, LVIII, 1941, pp. 329-58.

Antonio Rigopoulos, *The Life and Teachings of Sai Baba of Shirdi*, SUNY Series, Albany 1993, XXVIII-466 pp.

This work about Sai Baba (Bābā) of Shirdi contributes to build a bridge between the two sides of Indological contemporary studies: that of philological inspiration and the anthropological one.

Antonio Rigopoulos continually shifts from the ancient context of Sanskrit sources to the contemporary one of the 'vernaculars' Hindi, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu, emphasising the substantial continuity of the tradition which is expressed in the figures of the masters he takes into consideration. Nevertheless he does not neglect the contributions of the Indo-Islamic culture, in particular those of *ṣūfī* (*kashgarī*) inspiration. The view presented to the reader is rich in detail, and the reading is made easy by the

author's continuous reference to the guiding thread of the work, which centres on the figure of Sai Baba of Shirdi, predecessor of the better known Sai Baba of Puttaparthi (Satya Sai Baba).

In this work the author examines the historical data and the cultural references necessary to fit the master's teaching into the huge framework of the reformist movements of Indian contemporary spirituality, in which the boundaries between Hinduism and Islam tend to disappear. Therefore the book is useful, both to the ordinary reader and to the Indologist or Islamist specialist, in that it can broaden his horizons on the basis of a rich documentation completed by a pleiad of notes showing the in-depth research carried out on the texts, and also by an updated bibliography.

The work is duly completed by a precious glossary of technical words.

It is also important to point out that the author's sources include a number of interviews carried out 'in the field', by local contacts who witness the survival of the more or less direct oral tradition about the figure of the master.

The author is particularly successful in the symbolic interpretation of Sai Baba's enigmatic words on two occasions (pp. 155 and 191 f.), and in the general introduction to the topic of *bhakti* (pp. 270 f.).

This necessary preface permits some possible integrations and corrections of the data presented in the book to be pointed out. Regarding the system of transliteration adopted, it might have been more opportune to transcribe the Sanskrit words (technical terms, titles, authors, place-names) by the scientific system and to adopt a simplified system for the neo-Indian languages. The objection to the above-mentioned attitude consists in the easy charge of 'Sanskrit-centrism'. Actually, from this point of view, also neo-Indian languages such as Hindi require scientific transcription. If this is true, then it might have been better to keep to a popular system and to remove the diacritic signs completely.

Maybe, since the author's point of view is substantially synchronical and refers to a recent period, this would have been the most practical solution. From the Note on pronunciation (p. xxi) it seems difficult to understand the reasons for the choice adopted (due to the publisher rather than to the author), since it is a hybrid system,

being neither learned nor popular in a univocal way.

As the book has an excellent preface written by Mario Piantelli, containing a translation of the hymn of Sai Baba's one hundred and eight names, it might not have been inopportune to add to the bibliography (which already contains a number of titles in the Italian language) also the Italian translation of the book written by Howard Murphet about Sai Baba of Puttaparthi (*Sai Baba: Man of Miracles*, York Beach 1987⁶, 1st ed. 1971; Italian translation by Giuliano Caposio, *Sai Baba, l'uomo dei miracoli*, Torino 1980). The work also has a well-balanced Introduction by the above-mentioned Mario Piantelli.

Also other Italian translations of books by and about Sai Baba are not listed. However, it was not the author's intention to focus on the diffusion of the master of Puttaparthi's thought in Italy. It is to be hoped that Mr Rigopoulos will dedicate himself to this topic in one of his articles as the need of a scientific and not an approximate treatment of the subject is becoming more and more felt. The Sanskrit-inspired Indologist conceitedly tends to give less credit to the Indian contemporary masters, and in particular to those acclaimed in Western circles rather than in the 'native' ones. Mr Rigopoulos's study is here to prove just how this haughtiness is misplaced. In his work the *Einführung*, the intellectual sympathy towards the object taken into consideration, never gets the upper hand over his scientific rigour and accuracy.

Finally a few small points: the fn. 93 on p. 71 does not trace the exact source of a quotation taken from *Skandapurāṇa*; the fn. 47 on p. 138 does not give the translation of a passage quoted in the text; the fn. 13 on p. 175 points out erroneously a reference to the *Mabābhārata* (11.5 and 6 instead of 12.244) about the parable of the man at the well, and also fails to point out the possible links with other Indo-European traditions (i.e. the initiatory proof of Wotan hung at the tree in *Hávamál* 138); it is not certain that the *Āṣṭabodha* ascribed to Śaṅkara is 'a non-dualist Śaiva text' (p. 262); it would be right to remind readers that the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* is traditionally linked to the *Brhadmāṇḍapurāṇa* (p. 263); the translation of the word *samādhi* with 'ecstasy' may nowadays be considered slightly

old-fashioned and should be discussed in critical terms (p. 297).

Two more points should be taken into consideration. It seems that the explanation of *vairāgya* is in contradiction with that of *non-mukṣutva*: actually the indifference towards the fruit does not extend itself to the desire for liberation which is, in the last analysis, a desire to be overcome (i.e., we must not consider *mokṣa* like a *phala*), but it is also the spring of the soteriological *īter* (p. 314). Finally, the way (or the ways) by which the master can deal with the devotees' negative *karma* would perhaps have deserved a little more articulate analysis, given the complexity of the topic (p. 346).

Alberto Pelissero



SOUTH ARABIAN STUDIES

Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Bāfaqīh, *L'unification du Yémen antique. La lutte entre Saba, Himyar et le Hadramaut du I^{er} au III^{ème} siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, Bibliothèque de Raydān, Vol. 1, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris 1990, XI-469 pp.

Published as the first volume of the Bibliothèque de Raydān under the direction of Christian Robin, this work is the outcome of long, painstaking research for a 'doctorat d'État' thesis presented seven years before under the supervision of Roger Arnaldez, at the Sorbonne (Paris IV) on 21 June 1983. Quite deservedly, as we shall see, the thesis won the highest recognition of an authoritative, prestigious jury consisting of André Caquot, Jean Leclant, Maxime Rodinson and Christian Robin. Credit is therefore due to the Library of Raydān for having brought this important contribution on the history of southern Arabia to the attention of scholars.

Taking account of the widely accepted division of ancient Yemenite history into three major periods, each of which falling into different phases, the author concentrates his research on the intermediate period, i.e. the period of the sovereigns bearing the title of 'king of Saba' and dhū-Raydān'. He seeks out a line of logical,

continuous development in his endeavour to find order in the facts and events from the beginnings of the period to the final phase, better known to us thanks to the discovery of the al-Mis'al inscriptions (1). We know rather less of the beginnings, partly because of gaps in the otherwise ample epigraphic documentation and partly because of the uncertain dating of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (2). The author sees the situation described in this important classical source as dating back to the phase preceding Abyssinian intervention in the conflict on Yemen soil (p. 365). While acknowledging all the problems involved, Ch. Robin has recently suggested that this phase could correspond to the years 40-50 A.D. (3).

Thus the author is concerned with the historical period dominated by the tribes of the High Lands: to the north, tribes that could be roughly defined as Sabaeans, to the south a confederation of tribes called dhū-Raydān or Ḥimyar with their capital in Zafār. He takes his examination of this intermediate period to the borderline of the 4th century B.C., thus very convincingly and, in general, successfully, attempting to solve the many problems inevitably involved in a history traced out almost solely on the evidence of epigraphic material with contrasting and, occasionally, clashing interpretations. In fact, the early centuries of the Christian era when traditional cults still held sway are undoubtedly among the most complex in Yemenite history. However, we may simplify things by pointing out that: a) the 1st and 2nd centuries were dominated by Saba', Ḥimyar, Qatabān and Ḥaḍramawt; b) Qatabān, a state dating back to the beginnings of South Arabian civilization, disappeared around 175 A.D. when it was incorporated into Ḥaḍramawt; c) in the 3rd century conflicts grew more intense with Abyssinian intervention; d) in the closing years of the 3rd century Ḥimyar succeeded in asserting its supremacy, first annexing Saba', then conquering Ḥaḍramawt and, around 275 A.D., driving out the Abyssinians. It was at the end of the 3rd century A.D. that the political unification of ancient Yemen was achieved with Saba' and dhū-Raydān united under the rule of the Banū dhū-Raydān. The process was brought about by the Ḥimyarite sovereign Shammir Yuhar'ish, who amplified the royal title from 'king of Saba' and

dhū-Raydān' to 'king of Saba', dhū-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamnat', as can be seen in an inscription of 294 A.D. (YMN 12). The 4th century saw this development consolidated, just as on the other side of the Red Sea the rule of Aksum reached out over the regions between the Tigray plateau and the Nile valley while the kingdom of Meroe was annexed (p. 405) (4). It was then that the encounter between South Arabians and Arabs began to take on increasing importance, a few significant episodes having previously taken place with the expeditions of the Sabaeans sovereign Sha'r Awtar against Qaryat al-Fāw, 280 km northeast of Najrān (Ja 635). As we know, this encounter led to the division of the Arabs into two branches: those of the north, or 'Adnānī Arabs, and those of the south, or Qaḥṭānī Arabs, the Ḥimyarites exerting a considerable degree of hegemony over the latter (5).

In fact, the Bedouin Arabs ('rb', etc.) are the subject matter of a fundamental chapter in the second part (VI: pp. 271-315). Here the author examines attestations of 'rb' (arab?), *badu*, al-A'rāb ('rb'), Bedouins in the vicinity of urban centres, the *amṣār* (towns) and *bādīya* (regions devoid of towns and villages) peoples, the Ma'rib Bedouins ('rb Mrb), the 'rb' territories dependent on the kings of Saba', the 'rb S'f', nomad tribes of the Low Lands (6), the Amīr ('mr') (7), of Najrān, Saba' and Ḥaḍramawt and their relations with the Bedouins, the peoples of Sarāt (S'brt') and Tihāma (Tihāmat 'Asir and Tihāmat ash-Shām), the Dā'a tribes and clans, the kingdoms of Shāma, the inscription of an-Nimāra (RES 483) of 328 A.D., inscribed on the tomb of Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Amr, 'king of all the Arabs' (*mlk 'l-'rb klb*), on good terms with Rome and Persia (8) in the period of Shammir Yuhar'ish. He also studies attestations of Nixār, al-Ḥaṣāna (Ḥṣṣ'), al-Asd (al-Asd) and Kinda (Qaryat al-Fāw) in the ad-Dawāsir *wādī* (9).

Actually, the entire work is equally impressive in all its parts thanks to the wealth of data drawn upon and the mastery in South Arabian epigraphy and Arabic historical sources displayed by the author together with fine critical balance. These qualities emerge strikingly in various chapters in the first part, dealing with problems of chronology ('Towards a chronology unconditioned by the idea of the simultaneity of the dynasties ruling in Saba'

during the period of the kings of Saba' and dhū-Raydān': pp. 19-136): in chapter III (pp. 39-53), on the simultaneity of different dynastic lines; in chapter IV (pp. 55-69), on the al-Qiyāla institution in the period of the kings of Saba' and dhū-Raydān; in chapter VI (pp. 81-98), on the Salhīn Palace, the symbol and centre of power in Saba'; in chapter VII (pp. 99-115), on 'New Hawlān' and relations between this tribe and the Sabaeen Kingdom; and in chapter VIII (pp. 117-36), on the chronology.

The second part ('The forces in the field': pp. 139-315) is in fact an ample study in historical geography and includes the chapter on the Bedouin Arabs referred to above. This chapter is preceded by richly detailed chapters on Saba', Ḥimyar, Qithbān (Qatabān), the territories of the *wild 'm* (who, the author demonstrates, cannot be identified with the Ḥimyarites: p. 193) and Awsān, Ḥadramawt, Ḥabashat and Akṛūm. The author handles this complex material with consummate command, raising a number of thought-provoking points and tackling the thorny problems they often involve. Personally speaking, I was particularly impressed by the sections dealing with the tribes of Bakīl and Sum'ay and the chapters on the tribes of Ḥimyar, Qatabān and Ḥadramawt.

The third part ('The unification of the two States as a central project about which the events of the Saba' and dhū-Raydān period developed': pp. 319-405) falls into three chapters containing a description — with the inevitable gaps due to the state of the sources — of the sequence of events spanning three centuries to culminate in the unification of Saba' and dhū-Raydān. The dialectic between Sabaeans and Ḥimyarites and conflict between all the forces in the field including Bedouin Arabs and Abyssinians are illustrated clearly without glossing over the complex problems involved, with scrupulous but balanced reference to all the epigraphic material available and all the other — unfortunately very scant — historical sources. The author reconstructs both dialectic and conflict in the light of the project for unification that had already, at least in part, been devised by the Sabaeen Sha'r Awtar: this he sees as the central axis of Yemen history in the period of the kings of Saba' and dhū-Raydān, concluding at the end of the 3rd

century A.D. with the Ḥimyarite Shammir Yuhar'ish who eventually amplified his royal title to include also Ḥadramawt and Yamnat.

The main thesis — practically the primary reason for producing the volume — rests on the demolition of those theories that argued for the possible coexistence in Saba' of different ruling dynasties simultaneously thrown, up by the great tribes in competition during the intermediate period of ancient Yemen's history⁽¹⁰⁾. Although no few obscure points remain, we may say that the author convincingly argues the validity of his thesis with reconstruction of an essentially or prevalently relative chronology, illuminatingly outlined in the table on p. 136.

There is also a basis idea running through the entire work, and this is the profound continuity in the history of ancient Yemen. Transition from one period to the next (according to the periodization proposed by the author: from the earliest to the intermediate period, the object of his research, and thence to the latest period) was not abrupt, triggered by external, invading forces 'comme cela c'est passé dans d'autres régions' (as the author puts it on p. 1, although some exemplification might have helped). Even in the final phases of Yemen's pre-Islamic history characterized by Abyssinian and Persian hegemony in the 4th century, the author argues, many other factors including, first and foremost, the facts of geography, considerably detracted from the force of foreign influence in the history of Yemen, shifting the emphasis to those elements of continuity that mark the culture of southern Arabia from the first half of the first millennium B.C. to the triumph of Islam.

With regard to the actual process of Yemen's unification, I believe it may well be worth tackling the problem of the formation of the Ḥimyarite empire as nation state with an eye to a broader trend marking the 3rd century A.D., which saw transition towards Late Antiquity and the growth of national cultures in the Hellenistic-Roman world and towards the nation state of the Sassanians in Iran. However, the nature and quality of the sources still hamper this type of approach, clouding over the economic, social and, most of all, perhaps, cultural history.

The volume closes with a bibliography (pp. 409-28), a list of abbreviations (p. 429), indexes

of the names of sovereigns (pp. 433-41) and of the inscriptions (pp. 444-53), with a list of the tables referring to the *qayl*-s of Sum'ay, Bakil and Gura, relative chronology, the genealogies according to al-Hamdānī and al-Himyārī (for al-Hārith ar-Rā'ish) ⁽¹⁾ and J. Pirenne's hitherto unpublished chronology for the last kings of Qatabān and the first kings of the Saba' and dhū-Raydān period (p. 455), with references to ten maps (p. 457), with *Addenda* (pp. 459-60) and a table of subjects (pp. 461-69). Particularly useful are the meticulous tables (pp. 52, 136, 188, 205) and maps (pp. 138, 175, 195, 221, 225, 253, 271, 295, 301 plus two inserted at the end of the volume).

Naturally, a few compositorial problems due largely to last moment corrections and the odd inaccuracy in references to pages with Roman numbering (cf. p. 461) in no way detract from the value of a painstakingly prepared publication. For revision and editing we have to thank the director of the series, also author of a significant Preface (pp. V-VI), Christian Robin, together with Mrs Joannès de Neuville, Mr Mounir Arbach, Mr François Bron and, finally, the Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Students of southern Arabian antiquity and epigraphy will no doubt have the same feelings of gratitude to Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Bāfaḡh as his wife, Nūriyya M. Bāhārūn, dedicatee of the volume, for the great help given here to those who wish to take a more strictly historical approach to southern Arabian civilization.

Gherardo Gnoli

(1) M. Bāfaḡh & Ch. Robin, 'Ahmaniyyat muḡūḡ ḡabal al-Mi'sāl', *Raydān*, 3, 1980, pp. 9-29 of the part in Arabic; Ch. Robin, 'Les inscriptions d'al-Mi'sāl et la chronologie de l'Arabe méridionale au III^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne', *CRAI*, 1981, pp. 315-39.

(2) See, now, L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989.

(3) 'L'Arabie du Sud et la date du Périple de la mer Erythrée. Nouvelles données', *JA*, CCLXXIX, 1991, pp. 1-30; Id., in *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Nabomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions* (= *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 61/3, 1991 [1992]), Aix-en-Provence, p. 23. The article by Robin in *JA* was followed by a

contribution by G. Fussmann, 'Le Périple et l'histoire politique de l'Inde', *ibid.*, pp. 31-38, illustrating that the political situation in India reflected in the *Periplus* corresponds to the period between the 30s and 50s of the Christian era.

(4) Also see fn. 61 citing Y.M. Kobishanov, 'Axoum du I^{er} au IV^e siècle; économie, système politique, culture', in *Histoire générale de l'Afrique*, II: *Afrique ancienne*, Paris 1980, pp. 407-28, and p. 411 in particular.

(5) Cf. Robin in *L'Arabie antique...*, *cit.*, p. 64.

(6) Cf. A.F.L. Beeston, *Warfare in Ancient South Arabia (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.)*, *Qahtan Studies in Old South Arabian Epigraphy*, Fascicle 3, London 1978, p. 32.

(7) Called 'dm mlk': J. Ryckmans, 'Himyartica 4', *Le Muséon*, LXXXVII, 1974 (pp. 493-521), p. 500.

(8) Cf. Beeston, 'Nemara and Faw', *BSOAS*, 42, 1979 (pp. 1-6), pp. 5 f.

(9) On which see A.R. Al-Ansary, *Qaryas al-Faw. A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia*, Riyadh [1981].

(10) Cf., with various approaches and points of view. J. Pirenne, 'L'inscription Ryckmans 535 et la chronologie sud-arabe', *Le Muséon*, LXIX, 1956 (pp. 165-81), p. 180; J. Ryckmans, *La chronologie des rois de Saba' et dhū-Raydān*, Istanbul 1964, p. 27; Beeston, *Warfare...*, *cit.*, p. 5; also, of course, the vast historical work by H. von Wisamann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Sudarabien* (Sammlung Eduard Glaser III), Wien 1964; Id., 'Himyar, Ancient History', *Le Muséon*, LXXXVII, 1964, pp. 429-97; Id., 'Die Geschichte des Sabäerreichs und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. by H. Temporini & W. Haase, II. 9/1, Berlin-New York 1976, pp. 308-544.

(11) Cf. M. Bāfaḡh, 'al-Hārith ar-Rā'is wa-nasabuhu al-muḡtālaf fi-hi', in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson par ses élèves, ses collègues et ses amis*, ed. by Ch. Robin, Paris 1985, pp. 411-34.

Inventaire des inscriptions sudarabiques. Tome 1: Christian Robin, *Inabba'*, *Haram*, *al-Kāfir*, *Kamna* et *al-Harūshif*, Fascicule A: Les documents; Fascicule B: Les planches, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres-IsMEO, Paris 1992, 221 pp., 60 pls.

With inscriptions from places in lower and middle Jawf — *Inabba'*, *Haram*, *al-Kāfir*, *Kamna* and *al-Harūshif* — the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of Paris and IsMEO jointly

inaugurate a new series which will eventually bring together all the known inscriptions deriving from single sites, thus creating a systematic, organic collection of South Arabian epigraphic material while also providing the opportunity to draft the various local monographs — of great use to scholars not only of epigraphy but also of the history of ancient southern Arabia. The first tome, placed in the responsible hands of Christian Robin as is also editorship of the entire series, deals with various places in Jawf including the particularly important example of Haram. Thanks to the many inscriptions it offers we can now reconstruct a span covering centuries of the history of this small kingdom exposed to the influence of Saba' and Ma'in as well as that of the nomadic 'Arabs'.

The volume is divided into five chapters, each on one site. To describe the proportions of epigraphic material and the data that may be gleaned from it, the chapters are in turn divided into sub-chapters usually dealing with the site and its features, the present state of the material itself, visitors, ancient place names, etc.

The first chapter (pp. 1-8) deals with four inscriptions (MAFRAY-Inabba' 1-4) from a place — Inabba' — situated on the left bank of the Madhāb *uḡdī*, 10 km east of Ma'in, first visited by the French Mission in 1981, over a hundred years after the visit by Joseph Halévy, who found nothing of importance there. The first of these inscriptions names a local sovereign (*mlk 'nb*); the fourth a personage who renovated (*s'ḥd*) the banquetting hall (*m'bm*) of Sami' dhū-Fara' (*S'm' ḡ-Fr'*), a divinity already attested in the period of the *mukarrib*-s and probably venerated in an area bounded by the *jabal* al-Lawdh to the north, Jidfir to the west and Ma'rib to the east; veneration also extended to the Bakīl[™] tribe at Rayda (p. 8).

The second chapter (pp. 11-126) takes up a large part of the volume with thorough study of fifty-six inscriptions from Haram or its immediate vicinity: the twenty-seven discovered by Joseph Halévy and Ḥayyim Ḥababūsh, many now lost, the twenty-three found after 1870 (thirteen of certain, ten of probable provenance), the Fa 127 inscription re-used at al-Ḥazm the CIH 518 inscription which Halévy erroneously took to be from as-Sawdā' (Hal 359), two inscriptions

found *in situ* by the French Mission (MAFRAY-Haram 1-2) and two inscriptions (Gl A 716 and Hal 681 = CIH 568 = Royal Asiatic Society C), which may have come from Haram. All the inscriptions are listed on pp. 15-16 with their CIH and RES indications together with reference to copies by Halévy and Ḥababūsh, casts by Eduard Glaser and any relevant museum collections (twenty-five of them are now in museums, mostly in Europe: Vienna, Berlin, London, Saint Petersburg, Hamburg, Rome, Asmara). P. 19 gives a reconstructed plan showing the positions occupied by the inscriptions in the temple of Banāt 'Ād ('the Daughters of 'Ād') according to Halévy's data: in fact, twenty-two of the twenty-seven inscriptions he found were situated in a temple standing below the site in the direction of al-Ḥazm and five at al-Fir', i.e. on the tell itself.

Robin's painstaking reconstruction is extremely useful since it gives us a full yet precise picture of the situation, showing all too clearly the harm suffered through the destruction of almost all the inscriptions copied by Halévy and Ḥababūsh: objective limitations to exact interpretation of the texts are posed by mistakes in copying together with the impossibility of palaeographic examination (p. 17). On the basis of this minute, detailed reconstruction we can now tackle organic and thoroughly comprehensive study of the inscriptions and the history of Haram: we also have an important study by G. Garbini on the latter aspect (¹).

After some brief notes on the temple of the 'Daughters of 'Ād', the walls of the city and the destruction wreaked in the last 150 years (pp. 20-21), Robin tackles the complex problem of dating the Haram inscriptions. On the basis of palaeographic analysis — possible on twenty-seven of the fifty-six inscriptions (p. 23) — and the contents (above all mention of sovereigns and divinities), Robin proposes dividing the history of Haram into two periods. The Madhābite period runs from the origins to around 200-150 B.C. and is characterized by use of the language (in competition with Sabaeen) which he suggests calling Madhābite (²) (p. 31), by a pantheon dominated by the god Matabnatiyān (*Mabuty'*) and by sovereigns bearing the title 'king of Haram'. The Amīrite period runs roughly from

200-150 B.C. to the end of the 1st century A.D. and is characterized by use of the 'Haramite' (or 'pseudo-Sabaeen', in competition with Sabaeen) language, the appearance of the 'Athtar clan (alongside the Amir^{am} and Hanaki clans) and a pantheon dominated by the Halfān ('Hf') and dhū-Samawī (d-S'mawī) gods. He also points out that the Haram kingdom already existed in the period of the Sabaeen *mukarrib* Karib'il Watar son of Dhamar'alī, whose inscriptions belong to styles A2-B1 as defined by Jacqueline Pirenne and who was contemporary with king Yadh-murmalik of Haram (Haram 15 = Hal 154 = CIH 516), as has been cogently argued by J. Pirenne (?), H. von Wissmann (*) and G. Garbini (p. 24) (?). Finally, with regard to chronology Robin points out that the end of the Madhābite period should be placed around 200-150 B.C., a few decades before the end of Ma'in (120-100 B.C.), and is to be accounted for with the arrival of tribal groups, shepherds and caravaneers who settled in Haram; pressure from these quarters may also account for the end of Ma'in (p. 29) (?).

Chapter IV deals with the language of the Haram inscriptions (pp. 31-34), pointing out that in the Madhābite period both Sabaeen and Madhābite were used at an early stage, i.e. before the appearance of Ma'in (and it is precisely on account of this linguistic attestation preceding the Minaean reign that Robin prefers to define the language as 'Madhābite') (?), while latterly, i.e. after the appearance of Ma'in and up to 200-150 B.C. Madhābite alone was used. In the Amirite period, however, both Sabaeen and a 'pseudo-Sabaeen', i.e. a dialect that A.F.L. Beeston (?) had some time ago proposed defining as 'Haramite' and which seems to have some peculiarly Arabic elements (p. 34), were in competition.

In the early phase of the first period the fully or prevalently Madhābite texts are, respectively and according to Robin's new reference system for Haram texts, Haram 3, 4, 12 and Haram 9, 11, 12, 14, 20 (with s'l instead of b'qny in the sense of the verb 'to dedicate', random use of the mination and of a phonetic, non-etymological b), those fully or prevalently Sabaeen, respectively, Haram 15 and Haram 5, 7, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24 (with b'qny for the verb 'to dedicate'). The latter phase of the first period is represented by a few

Madhābite texts only: Haram 2, 42, 43, 47. In the second period the Sabaeen texts are Haram 18, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 37, 38, 51, the pseudo-Sabaeen texts Haram 8, 10, 13, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 53, 56 (the latter group characterized by use of the preposition *mn* in the place of the South Arabian *bn*, conjunction of subordination *bn*, the negation *bn* followed by the verb conjugated with prefix, s' and s' or t alternation and a tendency to omit ', b and ?).

The pantheon in turn shows parallel changes: in the Madhābite period the following divinities are attested: Almaqah (through Sabaeen political influence); 'Athtar and 'Athtar or 'Attar Ba'sān; 'Athtar dhū-Qabḍ or dhū-Qabḍ (Minaean god); 'Athtar dhū-Rahibah (well attested at Kamna); dhāt-Himiyam (mainly Sabaeen goddess); Il; Matabnaṭiyān (the major god of Madhābite Haram, possibly a local version of 'Athtar), whose name is probably to be interpreted as 'siège [*mtb* like the Aramaic *mtyb*] de Naṭiyān' (pp. 63 f.), the god (not goddess) to whom the temple of Banāt 'Ād and other sanctuaries were dedicated; Wadd or Wadd^{am} (a god much venerated in Jawf); Yada'ismuh or Yada'ismuhu (a divinity proper to Haram). The protocol order of the divinities in the Madhābite period is given in Haram 12: Wadd, 'Athtar dhū-Rahibah, Yada'ismuh, Matabnaṭiyān, dhāt-Himiyam, 'Athtar Ba'sān (p. 41). The Amirite period saw radical changes in the scenario, with the appearance of new divinities: Halfān (also attested at al-Kāfir), to whom the temple of Banāt 'Ād was dedicated anew, thenceforth known as Arathat^{am}; 'Athtar dhū-Dhibān (Sabaeen divinity); 'Athtar Shāriqān (a divinity shared by various regions of southern Arabia), possibly defined as a 'protecting father' (*wld Ḥwyt*) in Haram 53/4 (pp. 47, 123); dhū-Samawī, god of the Amir^{am} tribes, of the Bayyin temple (see Haram inscriptions 30-37) and lord of the Marwqaṭān sanctuary; the 'Lord of the temple of god of Su'ayd^{am} (*b'l byt 'lb S'yd^{am}*). The Amirite period also attests to the confession of sins, already in use among the Minaeans in earlier times as evidenced, among other cases, by CIH 678 (p. 49) (?).

Transition from the Madhābite period to the Amirite period in Haram history is also marked by analogous changes in the political and social institutions (pp. 51-56). Madhābite Haram was

governed by a sovereign and a Council of Elders representing the people of Haram. In order to evoke the authority of the State reference was made equally to 'the king and Haram' (see e.g. the expression *b-r'z Wtr'l w-Hmr*^m, 'by order of Watar'il and of Haram^m': Haram 16/9-10; 17/9-11; 19/9-11; 20/7-8). We are acquainted with various kings (and co-regents) of Haram. One was that Yadh-murmalik who can be identified with the homonymous sovereign of Haram mentioned in Sabaeen inscription RES 3945/17 (style B1 according to J. Pirenne), where in fact we read that Karib'il Watar son of Dhamar'ali (in turn probably identifiable with the Karib'il of Haram 15/8) granted the waters of dhū-Qaf'an, formerly owned by the city of Nashān, to Yadh-murmalik, king of Haram. Another was Watar'il Dhahān son and co-regent of Yadh-murmalik (p. 26), and then there was Bi'athtar co-regent of Yadh-murmalik, and finally Ma'dikarib Raydān son of Hawtar'athat, king of Haram^m (Haram 47/2-3). Alongside these were other figures endowed with royal prerogatives (pp. 51 f.) and various other functionaries with offices both civil (*gyn*, 'minister'; *kabir*, 'chief') and religious (*kbr 'rs Mibny*^m, 'high priest of Matabnatīyān': Haram 50/2-3). The population was divided into clans ('*bl*') and hamlets (dhū-XXX) and distinguished according to three social categories: political and religious functionaries (often bearing epithets); the clans employed in agriculture and war; the artisans, 'possibly excluded from the tribal system as in traditional Yemenite society' (p. 53).

As we saw above, the population of Amīrite Haram was marked by the presence of new clans ('*bl*', roughly corresponding to the Sabaeen *s'ḥ*, 'tribe'): the Amīr^m, a clan or tribe of great importance in southern Arabian history⁽¹⁰⁾ that settled in Haram in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. (p. 54); the 'Athtar, otherwise unknown; the Hanakī, also present at al-Kāfir, Kamna and in other parts of southern Arabia (CIH 450/3 and 6; CIH 534/2; RES 4133/6; RES 4663/2), as also at Qaryat al-Fāw, north of Hījāz, very probably Arab caravaneers, etc. Amīrite Haram no longer had sovereigns but was governed by a Council of eight members, probably resembling the Council of Six of Sirwāh or the Council of Twelve of Yathill (Barāqish), and an Assembly of Elders (p. 55).

On the basis of all these data Robin has succeeded in sketching an outline of Haram history (pp. 57-60), which can be divided into various phases and, as we have seen, two major periods: the first, as a Madhābite kingdom; the second as an Amīrite city placed under Sabaeen protection. In the first period Haram was a small state which eventually gravitated into the Sabaeen political orbit in the period of Karib'il Watar (7th century B.C.)⁽¹¹⁾ before the emergence of Ma'in, and finally regained independence. If on no other grounds the latter turn of events is clearly attested by its sovereigns and a pantheon dominated by divinities quite distinct from the Sabaeen and Minaean gods, including Matabnatīyān, 'Athtar Ba'sān and Yada'ismuh. The Madhābite period also shows traces of Sabaeen political influence, over and above those discernible in the reign of Karib'il Watar.

In the second period Haram was occupied by new clans or tribes and its history now unwound in the context of Arab-Sabaeen conflict attested by inscription CIH 79/9-10 and by the 'war of Amīr' (*dr 'wr*) mentioned in M 139 = RES 2917/2 for the Jawf region. Political independence waned and the monarchy came to an end. Sabaeen influence made itself felt in the language, in turn characterized by Arab influence. The protection accorded by Saba' is documented with the erection of a temple dedicated to 'Athtar dhū-Dhibān — a Sabaeen divinity presiding over tribal alliances — by the 'Athtar clan (Haram 38). An inscription (Haram 10/5) includes mention of a 'war of Ḥadramawt' (*dr Ḥdram*^m), which may have been the war that saw Saba' itself fighting Ḥadramawt in Jawf, under the reign of Karib'il Bayyin (Ja 643), around the end of the 1st century A.D. (p. 60).

In the second section of chapt. 2 (pp. 61-126) Robin has a significant contribution to make to interpretation of the Haram inscriptions as well, of course, as the two discoveries made by the French Mission (Haram 1 and 2), the first consisting of a proper name, the second of a twenty-line text one important feature of which is that it proves that Matabnatīyān was a male divinity: *Mibny*^m 'l *Tbr*^m. Haram 3 and 4 probably give us the earliest name of the temple of Banāt 'Ād: Ḥadanān (read by Robin as *Hdn*^m). Numerous improvements are made in the in-

terpretation of the inscriptions of this temple (Haram 5-24), notably in the case of Haram 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 18. These are followed by the al-Fir' (Haram 25-29) and Bayyin temple (Haram 30-37) inscriptions. The other inscriptions are grouped as coming quite definitely (Haram 38-48), probably (Haram 49-54) and possibly (Haram 55-56) from Haram. Particularly significant are the comments on Haram 33, 38, 42, 49 and 53.

The third chapter (pp. 129-46) deals with the inscriptions from al-Kāfir, a place north of Jawf and a series of hills, south of *jabal al-Ahmar* and 15 km north-northwest of al-Hazm as the crow flies. The site includes the ruins of a small temple from which its present name derived (*kāfir* 'infidel', which befits a place of Pre-Islamic worship) and lies in the Sabdā area traversed by a *wādī* of the same name, into which flows another *wādī* also called al-Kāfir. Probably it belonged to the territory of Haram in ancient times, seeing that the Haramite god Matabnaṭiyyān features in two inscriptions (al-Kāfir 4/2 and 5/2). Another inscription (al-Kāfir 29) bearing the name of a 'devotee of Halfān' (*wrtd Hlf*) seems to reflect the Amīrite period of Haram, as also does the *nisba* of the Ḥanākī clan (al-Kāfir 10).

The thirty-three inscriptions discovered by the French Mission consist mainly of short graffiti incised somewhat roughly and, moreover, in such a way as to offer no certain chronological elements from the palaeographic point of view. Some, however, are monumental (al-Kāfir 1-5 and 7) while two (al-Kāfir 3 and 4) relatively extended inscriptions can be classified attributed to styles C3 and between B and C in J. Pirenne's classification (p. 129).

The texts add scanty evidences to our knowledge: apart from the names of the Haramite divinities Matabnaṭiyyān and Halfān, they include various proper names referring to persons, lineages and clan hamlets, some attested for the first time (see in particular: *l'm*, *l'b*, *Bkrt*, *Gm'l*, *Hmyd*, *Ḥs'k*?, *Kmnt*, *Mbyd*, *Rbw*, *Ṣrht*, *Yfs*, *Ybrdw*).

Comparable in all respects with the monograph on Haram (chapt. 2) is the fourth chapter (pp. 149-94) on Kamna (or Kamnā), most probably the ancient Kaminahū (name of kingdom and tribe), the *Kaminacum* (accusative) in Pliny VI 160, conquered by Aelius Gallus in 25-24 B.C.,

according to the identification that can be considered certain since formulated by D.H. Müller over a hundred years ago (pp. 154, 158). Elaborated with extraordinary aptness, the data enable Robin to reconstruct the 'premiers jalons' for a history of this town (pp. 157-67).

In ancient times the territory of Kaminahū included Hixmat an-Nasā'ib and, probably, al-Ḥarāshif (p. 157). The present site of Kamna is situated on the left bank of the Madhāb *wādī*, 9 km west of al-Hazm. It consists of a tell and some ruins of a sanctuary just over 1 km east of the tell, in a place itself called Hixmat an-Nasā'ib. The site was discovered by the Halévy-Habeshush expedition in 1870. It was visited by Aḥmad Fakhri in 1947 and by the French Mission for the first time in 1981, on which occasion ten inscriptions were found, eight on the tell and two in the temple of Hixmat an-Nasā'ib.

The epigraph inventory (pp. 151-53) tells us that seventeen of the inscriptions are of certain provenance: apart from the ten found on the site (RES 2841 = Kamna 2; RES 2842 = Kamna 3; RES 2844 = Kamna 8; RES 2847 = Kamna 1; MAFRAY-Kamna 4-7 = Kamna 4-7; MAFRAY-Kamna 9-10 = Kamna 9-10), seven more are recorded as coming from Kamna (RES 2843, 2845, 2846, 2848, 2849, 2849 bis, Ry 553: in the order given here they take the new reference numbers Kamna 12-18). Five more, according to Robin, may be considered as coming from Kamna and its territory: CIH 716 = Kamna 11 (from Haram according to Halévy, from Kamna according to Glaser); RES 2897 = Kamna 19 and RES 2924 = Kamna 20 (from as-Sawdā' according to Halévy); RES 3252 = Kamna 21 and RES 4639 = Kamna 22 (provenance not recorded). Robin sets out cogent reasons to argue that these five inscriptions in fact come from Kamna (pp. 151 f.).

Like the al-Ḥarāshif inscriptions, many of the twenty-two Kamna inscriptions display graphic features (in the letters *t*, *s*³, *h*, *g*, *z* and *w*) suggesting that there must have been a particular graphic tradition (¹²), independent of the tradition culminating in the formulation of the Sabean script (pp. 153 ff.). With the exception of Kamna 11 (CIH 716), all the other inscriptions lending themselves to palaeographic analysis are very archaic, falling between Pirenne's styles A

and B, i.e. around the beginning of the reign of Ma'in (see below). Kamna 11, on the other hand, is to be dated roughly to the 1st century B.C., which suggests that the site of Kamna was flourishing more or less in the 7th-5th centuries B.C., and then again on the advent of the Christian era. During the latter occupation the population changed, as also at Haram. So much is demonstrated by the presence of the Hanaki clan (Kamna 11) and inscription Haram 38 (CIH 434), which mentions a 'king of Kaminahū' with a somewhat Arabic name: Wabbtm son of Mas'ūdtm. However, there was a different population in the more archaic period, again showing analogy with the population of Haram, and language and onomastics (pp. 162-64) prove that it was in fact Madhābite.

As for the few events we can reconstruct in Kamna history, we have in the first place the whole business echoed in RES 3945/17: the concession to Nabat'ālī king of Kaminahū of a number of canals formerly belonging to Nashahān by mukarrib Karib'il Watar. At that time the territory of Kamna probably extended far enough to embrace al-Ḥarāshif (there are many links between Kamna and al-Ḥarāshif, including onomastics: p. 162).

In the archaic period the kings of Kaminahū did not sport their royal title in their inscriptions. However, on the evidence of the inscriptions of Kamna and various other places we can identify Nabat'ālī Amar son of Ilisamī, almost certainly the same sovereign as in RES 3945/17 and al-Ḥarāshif 2/1, who reigned under the protection of Saba', and Ilisamī Nabat'ālī son of Nabat'ālī, a contemporary of mukarrib Yada'il Bayyin son of Yatha'amar Watar (p. 160), known to us through inscription CIH 377 from al-Baydā'.

Together with these a number of other personages named in the Kamna inscriptions — four, to be precise — may have been kings of Kaminahū prior to Nabat'ālī Amar son of Ilisamī, their names recurring in inscriptions from al-Ḥarāshif 3 and Kamna 7, 9 and 10, belonging to J. Pirenne's graphic styles A and A-B1 (pp. 161 f.).

Of the thirty archaic period proper names of persons recurring in the Kamna and al-Ḥarāshif inscriptions (taken together in view of their analogies and points of contact), no fewer than twenty-five are compounds based on two roots,

in contrast with the scant number shown by the most recent period (p. 164). Thus we have the same phenomenon that already marked Haram onomastics, and in even more striking proportions. A good many proper names are attested for the first time.

With regard to religion, the Kamna inscriptions mention the following divinities: Almaḡah (through Sabacan political influence, in Kamna 7/2); 'Athtar (without specification, in Kamna 9/2); 'Athtar dhū-Rahibah (in various inscriptions in Kamna and Haram 12/12-13); 'Athtar Ḥagr (also in various inscriptions in Kamna); 'Athtar Shāriqān (Kamna 7/2); Madahwū, dedicatee of the Ḥizmat an-Naṣā'ib temple (Kamna 7 and 10), amply attested in Kamna inscriptions, and thus to be taken as the major divinity of the kingdom (p. 166); Nab'al, again a divinity above all of Kamna, amply attested in its inscriptions as well as in RES 3086 (= MAFRAY-as-Sana' 1, in the al-Baydā' region) and in Ja 523/2, of unknown provenance; Qabḍ or Qabṭ (Kamna 9/2, 20 and 21; see pp. 180 f.); Wadd (Kamna 7/2), a god venerated throughout Jawf. Thus the divinities most characteristic of the kingdom of Kaminahū appear to have been Madahwū, 'Athtar Ḥagr and Nab'al.

Of particular interest in the second section of chapt. 4 (pp. 169-94) are the comments on inscriptions Kamna 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, all observed by the French Mission on the site, and Kamna 14, now in the Museum of the Ancient East in Istanbul. The latter inscription on various fragments of an altar, in part copied by Halévy (Hal 274; cf. RES 2846 and M97), has as far as possible been reconstructed and interpreted by Robin (pp. 186-88).

In the following, and last, chapter (pp. 197-201) the three inscriptions discovered by the French Mission at al-Ḥarāshif are examined in the context of certain data on the site first visited by French colleagues in 1983, including location, description, its uncertain ancient toponymy and its probable historical connection with Kamna.

In fact, al-Ḥarāshif lies 6 km north-west of Kamna and only 3.5 km north of as-Sawdā', on the left bank of the Madhāb wādī. Although it figures in the map of Jawf published by Muḥammad Tawfiq in 1951, the Egyptian scholar does not seem to have visited it personally (p. 197). The site, which enjoys a special statute

(*biṭra*), now has no stone monuments to show of the South Arabian period although a number of blocks lie scattered about or re-used, mainly in two wells the older of which is now dry.

The ancient name of the site remains unknown. Robin considers two possible place names occurring in al-Ḥarāshif 2/2 and al-Ḥarāshif 3/1: respectively Ḥamrū (*Ḥmrw*) and Taḥtay (*Tḥty*). The former recalls the place name *Ḥmr* in RES 3945/15 and, of the two, seems the more likely to have been the ancient name of al-Ḥarāshif (p. 198).

The three inscriptions are all archaic (styles A-B3) and written in the Madhābite language, as attested by the pronoun suffix -s' in al-Ḥarāshif 2/2. If this latter inscription were in fact original to the place and not transported from Kamna, then the reference in the first line to the name of the dedicant, identical to the name of a Kaminahū sovereign — Nabat'alī Amar son of Ilisamī — would take on some historical importance. Quite reasonably this suggests that, at least in the archaic period, al-Ḥarāshif belonged to the kingdom of Kaminahū (p. 198).

Apart from a number of proper names attested in other South Arabian and Kamna inscriptions, and apart from the name Ḥamrū, two proper names appear for the first time: one of a person, Ṣadaqsamī' (*Sdqs'm*'), the other possibly of a place, Taḥtay (*Tḥty*), cited above (al-Ḥarāshif 3/1 and 3/1-2). In the case of al-Ḥarāshif 2, the interpretation favoured by Robin does not completely satisfy since it implies an unusual construction in the phrase: *w-s'2'b-s'* should be coordinated with the term immediately before it, but the meanings we have so far discovered for *s'2'b* leave no room for any valid alternative.

The whole volume amply fulfils the intentions of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres and IsMEO in inaugurating this new series, aptly illustrated in a Preface (pp. 1-2) by André Caquot, who harks back to the glorious tradition of his Academy and the project dating back to 1869 to create a *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* — a project that can now be followed through 'sur des bases plus modestes et plus sûres'. Thanks above all to the two excellent monographs on Haram and Kamna, the first tome of the *Inventario delle iscrizioni sudarabiche* amounts to much more than a mere collection of inscriptions. It is in fact the

most eloquent demonstration of how well the new *Inventario*, conceived in terms of a series of site-by-site monographs, lends itself to historical, philological and linguistic analysis and, indeed, encourages a thorough, organic approach.

The fact that this first volume achieves the highest critical level possible is, however, entirely due to the extraordinary mastery of South Arabian epigraphy that Christian Robin has once again so indisputably displayed. It also promises to be a lasting reference point, at least until new discoveries significantly add to the epigraphic material of Jawf. In fact, an inscription I myself unearthed in 1990 only slightly modifies the general historical picture reconstructed by Robin. Shaqab 6 (= Y.90.SHQ 2), found on the site of Shaqab-al-Manappa about 2.5 km south-southwest of Barāqish points to earlier beginnings for the kingdom of Ma'in than hitherto imagined (graphic styles B3-B3¹) (pp. 31 f., 57, 158) (¹³). Here, in fact, we have attestation of an 'Thiyafa' Riyām king of Ma'in' (Shaqab 6/6-7) in an inscription in graphic style classifiable between A and B1. Thus, in the light of new findings on South Arabian chronology, the inscription should date back to the 7th century B.C., and to a period roughly coinciding with the end of the reign of the Saba' mukarrib Karib'il Watar son of Dhamar'alī (¹⁴). However, this does not suffice to demonstrate the unsuitability (if it can be demonstrated) of the term 'Madhābite' chosen by Robin in the place of 'Minaean' to denote the non-Sabaeen language in the inscriptions of al-Ḥarāshif, as-Sawdā', Kamna, Kharibat Hamdān (Haram), Inabba' and, possibly, al-Bayda' (p. 31).

A very carefully compiled and very complete bibliography follows chapter 5 on pp. 203-9. Fascicle A of the first tome of the *Inventario* closes with an extremely useful 'Concordance of inscriptions' (pp. 211-16). Of the total of 118 inscriptions studied (4 from Inabba', 56 from Haram, 33 from al-Kāfir, 22 from Kamna and 3 from al-Ḥarāshif), 52 were discovered by the French Mission (the inscriptions from Inabba', al-Kāfir and al-Ḥarāshif, plus 2 from Haram and 10 from Kamna), and of these only four (Kamna 1-3 and 8) were already known to us. Thus the explorations of the French Mission in Jawf have yielded a contribution of decisive importance.

Fascicle B of the tome consists of 60 tables

containing: photographs of all the inscriptions; some views of the sites (Inabba': pl. 2a-b; Haram: pl. 5a-b and pl. 6a; al-Kāfir: pl. 23a-b and pl. 24a; Kamna: pl. 41a-b, pl. 42a-b, pl. 43a-b, pl. 45a; al-Harāshif: pl. 58a-b); two drawings of inscriptions (pl. 19a-b and pl. 20b); a map of Kamna (p. 40); a plan of the temple of Ḥiṣmat an-Naṣā'ib in the Kamna region (pl. 44); a map of ancient Jawf showing location of the cities, towns, temples and forts, devised by Madeleine Sintès and drawn by Véronique Francin (pl. 1) ⁽¹⁾; two drawings of decoration on the door of the temple at Banāt 'Ād (pl. 60) and its architrave (pl. 22) superbly executed by Rémy Audouin.

Gherardo Gnoli

(1) 'Haram: una città minea alleata di Saba', *Semitica*, XXIII, 1973, pp. 15-133. Robin does not greatly depart from the findings of Garbini, who well illustrated the independence of Haram at the time of Karib'il Watar. However, Garbini argued that the use of the language Robin defines as Madhābīte demonstrated that Ma'in exercised sovereignty over this small kingdom (p. 57).

(2) See below, fn. 7, and again Robin in *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Nabonnet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions* (= *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 61/3, 1991 [1992]), Aix-en-Provence, p. 98.

(3) *Paléographie des inscriptions sud-arabes. Contribution à la chronologie et à l'histoire de l'Arabie du Sud antique*, Brussels 1956, p. 131, etc.

(4) *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Al-Sūdān* (Sammlung Eduard Glaser III), Wien 1964, p. 141.

(5) Art. cit., p. 128

(6) See also Robin in *L'Arabie antique...*, cit., p. 77.

(7) In the place of the expression 'Minea dialect' — Robin states (pp. 31 f.) — we shall use 'Madhābīte dialect', referring to the Madhāb *waḥidī* along which lie the sites where this dialect is attested: al-Harāshif, as-Sawdā' (the ancient Nashabān), Kamna (the ancient Kaminahū), Kharbat Hamdān or Haram (the ancient Haram), Inabba' (the ancient Inabba') and, possibly, al-Baydā' (the ancient Nabuq^{wa}), sites that then belonged to the kingdoms of Nashabān, Kaminahū, Haram and Inabba'.

(8) *A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabians*, London 1962, pp. 8 f.

(9) For the present terms of the question see, now, G. Gnoli, *Sabaeb al-Manassa* (*Inventory delle iscrizioni sudarabiche*, tome 2), Rome 1993, pp. 55 f.

(10) Cf. H. von Wissmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.; M. Bāfāqih, *L'unification du Yémen antique. La lutte entre Saba', Himyar et le Hadramout du I^{er} au III^{ème} siècle de l'ère chrétienne* (Bibliothèque de Raydan 1), Paris 1990, pp. 282 f.

(11) If, as is probable, he is to be identified with the 'Karib'il king of Saba' of the Sennacherib period: Robin in *L'Arabie antique...*, cit., p. 51; Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 31

(12) Similar to the tradition present in Nashabān according to an apt observation of Robin (p. 154), who cites J.-F. Breton, J.-Ch. Arramond & G. Robine, *Le temple d'Athtar d'as-Sawdā'*, 1990, eleventh page. See also Robin in *L'Arabie antique...*, cit., p. 128, fig. 29 and, now, J.-F. Breton, 'Le sanctuaire de 'Athtar dhū-Rimf d'as-Sawdā' (République du Yémen)', *CRAI*, 1992 (pp.429-53), p. 442

(13) Cf. Robin in A. de Maigret & Ch. Robin, 'Les fouilles italiennes de Yalā (Yémen du Nord): nouvelles données sur la chronologie de l'Arabie du Sud préislamique', *CRAI*, 1989 (pp. 255-91), pp. 265-67; Id., in *L'Arabie antique...*, cit., p. 58.

(14) Cf. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 61 and, for the inscription, pp. 80-82; also provisional publication in 'South Arabian Notes, 3', *EW*, 40, 1990 (pp. 283-88), pp. 286 ff., on which M. Arbach based his re-examination of the chronology of the kings of Ma'in: *Réexamen de la chronologie des rois de Ma'in d'après les nouvelles données*, Thèse de doctorat, Université de Provence Aix-Marseille I, Aix-en-Provence 1993, pp. 1, 19, 22, 33, 55.

(15) Previously published by Robin: 'Première mention de Tyr chez les Minéens d'Arabie du Sud', *Semitica*, XXXIX, 1990 (pp. 135-47), p. 136; Id., in *L'Arabie antique...*, cit., p. 60.



IRANIAN STUDIES

Splendeur des Sassanides. L'empire perse entre Rome et la Chine (224-642), 12 février au 25 avril 1993, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Crédit Communal, Bruxelles 1993, 310 pp., illustrations in the text.

The catalogue of the exhibition held in Brussels in 1993 comes as a significant contribution to the study of Sasanian art and architecture. In the frame of a project conceived by the late L. Vanden

Berghe and coordinated by B. Overlaet, the most learned scholars in different aspects of Sasanian monumental and craft production have been called to give an up-to-date picture, summing up the ascertained data and the problems still open.

The volume is divided in two parts: the catalogue of the exhibition proper, with entries and excellent colour photographs of each of the objects on display (pp. 143-300), is preceded by a long introduction made up by short essays on the different aspects of Sasanian monumental and figurative production, with general bibliographies (pp. 11-141). Each of these contributions is signed by a specialist in that particular subject. After a preface (L. Vanden Berghe, B. Overlaet), a review of the history of research (L. Vanden Berghe), an historical overview (B. Overlaet) and a socio-cultural introduction (Ph. Gignoux), are the sections on architecture (D. Huff), stucco decoration (J. Kröger), mosaic (J. Balty), sculpture (L. Vanden Berghe), army organization and weapons (B. Overlaet), metal vessels (P.O. Harper), glass (D. Whitehouse), silk (A. Jeroussalimskaja for the cultural-historic overview, D. De Jonghe for the weaving structure), seals (R. Gyselen) and coins (R. Gyselen); this part is closed by a section on the influence of Sasanian culture (K. Schipman).

The catalogue entries (1 to 186) are due to A. Jeroussalimskaja, J.P. Laporte, B. Marshak, A. Nikitin, B. Overlaet, M. Schulze-Dörflamm, M. Van Strydonck, G. Vial, D. Whitehouse. The volume is closed by a glossary (A. Tourovets, pp. 301-2), by the list of the illustrations (p. 303) and by a bibliography (pp. 305-10).

The result of this joint effort is a clear and up-to-date overview, useful for the student and the scholar. The study of Sasanian art and architecture, due to the long halt of field research in Iran, has been concentrated on the interpretation of the known evidence, with the positive result of clearing up misconceptions which had thrived on the fertile soil of weak methodology. The editors must be praised for having transformed the catalogue of an exhibition into a publication which brings to a vast audience an up-to-date general picture of the Sasanian culture. This work can be considered a well-deserved homage to Prof. Vanden Berghe, one of this century's greatest scholars in ancient Iranian

archaeology, who left a strong and lasting impression on this field of studies and actively worked to promote its growth and dissemination.

The fracture created by the modern political boundary between Iran and former Soviet Union has unfortunately not yet been overpassed, and the evidence from a province like Margiana, fully entitled to be considered part of the Sasanian empire, is completely forgotten by many of the scholars contributing to the volume. This is particularly sad if we bear in mind that present Turkmenistan is one of the few areas where new field research concerning the Sasanian period is being carried out (think of the many archaeological missions presently engaged in Margiana).

A second remark to this work regards the absence of information flow between the different authors, which instead should have been considered or suggested by the editors, at least in some cases. This lack is felt particularly in the chapter written by J. Balty on the Bilepur mosaics, which does not consider the new interpretation of the so-called Palace as a fire-temple put forward by D. Huff in the chapter on architecture (and which, instead, is accepted in the single entries on the mosaics in the proper catalogue!). As a result, the important problem of the iconological interpretation of the mosaics within a sacred complex is totally absent from this otherwise comprehensive essay.

The volume is well-edited and with few inaccuracies. In the chapter on metal vessels by P.O. Harper the description of the elongated lobed bowls is inconsistent as regards the number of the lobes to be singled out in fig. 93, on one side, and Cat. 84 and Cat. 83, on the other. As regards the caption of fig. 83, why not mention the astrological interpretation proposed by Harper (*The Royal Hunter*, New York 1978, pp. 42-44) and only hinted at on p. 100? Some discrepancy in dating and attribution between the introductory chapter and the single catalogue entries must also be mentioned as regards glass objects (nos. 105, 106, 113), as well as many of the metal vessels (e.g. Cat. 49, 50, 56, 67). In one instance there is an incorrect correspondence between catalogue number in the introductory chapter and in the catalogue proper (p. 224, Cat. 60 and not Cat. 59).

Some of the few misprints which must be pointed out are the inverted caption on maps at fig. 56 on p. 73, the wrong reference to fig. 123 on p. 117 (which must be probably corrected in fig. 99) and the 'mausolée sassanide de Bucharā' on p. 132 (which in the caption to fig. 129 is rightly 'samanide').

Among the very few errors is the description of the Kuh-e Xwāja palace as built in baked bricks (p. 55), the attribution of the Bactrian site of Xalčāyan to Sogdian and to the 2nd-3rd century (p. 92, fig. 79) and the qualification of Sir Alexander Cunningham as a 'vice-roi d'Inde' (p. 194, Cat. 53), office which he never held!

However, these remarks in no way detract from the worth of this volume. It can be considered a useful tool, above all in such a fragmented field as that of studies on Sasanian art and architecture.

Pierfrancesco Callieri



CENTRAL ASIAN AND HIMALAYAN STUDIES

Claude Rapin, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanum. VIII. La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Ai Khanum. L'apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane* (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, XXXIII), De Boccard, Paris 1992, VI-463 pp., 126 pls. plus a foldout general map in the back cover.

Launched by Daniel Schlumberger under the masterly guidance of Paul Bernard, the excavations carried out by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan at Ai Khanum in eastern Bactria from 1966 to 1979 are indeed exemplary in terms both of painstaking field research and penetrating, fruitful analysis of the data thus gathered. Each volume of the final excavation report dealing with the various monuments unearthed on the site — unfortunately abandoned by force of circumstance in 1979 — has represented a decisive contribution not only to our knowledge of the material culture but also to the otherwise extremely fragmentary

picture we have of the history of eastern Hellenism, despite the fundamental role it played in Eurasian history.

This volume by Claude Rapin on the Treasury of the Hellenistic Palace of Ai Khanum and associated finds maintains the standards of previous publications in the series, showing the sort of results that can now be obtained with the new refinements in research methods achieved in the past twenty years — even when the archaeological picture is particularly complicated. Such, in fact, is the case of the Treasury, which had a relatively brief existence and suffered repeated plundering before completion. Thus the many and various objects it contained were promptly scattered, and only the most painstaking excavation has made it possible to obtain a number of exceptionally important finds that would inevitably have escaped less careful or responsible hands. However, thanks to the efforts of the members of the Délégation Archéologique Française rare fragments of precious Greek literary texts have been retrieved, the ink of which became a transfer-like impression on the ground after the original support had perished. We are even more indebted to Claude Rapin for his admirable patience in reconstructing a shell disc with encrusted ornamentation; since we have a highly probable date for the destruction of the building it came from, this piece offers a reference point for the complex chronology of early Indian art.

Written as a doctorate thesis for the University of Lausanne, the volume consists of three parts: architectural and stratigraphic description of the Treasury, annotated catalogue of finds and a historical outline.

The Treasury occupies the northwest corner of the Palace complex, to the west of the main road crossing the low-lying city area, and excavation shows that its construction and the original organization of the complex by Graeco-Bactrians date to the second period of occupation of the area. Prior to this period occupation is attested by traces of an earlier Graeco-Bactrian building, while the following period was marked by abandonment of the site, which was then plundered and eventually re-occupied by non-Greek peoples: this third period falls into four major phases with various groups of occupants, two of which nomadic.

A general account of the Greek-period Treasury and the building techniques employed there together with description of the two periods preceding and subsequent to the Greek period (Part IA) is followed by a detailed description of the complex (Part IB). Here examination of the structures is completed with analysis of the stratigraphy and finds, thus illustrating the purposes served by the various rooms — not all of which were used for storage. In piecing together the history of the period through study of the entire complex the reconstruction of room 109 proved particularly significant: this was found to be a store-room containing much material of Indian origin, including what Rapin takes to be booty seized by Eucratides during the campaigns conducted south of the Hindu Kush. Notable, too, is the detailed examination of the many hearths, thanks to which we can now distinguish those used by the earliest post-Greek occupants for the cupellation and smelting of metals.

The annotated catalogue of finds forming the second part of the volume consists of four sections: objects relating to the functioning of the Treasury; the treasure itself; objects relating to domestic life and taken to the Treasury in the post-Greek period; and, finally, building and furnishing components. Pottery is the only class of find that, unfortunately, could not be studied fully before the abrupt halt of 1979, although documentation was carried out on the sherds bearing inscriptions and some of the major forms of vessels — notably large jars — illustrated in chapter XVI.

Outstanding in the group of material attesting to administrative and cultural activities (section IIA, chapters XI-XIV) are the forty inscriptions painted and engraved in Greek and an Aramaic *ostrakon*, although the latter did not come from the Treasury but from the Temple à niches indentées. The inscriptions deal mainly with payments in drachmas and Indian coins (with explicit reference to *kasapana taksaena*, the *kasapana* of Taxila) and the vessel-to-vessel transfer and delivery of olive oil and incense, probably imported from the Mediterranean area and Arabia. For the administrative procedures, often involving the use of seals (although no sealings survive), we find reference to Greek and Bactrian functionaries, adding to the very rare

evidence we have of operations carried out by treasures on funds and reserves anywhere in the ancient world, although we find no evidence on the fiscal system. Moreover, the Aramaic *ostrakon* provides evidence on administrative procedures concerning the local and temple economy as distinct from the royal economy of the Seleucids. With regard to the language on the *ostrakon*, Rapin is inclined to take this as an Aramaic *ostrakon* bearing Iranian names rather than an early attempt to transcribe Bactrian with Aramaic characters, as in fact was the case in Nisa a century later with the Parthian language. The most widely used containers were ceramic vessels including, most notably, the *stamnos*, typical of the world of Greek finance.

This epigraphic material provides us with the only date yielded by excavation at Ai Khanum — the year 24 — on a tag used for oil storage procedures. According to Paul Bernard this date refers to the reign of Eucratides which must have begun around the year 171 B.C. on the evidence of Justinus, who describes him as being contemporary with Mithridates I. Thus the year 24 should correspond to 148 B.C. Rapin reconstructs the succession of the various Treasury *gazophylakes* (heads) known to us through the inscriptions, calculating that the term of office lasted one year. Thus he attributes the Treasury with a life-span from 149 to 146 B.C. — a period that appears to correspond to the three years in which Indian coins came into the Treasury — and the first destruction should thus have occurred around 145 B.C. This reconstruction, although the assumptions behind it remain theoretical, is logical and hold together.

Another extremely important set of finds consists of a fragment of papyrus and two fragments of a parchment, which were found in room 107. As noted above, only the ink of these documents survived in the transfer-like impression left by the original support, which had totally perished when the discovery was made. The texts were published in 1987 but Rapin has now drawn on hypotheses advanced at a seminar organised by P. Hadot at the Collège de France in 1987 and some observations made by Ph. Hoffman and M. Ianardi Parente to offer a new reading. Palaeographic examination carried out by G. Cavallo places the papyrus around the middle of

the 3rd century B.C. and indicates Mediterranean origin; it contains a philosophical dialogue on the problem of causality, and affinities with Plato's dialogues plus the fact that the argument stems from Plato's theory of ideas lead Rapin to date the text somewhere between the period of Plato's teaching at the Academy (370 B.C.) and the time this particular papyrus was written (270 B.C.). The author could be one of the Platonic philosophers that wrote dialogues (Speusippus or Xenocrates) or Aristotle himself, author of the *Peri philosophias* dialogue which in fact deals with the theory of ideas (P. Hadot) and of the *Sophistes*, where Xenocrates himself appears to take part in the dialogue (M. Isnardi Parente). Alternatively, it may be by an Aristotelian like Theophrastus or Heraclides Ponticus. The parchment, containing a dialogue or monologue — possibly from a theatrical work — in iambic trimeters, is more difficult to date on palaeographic evidence since we have no comparable parchments from such an early period (between the second third of the 3rd century and the first third of the 2nd century B.C.).

Book imports are an indicator of the level of the cultural influences upon which the Seleucids and, subsequently, the Graeco-Bactrians based their Hellenization policies. In contrast to the Greek use of chests and shelving, the manuscripts were probably kept in vessels in accordance with a custom common in Egypt and the Middle East. Room 107 where the manuscripts were found differs from the other rooms in the Treasury in virtue of a second door opening onto the south vestibule and the Doric courtyard of the Palace. Association with a porticoed courtyard was in fact a common architectural feature of libraries in the Greek world, and this may have been the private library of the Palace, in which case the Ai Khanum texts would be the first Greek literary documents ever discovered in a Hellenistic library. Rapin underlines the importance of the visit of the philosopher Clearchus of Soli to Ai Khanum, attested by the dedication discovered in the Heroon of Kineas, and raises the problem of possible links between this dedication and the edicts of Asoka (V.P. Jajlenko).

This first part of the volume is completed with a study of the tools used in administrative procedures: seals and sealings, unfortunately rare

at Ai Khanum apart from a group of about 70 bezels in cornelian, not engraved but possibly intended to be so; writing material, all of Mediterranean inspiration; lamps, weights and measures. Also studied here is a runic inscription on a silver ingot, quite possibly connected with the nomads in the first wave of invasions.

The second group of materials (section IIB, chapters XV-XXII) contains the treasure itself: raw materials, vessels, jewellery, ornaments, sculptures and a number of individual items including an Indian inlaid shell plaque and fragments of an Indian throne encrusted with stones. In this section Rapin shows what pains have been taken over the detailed documentation of all the material, and especially over items serving to reconstruct early craft technologies. However, the production of the Graeco-Bactrian city itself is attested with very few finds, most of the jewels being of Indian origin. The possible areas of origin of various materials, metals, glass and semiprecious stones are considered and the results of chemical-physical analysis provided where available. Thus we learn that many of the ingots of blue and violet glass are potassium-based and were therefore probably produced in Central Asia since Mediterranean glass was sodium-based; that the vessels in gypsum alabaster were of local production while those in calcareous alabaster were probably imported from Mesopotamia or Iran; that the vessels in agate and rock-crystal — the famous *murrhini* vessels of the classical world — are quite likely to have been produced in western and northwestern India and Carmania; that at least some of the jewellery was produced locally; that many of the semiprecious stones, as well as coral, shell and mother-of-pearl, came from India, with the exception of the lapis-lazuli from Badakhian and turquoise which came from the steppes. In contrast, almost all the pottery was produced locally apart from a very few fragments of black glazed ceramic and amphorae imported from the Mediterranean area. However, the faithfulness to the Greek models which emerges so strongly in the studies by J.-C. Gardin is indeed surprising, especially when we consider the parallel evolution lagging just slightly behind developments in Mediterranean Hellenism.

Chapter XIX deals with the Indian plaque — a disc of about 20.5 cm in diameter consisting

of *turbinella pyrum* shell plaquettes originally attached to a support now missing and decorated with vitreous paste encrustations in rounded sockets. Of the roughly 65 original plaquettes, patient sifting of the excavation soil has recovered 33 — almost all from courtyard 105, off store-rooms 116 and 117. The centre field displays, in three registers, a royal procession passing between spectators against a landscape including a building with pinnaced roof, flowers and animals, while the frieze running round the rim exhibits a number of isolated scenes that may be interpreted as a stylized rendering of scenes from the myth depicted on the centre field and repeated here in a pattern. Three subjects are associated: the royal procession, the hunt and the hermitage in a park. The same themes appear on a terracotta plaque from Bhīṭā that has been interpreted as depicting the myth of Śakuntalā. Comparison between the Ai Khanum disc and a series of objects — the Bhīṭā terracotta, the Buddhist sculpture of Sāści and a small group of metal vessels of Indian origin found in the Punjab and Thailand — confirms both the identification of the subject (in a variant of the myth differing from the texts known to us) and the Indian origin of the piece, which may well be associated with the other Indian material found in the Treasury and which Rapin takes to be booty from Eucratides' campaigns south of the Hindu Kush. This is one of the earliest Indian artefacts ever found, certainly dating back before 145 B.C. (the date of the destruction of Ai Khanum). The rounded depressions engraving technique shows some analogy with Achaemenid glyptics and is taken by Rapin as a non-Indian feature, although we believe it may in fact indicate a product of the art of northwest India, where a local school of engravers in the so-called Graeco-Persian glyptic tradition had grown up.

The other exceptional find consists of about 600 fragments of discoid and polygonal agate plaquettes and tubular elements in rock crystal from the decoration of a throne or *kāme*. Rapin has hit on an extremely interesting analogy with the material found in the *Horti Lamiari* in Rome. Here, together with gems and metal elements, were found fragments of rock-crystal and agate plaquettes similar to the Ai Khanum specimens; they belonged to a throne imported to Rome,

possibly via Hellenistic kingdoms, and used during the period of Caligula or Commodus in the sumptuous furnishing of the Esquiline residence. Although the feet of the two thrones are different, the typology of facing elements in semiprecious stones is so similar that one may conjecture a common origin. In fact, on the evidence found at Sirkap of plaquettes in the same materials — notably white agate, which is not attested outside Taxila — Rapin suggests an origin in northwest India for these artefacts, which are so peculiarly characteristic of the Treasuries of the ancient palaces of the east. Rapin also reconstructs the early stone-cutting techniques, examining the traces left on some fragments to suggest that a saw with multiple straight — not circular — blades was used.

The third section (IIC, chapters XXIII-XXIV) deals with utensils, the various tools used for metalworking, weaving and agriculture, and the arms used in hunting and war. An interesting although tentative suggestion here is that room 120 was equipped for squeezing grapes and making wine.

Finally, the last section (IID, chapter XXV) illustrates building and furnishing elements, hinges, locks, keys, nails, hooks, chains and iron plates showing the same shapes and sizes as the other articles found at Ai Khanum, and thus suggesting centralized production of this craft material.

The third part of the volume (chapters XXVII-XXIX) contains general observations on the Treasuries of the Greek-Oriental world, historical conclusions and notes on the relations between Bactrian Hellenism and the western world. Comparative study of the ancient eastern palaces and their store-rooms shows that the Treasury is among the buildings of Ai Khanum that come closest to eastern architecture: rather than to Mesopotamia, where among other things the store-rooms were separate from the treasury proper, Rapin traces the origins of the layout of our complex to the Iranian tradition of Dahān-e Gholamān and Altyn 10, where we find rooms aligned in rows along the sides of a courtyard — a pattern that was to reappear in the Square House of Parthian Nisa. This model is taken to have been favoured by the Greeks of Bactria because Greece and Mesopotamia offered no

prototypes suited to their own economy, which was quite probably modelled on an earlier Central Asian system.

The historical conclusions concern Eucratides' conquest of India, achieved with the defeat of Menander, and the two nomad invasions with the four phases of pillage of the city. Ai Khanum was abandoned abruptly without a period of decline, and the Palace was destroyed in the same year the city was abandoned, probably due to vicissitudes concerning the murder of Eucratides by his son and the invasion of the nomads, who must have already come dangerously close to the city. Examination of the pottery in the layers associated with the pillage reveals two distinct nomadic cultures. The culture of the nomads who first conquered the city is characterized by tripod pots, identified by B. Lyonnet, while the pottery forms characterizing the perpetrators of the last pillage are comparable with those found in the tombs in the Dangara region, north of Ai Khanum. On the basis of this evidence together with examination of the sources, Rapin deduces that the first population could be identified with the Śakas, the second with the Yuezhis.

Rapin sees the Treasury as an example of the Greeks' wish to reproduce their own cultural tradition in Bactria. Trade does not appear to have served as a vehicle for influences from the Mediterranean since imports were few and limited to luxury goods such as olive oil, incense, cinnamon, metal vessel moulds and engraved gems. Ceramic pots may also have been imported and used as models by the local potters. Exports from Central Asia to the Mediterranean area may have included precious metals, Indian ivory, semiprecious stones and agricultural produce, but in the second century B.C. trade between the Mediterranean and the East had yet to reach the high levels characterizing the period following upon Pompey's victories over Mithridates Eupator and at Actium. Thus the Greek influence came with human carriers: the colonization first of Alexander, then of the Seleucids, and finally the campaign of Antiochus III in Bactria.

Closing the volume comes the Catalogue of finds, classified according to function and material and superbly illustrated with photographs and drawings. This is followed by seven appendixes,

the first of which contains the results of an interesting piece of research on the units of measurement in the architecture of Ai Khanum revealing a modular construction system, the basic units of which varied from building to building. Appendix II deals with the Palace of Begram, identifying an earlier phase in the life of the building characterized by orthogonal layout and probably dating to the Hellenistic period, contemporary with the level I identified by Ghirshman in the so-called 'Bazar'. The third appendix contains a bibliography of the literary texts and inscriptions of Ai Khanum together with other Greek inscriptions in Central Asia, while the remaining four appendixes outline the chronology. At the end of the volume come the concordance tables, list of illustrations, an extensive bibliography, general index, plates (drawings, photos and two colour plates) and a foldout map in the back cover.

There are very few quibbles to make about this rich and carefully compiled volume: note 842 gives erroneous reference to a gold Buddhist reliquary which is in fact made of stone, although it does contain a gold relic case; the list of Greek texts in Central Asia given in Appendix III might have included the inscription in Greek characters from Garav Kala mentioned by B. Ja. Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans*, p. 264; the chronological table in Appendix IV presents without correction a table published by O. Bopearachchi in *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques*, where the two columns referring to west and east Bactria were evidently switched round. With regard to Sirkap, on p. 282 Rapin fails to cite works by Dani, Dar and — more importantly — Erdosy. In fact Erdosy introduced modifications into Marshall's chronology, dating Sirkap from the end of the Indo-Greek period (G. Erdosy, 'Taxila-Political History and Urban Structure', *South Asian Archaeology* 1987, ed. M. Taddei, Rome 1990, pp. 657-74); this throws extremely significant new light on parallels between the material from the Ai Khanum Treasury and Sirkap, which undoubtedly merit further examination. Moreover, the expression 'the North-West of India' has varying connotations throughout the volume, at times referring to the Gandharan region and at times (as on pp. 161-65) to the region of Ujjain: given the

different histories of the two regions distinction might have been made more clearly.

Finally, allow us to make a few additions to the bibliography while in no way detracting from the quality of the research. On the Trojan Horse in India reference is now also available in Nazir Ahmad Khan, 'A New Relief from Gandhara Depicting the Trojan Horse', *EW*, 40, 1990, pp. 313-19; on the problem of relations between India and Greece, the monography by K. Karttunen, *India in Early Greek Literature* (Studia Orientalia, 65), Helsinki 1989; on the *mandipāda*, O. von Hinüber, 'Das nandyāvarta-Symbol', XVIII. *Deutscher Orientalistentag* (ZDMG, suppl. II), ed. W. Voigt, Wiesbaden 1974, pp. 356-65; V. Moeller, 'Das Nandyāvarta-Symbol', *ZDMG*, 129, 1979, pp. 149-54 and A.L. Srivastava, *Nandyāvarta. An Auspicious Symbol in Indian Art*, Allahabad 1991; on monkey iconography in Indian culture, M. Taddei, 'Two Notes on Gandharan Iconography. 1. More on the Meditating Monkey from Tapa Sardar', *EW*, 35, 1985, 271-72. The Greek inscription from Samarkand referred to on p. 392, point b), has now been published: X.G. Ahunbabaev, 'Astragal s grečeskoj nadpisju iz raskopok na Afrasiabe', *Istorija Material'noj Kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 25, 1991, pp. 72-77.

It is also worth noting that a monograph is now being published for English-language readers entitled 'The legend of Śakuntalā and the Indian treasure of Eucratides at Ai Khanum'. Consisting of a summary of the chapters on the Indian throne and Indian plaque introduced by a general description of the Treasury and treasure, the volume is to be edited by O. Guillaume of the Service culturel de l'Ambassade de France in New Delhi.

Pierfrancesco Callieri

Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, 2nd ed. thoroughly revised and enlarged (*Studia Philologica Buddhica*, Occasional paper series, 3), The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo 1992, ix-61 pp.

As indicated in a footnote, the subject of this book is 'the literature of ancient Khotan

written in the Middle Iranian language known as "Khotanese"' (p. 1, fn. 1).

The first edition of the *Guide* appeared in 1979 and enjoyed general appreciation. It was subsequently brought up to date in an article by the same author, 'Research on Khotanese: a Survey (1979-1982)', in *Middle Iranian Studies*, ed. by W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo, Leuven 1984, pp. 127-45. After thirteen years from the first appearance of the very useful booklet, the new edition is most welcome as much work has been devoted to the subject and more scholars than usual in previous times have entered the field of Khotanese studies, often under the direction of R.E. Emmerick himself.

As for the location of the Khotanese manuscripts (pp. 4-5), it may be useful to point out that the collection housed in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München, is the result of the activity not only of August Hermann Francke but also of Hans Nordewin von Körber, a Sinologist in the employ of the Museum für Völkerkunde, who supported A.H. Francke in their Central Asian expedition with his knowledge of Chinese. The collection should accordingly be termed Francke-Körber collection and not simply Francke collection, the more so because the siglum FK preceding the signatures refers to both of them.

On the *Hṛdayasūtra* (p. 24). An edition with translation, Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels, glossary and facsimiles has been provided by P.O. Skjærvø, 'The Khotanese *Hṛdayasūtra*', in *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen*, Brill, Leiden 1988 (*Acta Iranica*, 28, *Hommages et opera minora*, 12), pp. 157-71, pls. ii-iv; this article also contains 'excerpts from the Khotanese commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*', i.e. on the *Maḥāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*.

On the *Karmavibhaṅga* (p. 25). Providing R.E. Emmerick with information on the KV fragments, I communicated him that Macartney b and Khot. (IO) 3 KT 5.299-300, identified by Bailey as two halves of one folio, are the left and, respectively, the right portions on the basis of the signatures marked on an old photograph of the India Office Library in possession of Emmerick himself. However, inspection of the fragments has shown that no signature is to be found on them so that it is impossible to determine whether the mistake is in the photograph or in Bailey's

edition. For the sake of consistency, it is accordingly safer to follow Bailey because of the wide diffusion of his edition. It is now clear that FK 210.18 Do. 30 actually belongs to KV: on 26 January 1994 I could identify a further unpublished KV fragment, FK 210.17 Do. 29, that clearly belongs to the same folio as FK 210.18 Do. 30, though there is a gap between the two fragments.

On the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (p. 25) see above on the *Hydayasūtra*.

On the *Saṅgbāṣasūtra* (pp. 29-30) see now G. Canevascini, *The Khotanese Saṅgbāṣasūtra: a Critical Edition*, Reichert, Wiesbaden 1993 (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 14) that provides an edition of all the identified folios and fragments of Sgh (with concordance), the Sanskrit text, a thorough translation, a commentary, a Khotanese glossary and a Sanskrit-Khotanese index.

On the *Sudhamāvedāna* (pp. 30-31). The Peking Sudh fragment Li (M. 3914) 73 has been published also in facsimile in *Dunhuang baozang*, vol. 92, ed. Huang Yongwu, Xin Wenfeng, Taipei 1984, as pointed out to me by Hélène Vetch.

A text that, in my opinion, would have deserved insertion in the *Guide* among the 'Documents other than literary and medical' (pp. 45-46) because of its peculiar character among the extant Khotanese texts is the so called 'Itinerary' contained in Ch 1.0021b. It is the description of a southward journey through Gilgit and Chilas to Kāśmīr, then under the rule of Abhimanyugupta (958-972 C.E.). The first edition with tentative translation, commentary and facsimile was published by H.W. Bailey, 'An itinerary in Khotanese Saka', *Acta Orientalia*, 14, 1936, pp. 258-67, 2 pls. The text has been subsequently printed again in KT 2.55-57. A new facsimile edition is contained in *Saka Documents II*, ed. H.W. Bailey, Lund-Humphries, London 1967, pls. lii-lvi and a further edition with translation and commentary has been provided by H.W. Bailey, *Saka Documents Text Volume*, Lund-Humphries, London 1968, pp. 70-73. A contribution to the interpretation of the Itinerary has also been offered by G. Morgenstierne, 'Iranian notes', *NTS*, 12, 1942, pp. 269-71.

The *Guide* is obtainable free of charge on application to The International Institute of Buddhist Studies, 5-3-23 Toranomon, Minato-ku,

Tokyo 105, Japan by enclosing three 'coupons-réponses'.

Mauro Maggi

Grottes de Tounen-bouang. Carnet de notes de Paul Pelliot: Inscriptions et peintures murales, VI. Grottes 146a à 182 et divers Notes préliminaires de Monique Maillard (Mission Paul Pelliot, Documents conservés au Musée Guimet, Documents archéologiques, XI.6), Collège de France, Instituts d'Extrême-Orient, Centre de Recherche sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, Paris 1992; xvi-104 pp., 4 pp. unnumbered, pls. CCCXXI-CCCLXXVI, facsimiles in the text.

With the publication of this sixth part of Volume XI of the series 'Mission Paul Pelliot', Monique Maillard has brought to completion the far from easy task of editing the Notebooks of Paul Pelliot dealing with the caves of Mo-kao near Tun-huang (1908). It is a great achievement for which the scholars concerned will always feel indebted to the Editor and the Publishers.

This is also the first fascicle of Volume XI not to carry the name of Nicole Vandier-Nicolas on its title-page. The late scholar inspired and promoted this important scientific undertaking. She wrote an introduction to each part, the preliminary notes and did the actual editing now being entrusted to Monique Maillard. It may be useful to remind our readers of the contents of parts 1 to 5 — 1. Caves 1 to 30, Paris 1981, xiv-132 pp., pls. I-LXIV; 2. Caves 31 to 72, Paris 1983, xiv-78 pp., pls. LXV-CXXVIII; 3. Caves 73 to 111a, Paris 1983, xvi-100 pp., pls. CXXIX-CXCII; 4. Caves 112a to 120n, Paris 1984, xviii-108 pp., pls. CXCI-CCCLVI; 5. Caves 120n to 146, Paris 1986, xviii-154 pp., CCLVII-CCCXX.

The editorial framework of these fascicles has remained unchanged — the brief preliminary notes are followed by the transcription of Pelliot's Notebooks, the facsimiles of the same, and the photographs taken *in situ* by Pelliot himself. Part 6 also includes a set of plans drawn by Charles Nouette.

Pelliot's 'carnets' consist of two notebooks which complement each other, 'Carnet A' appears

to contain the author's first impressions and observations in the form of notes jotted down during his visit to the various caves; 'carnet B' is the result of a more pondered reflection — as Mme Maillard rightly points out (p. x), it is interesting to see that '[...] dès 1908, Paul Pelliot avait parfaitement déterminé les grandes étapes de la chronologie des peintures murales des grottes de Mo-ka'o'.

It is unnecessary to emphasize the importance of Pelliot's notes and photographs. The reader will find in the former a wealth of observations concerning a great many details that can help us to understand the iconographical 'programme' underlying each cave's decoration and even to place the various paintings and sculptures in a chronological sequence, in the latter there is precious documentation including technical details which tell us a lot about the way the caves were excavated and decorated.

For instance, in this sixth fascicle, Mme Maillard (p. ix) opportunely draws the reader's attention to pl. CCCXXV (Cave 149) and compares it with a photograph (unpublished) taken by Mr and Mrs Loo in 1941 and other photographs as well. She writes, '[...] depuis le passage de Pelliot, des statues ont été déplacées d'une grotte à l'autre et [...] beaucoup ont été restaurées ou même complétées' — an assessment which is made possible only thanks to the comparison of sets of photographs taken at different times and is a warning to any scholar who works in such a precarious field as the Buddhist clay sculpture of the Hindukush, the Himalayas, and Central Asia. One should take note of the fact that clay sculptures, though unmovable by definition, as they are modelled *in situ*, against the wall, can actually be taken from one cave to another — presumably not a usual practice in flourishing periods of great artistic output but certainly a possibility to be taken into consideration for those periods in which a complete renovation of the caves was no longer possible or, at least, no longer felt to be necessary, repairs, restorations, and replacements being considered as adequate substitutes for new dedications.

Maurizio Taddei

P. Angelini, *Leggere il Tibet. Bibliografia italiana del Paese delle Nevi, 1624-1993*, Il Nove, Bologna 1994, 126 pp.

One of the basic rules for reviewers is to avoid finding fault with the author because he has limited himself strictly to the task he has set down in the preface. The aim of this unpretentious little book was to give a list of works concerning Tibet printed in the Italian language. On the whole we may say that the Author has succeeded in giving a reasonably complete list. At the most, we could quarrel with his infortunate arrangement of the items, which is neither by authors nor by subjects, but in the alphabetical order of the first word of the titles. However, a double index, by authors and by subjects, facilitates the search.

But in spite of the reviewer's rule pointed out above, one feels aggrieved by the fact that the Author has limited his job to the works written in his native language. One result is the exclusion of the bulk of the scientific output of Italian scholars written in other languages, and chiefly in English. Thus most of Giuseppe Tucci's produce, even such fundamental works as *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, as well as most of the books and papers by the present reviewer are ignored. On the opposite side, a vast amount of translations of books and articles by non-Italian authors is included, many of them of little value.

As almost all of the Tibetan scholars in this country prefer to write in English, a language which by right or wrong has become the standard medium in the international field, *Leggere il Tibet* presents a completely distorted picture of Tibetology in Italy. I repeat once more that we cannot take to task the Author for his deliberate choice, but at least we may be allowed to enter a caveat to scholars abroad, not to judge Italian Tibetology by Mr Angelini's bibliography.

Luciano Petech



INDIAN STUDIES

Political History in a Changing World, ed. by G.C. Pande, Joint Editors: S.K. Gupta and Shankar Goyal. Kusumanjali Prakashan (Kusumanjali

Problems of Indian History, 2), Jodhpur 1992, XX-392 pp.

There is an increasing flow of books on Indian history and, consequently, an increasing number of theoretical contributions on it. Like in any other domain, some books are useful, and some are not. Unpleasant to say as it may be, the case with this book seems to be the latter. Unuseful does not necessarily mean uninteresting, even though interest can arise from reasons not meant for by the author.

This book has been conceived as a sort of mail-seminar, occasioned by a circulating 'lead-paper' by S.R. Goyal, Head of the Department of History at the University of Jodhpur and prolific writer on ancient Indian history. Fifty-three 'reaction-papers' in reply give the book its florid look. Moreover, the editors have included as an appendix the extracts from papers of three scholars not otherwise involved in this work.

S.R. Goyal's paper, 'Need of a New Approach to the Writing of Political History of Ancient India', provides the book with its *Leitmotiv*, thus discussion here is focused on it.

Goyal's assumptions are based on the alleged present decay of political history. Since the days of Herodotus and Aristotle — he argues — on to the age of John Seeley, politics had been viewed as the primary subject-matter of history. Perhaps, a reference to Thucydides would be more appreciated by the reader, but here it is quite a secondary matter. Nowadays, — he says — we are experiencing the decline of political history in the West as well as in India. The reasons of such a decline are many, perhaps the most significant lies in the conscious or unconscious acceptance of Marxism by 'most of the historians'. Since Marx used to consider politics merely as one of the superstructures of society, Marxist historians use to disregard political history. This attitude to him is clear through D.D. Kosambi's classic, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay 1956). Not all the Indian historians are Marxist: in fact Goyal maintains that 'at present the vast majority of Indian historians interested in the ancient political history of their country claim to belong to the scientific school'. The 'scientific school' would consist of followers of the great historian R.G.

Bhandarkar, who, as early as 1900, assertively declared the 'dry truth' to be the very object of the historian. There cannot be any objection against such statement, 'but — Goyal argues — the suggestion that nothing but "dry facts", "a bare chronology" and "narrative of political events" should be the aim of a historian, is now no longer acceptable'. Political history has to transform itself according to the new realities. Thus, Goyal formulates two imperatives. The former relates to geography, as it were, and deserves to be introduced by the author's words:

After Pakistan was separated from India, the area of the Indian Union should have become the geographical unit of our historical investigation. For, if we are writing the history of India as she is of today, the rigour of logic demands that the history of Pakistan (now Pakistan and Bangla Desh) should not be included in it: the history of these regions should be discussed if and only when, and to the extent to which it touches the history of our own country. The implications of this conclusion are great, at least for the historian of ancient India, for if that is so he need not discuss such episodes as the Achaemenid and Alexandrian invasions which took place beyond the geographical boundaries of his country. (p. 6)

What is Prof. Goyal going to do of the Indus Valley civilization or the culture of Gandhāra remains unclear. He suggests that the Indian historian can include these regions within the history of his country, 'only if he accepts a cultural definition of India'. But in that case one would be entitled to include the history of Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon, and even Central Asia and South-East Asia as 'a part of the great Indian cultural world'.

The latter imperative deals with the sources of ancient Indian history and it is as disconcerting as the former. S.R. Goyal feels that nowadays 'the period of collecting the basic materials for writing the political history of ancient India is by and large over'. It is time, he argues, to separate history from its 'auxiliary sciences', namely numismatics, epigraphy and archaeology.

Now, Goyal's statement that 'an archaeologist is not a historian' is more or less a truism. But everyone may feel amused at reading that 'an archaeologist in his report only records his findings and observations and interprets them for the use of all the historians' (p. 7).

S.R. Goyal sets forth the question of the nature and content of political history. The reader may have the impression to go through something written perhaps forty years ago. He is informed that 'the most damaging criticism' levelled against nowadays political history in the West is that of being 'elitist'. In other words, 'it lays too much emphasis on kings and heroes', and 'it pays too much attention to political events, military conquests and chronology'. This criticism — he argues — would fit even better in India, for India, in his opinion, is 'still living in the age of Thomas Carlyle'. Goyal rightly says that in an age of mass-democracy the emphasis on the role of heroes and chronologies 'seems to be very much out-of-date'. One may have some perplexities as far as chronology is concerned, but certainly one cannot but agree with him. Unfortunately, such statements do not sound new, and the second-hand quotations from H. Pirenne, L. Febvre, and J. Le Goff do not improve the state of affairs. There is no need to be original at any rate, but nobody can expect to stir a debate on such known and utterly predictable arguments. Goyal makes a distinction between surface political history, concerned only with kings, heroes, petty events, etc., and the new political history the historian is in need of. This new political history should be basically the study of the political aspect of social life. It becomes 'the study of political authority with a view to discovering the motivations of political life and recognising that components of political power have social, economic and religious bases' (p. 9).

S.R. Goyal pleads for a new political history open to the contribution of social sciences, economics, geography. A new political history dedicated not only to the study of political events, but also of structures, institutions and environment, in order to renovate itself. In his words:

[...] political history need not be pushed aside by these branches of knowledge, for it can revitalize itself with their help. (p. 17)

Goyal's plea for this 'new political history' seems to follow the lines of the great debate on the content and nature of history, which took place in the French journal *Annales* more than forty years ago. He seems to have drawn some elements from the battle fought by Fernand

Braudel against the *histoire historisante* or *événementielle*. But when Braudel wrote his long discussed article, 'La longue durée' (*Annales*, E.S.C., 1958, 4, pp. 725-53), his aim was entirely different from Goyal's. Braudel emphasized the urge of combining history with social sciences in the name of a new 'integral' perspective for man, culture and society. He was by no means interested in the revival of any specific sector of the historical studies. In the due course, such an appeal has undergone several changes, it is, however, legitimate to state that to him 'integral' means something more than 'inter-disciplinary', even if, of course, inter-disciplinary methods were the early steps of new historical writings. Incidentally, we find insistence on inter-disciplinary approach in the study of ancient India's sources in D.D. Kosambi's, 'Combined Methods in Indology' (*Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1963, VI, 3-4, pp. 177-202). Although written by a 'non-professional' historian, that paper stands before Goyal's — I apologise for my rudeness — as a giant before a pebble. There is, in fact, a basic contradiction in Goyal's arguments, which prevents any benevolent appreciation of his theoretical endeavours. Since he seems to plead for an integral history, why is he so much concerned with the revitalization of political history as such? He says that political history will remain important as long as the institution of the state does. This is his opinion and I have no specific objection to it. But formal divisions within the historical studies, in my understanding, are not heaven-given, they are partly inspired by different objects and methods and partly by different historical ideologies. Once the need is felt of a more comprehensive or integral approach, what is the use of keeping on formal divisions at any rate? How can one advocate the study of all the factors operating in the human society, and at the same time attach such importance to conventional labels?

Fortunately, the 'reaction-papers' are mostly critical towards Goyal's arguments. In particular, most of the scholars have rejected the absurd idea of limiting the study of ancient Indian history to the present Indian boundaries. Some scholars have expressed a fair critical review of Goyal's paper, notably A.K. Warder, V. Jha, J.P. Sharma, N.N. Bhattacharyya. But none of them has

pointed out the specific contradiction of Professor Goyal's construction of his thesis.

Some contributors do agree with Goyal's basic argument that political history in India as well as in the world is undergoing a condition of dangerous decay. But is it true? Data, when offered in the book, as in A.K. Narain's paper, seem to be insufficient. Since, in Professor Goyal's opinion, the state constitutes the main object of political history, one can have a good indicator as to the status of the discipline in India today. As R.S. Sharma has rightly observed, no other period has produced so many works on ancient Indian polity as the period between 1916 and 1925 (*Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, 3rd rev. ed., New Delhi 1991, pp. 5-10). Such was the consequence of the impact of Indian national movement on historiography. There was before the Indian historians the drive to formulate in historical terms a political tradition for the very notion of Indian national state. Such a flourishing was dictated by the needs of the time. If one compares those nine years to any other period of this century, including ours, one can perhaps agree with Professor Goyal's assumption. But, at the same time, one does not see why Indian historians, who have undertaken profitable ways in the study and understanding of India's past over these latter decades, should devote their energies to the 'revitalization' of the allegedly lost primacy of politics in history. Unless, perhaps, one feels that political re-orientation through history — what in the West is variously known as 'historical revisionism', is today's great need.

Giuseppe Florio

Ghiorgio Zafiropulo, *L'Illumination du Buddha. De la Quête à l'Annonce de l'Éveil. Essais de chronologie relative et de stratigraphie textuelle*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Innsbruck 1993, 197 pp.

This painstaking work with the precise aim to extract all the possible data describing the Buddha's *Abhisambodhi* from the Buddhist textual traditions appears as volume 87 in the series entitled *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft*, edited by Wolfgang Meid.

At the beginning ('Avertissement', pp. 17-19) the author points out within which boundaries his endeavours have been contained and describes the main theme of the essay along with the kind of approach, which is basically a semantic one. After the introduction, the volume is divided in two parts, namely: 'Avant Uruvilvā' and 'Uruvilvā'. It contains a total of five chapters, a paragraph of final remarks and four Addenda.

The first chapter ('La Quête', pp. 21-30), which alone forms the first part, starts with the so-called Siddhārtha's Great Departure (paragraph 'Le Grand Départ', p. 21), an episode whose literary features are shown to indicate it does not belong to a very ancient period of composition. Subsequently, dealing with Prince Siddhārtha's apprenticeship (paragraph 'L'Ecolage', pp. 22-29), the author upholds the historical value of the two schools as well as the two masters Ārāḍa Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra the Buddha-to-be followed, against the view of Bureau (*Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et Vinayapitaka anciens*, 1^{re} partie: *De la quête de l'éveil à la conversion de Maṅgaladyāyana*, EFEO, LIII, Paris 1963). The ample space the author accords here to the analysis of these episodes is justified by the fact

[...] qu'ils contiennent, à notre connaissance, les mentions les plus anciennes, dans toute la tradition bouddhiste, de deux [...] des stations de l'Ārūpya comme moyens et buts de certaines pratiques spirituelles, probablement pré-bouddhiques, mais, en tout cas, extra-bouddhiques. (p. 29)

It follows the episode of the extreme asceticism undertaken by Siddhārtha and his five ascetic followers (*Duṣṭakacaryā*, pp. 29-30), whose analysis simply agrees with the historical value already attributed to it in the exhaustive works written by Dutoit (*Die Duṣṭakacaryā des Bodhisattva*, Strasbourg 1905), and Bronkhorst (*The Two Traditions of Meditations in Ancient India*, Stuttgart 1986).

The second part opens with a preliminary note ('Note liminaire', p. 31) before the second chapter, informing us that

[...] avec ce deuxième chapitre, nous commencerons: (1) par une étude critique des recueils de l'*arūpa-dhāraṇa*, considérés trop souvent comme devant être les stades supérieurs et obligatoires du 'chemin

du Nirvāṇa' [...] nous pensons qu'une lecture, comparative et critique, des textes les mentionnant, démontrera incontestablement qu'il ne peut s'agir là que d'une adjonction, relativement plus récente, aux pratiques et à la doctrine primitive du Bouddhisme ancien.

This noteworthy statement constitutes the real core of the second, long chapter entitled 'Préambule méditatif de l'éveil — les recueils de l'Ārūpya', pp. 32-70. It also provides several tables showing the *dhyānas* of the *rūpa-dhātu* and the *Āyatana Samāpattis* of the *arūpa-dhātu*, yet unfortunately, the literary sources quoted do not include any passages either from Chinese or Tibetan texts. However, on the basis of these tables, the writer puts forward the hypothesis that:

[...] le groupement parallèle des quatre *āyatanasamāpattis* débouchant sur un *saṃjñā/satthā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpatti* ressemble en une séquence, plutôt artificielle, des éléments hétérogènes: tant au point de vue historique [...] qu'au point de vue sémantique des termes eux-mêmes. (p. 56)

Such a hypothesis is based on the following five arguments:

1) in a passage of the *Brāhmayāla Sūtra* are listed sixty-two *dṛṣṭi/diṭṭhi* of Śramanas and Brāhmanas. Among these we find the so-called Uccchedavādin with their practice of the four *āyatanas* of the *arūpa-dhātu*, definitely differentiated from that of the four *dhyānas* of the *rūpa-dhātu* assigned to the followers of *dharma* and *nirvāṇa*, *Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavādin*; 2) the absence of the terms *arūpadhātu* and *arūpāvacara* in texts like the Pāli *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, as well as the Mūlasarvāstivādin's *Vinaya* and *Saṅghabbedavastu*; 3) the *Suttavibhaṅga* of the Pāli *Vinaya* in particular explains all the sins which hinder attainment of the spiritual degrees represented by the four *jhāna* of the *rūpa-dhātu*, but even in such a context any hint of the *arūpa-dhātu* and its *Samāpattis* is completely omitted; 4) it can be observed in the famous work by Masson on Buddhist deities (*La religion populaire dans le canon Pāli*, Louvain 1942), that the *arūpa-dhātu* deities are mentioned only eighteen times out of sixty quoted passages; 5) the *Mahāsaṃghika*' and *Dharmaguptaka*' schools consider the four *ārūpya*'s *āyatanasamāpatti* as

asamṣkṛta. As a conclusion, it is stated that originally these *āyatanasamāpattis* were considered to be simple qualifications of a hidden reality, rather than the aim or object of meditation.

In the third chapter ('Préambule méditatif de l'éveil — Les *Dhyāna* et le *Rūpa-Dhātu*', pp. 71-93), the author analyses the *dhyānas* of the *rūpa-dhātu* as the sole original preparation for the *abbisambodhi*, on account of the comparatively late period the *ārūpya* stations seem to have been added to the main corpus. As a result of his analysis, he traces the origin of the four *dhyānas* back to the most ancient 'stratum' of the Buddhist canon, admitting at the same time a few parallels with Jaina and Ajīvika ideas, but firmly excluding the possibility of an extra-Buddhist origin for those.

The fourth chapter ('Au seuil de l'éveil: l'*Āśravakasya* et les *Āryasatyāni*', pp. 95-127), deals with the four *Āryasatyāni*, the *Āśravakasya* and the *Pratītyasamutpāda*. The concept of *Āśravakasya* is traditionally included in those three wisdoms, respectively the *Pūrvanivāsana-smṛtiñāna*, *Cyutyupapāda*, and *Āśravakasya*, which are supposed to be obtained once the fourth *dhyāna* has been reached. Now, these *Trividya/Tevijja* appear very often together in the Gāthā literature, a clear sign of their antiquity, but their single denominations seem to belong to a later period, at least the first two. Unlike them, the latter *Vidya*, *Āśravakasya*, together with the equivalent compounds *Kṣiṇāśrava/Khīṇāśava* and *Anāśrava/Anāśava*, seems to belong 'à la terminologie la plus ancienne du Bouddhisme, avec leur signification de "s'être débarrassé des impuretés"' (p. 101). Usually, the three wisdoms follow the enumeration of the four noble truths and so are considered by the specialists to have been moulded to these. Moreover, they are normally followed by the *Pratītyasamutpāda* (of whichever kind, depending on the number of *Nidāna*), only with the exception of *Lalitavistara* and *Buddhacarita*: a reversed place order in the former, while the latter shows a *Pratītyasamutpāda* even replacing the four noble truths. Then, regarding the *Pratītyasamutpāda*, the author adheres to a theory proposed by Frauwallner (*Geschichte der Indischen Philosophie*, Salzburg 1953) corroborated on philological grounds and argumentation by a forgotten and neglected article by Bernhard ('Zur

Interpretation der Pratītyasamutpāda Formel', WZKSÖ, XII-XIII, 1969, pp. 53-63), which poses the hypothesis of a double different 'causal-chain' joined later to constitute the twelve *Nidāna Pratītyasamutpāda*. This sort of 'inner development' occurring even in the strongholds of the Buddhist Creed touches also the four noble truths:

Ce ne serait qu'à un stade ultérieur, quoique relativement déjà assez ancien, que les *catvāri āryasatyāni* se seraient différenciés, se seraient fixés dans leurs formes stéréotypées et se seraient imposés à toute la tradition. (p. 114)

To sum up, all the items dealt with appear to be included in the most ancient layer of the legend to be discerned.

At the beginning of the fifth chapter ('La Sambodhi', pp. 128-83), by far the most extensive of the essay, a table is given regarding all the formulae the Buddha is said to have adopted in order to declare the achievement of the *sambodhi*. Subsequently, the concept of 'Verbal and Semantic Unit' (UVS, shortened form of UNIVERBSEM, *Unité-Verbale-Sémantique*), is illustrated, for the sake of understanding the method adopted by the writer in analysing several kinds of formulae all belonging to the enlightenment-context. After these necessary preliminary remarks a careful study of each and every type of formula follows; thus we have the formulae labelled 'O' (associated with the *dharmacakra-pravartanam*), 'α' attested only in the Pāli Canon, 'β' largely utilized and with the same semantic function as the former in emphasizing the break in the *samsara* circle, 'γ' used also by the *arhats* and in different contexts, 'δ' that we find only in the Pāli Canon, 'ε' used only to describe the achievement of the *arhathood*. All these formulae, however, deal with *sambodhi*, but they neither describe nor explain what such an achievement is.

Finally, a series of post-*sambodhi* sayings on the Buddha and the Buddhahood is collected, starting with the deities' request for the Blessed One's preaching (pp. 167-70), after which comes the meeting with the Ājīvika ascetic Upaka (pp. 171-80), to end with the well-known episode of the First Sermon delivered at Benares (pp. 181-82). A final succinct remark seems to summarize his conclusions adequately:

Il nous semble donc pouvoir affirmer formellement ce que Bronkhorst considérait comme une possibilité des plus probables: c'est à dire que l'ensemble des énoncés et UVS anciens de la tradition canonique concernant la *Sambodhi* du Maître, pris dans l'économie même de leur sémantique, paraissent démontrer à l'envi que, originellement et dans les strates les plus anciennes de la Légende, l'illumination libératrice (the Liberating Insight) n'a été ni décrite, ni même conceptualisée d'une manière explicite. (p. 183)

Yet, at times, the arrangement of the headings and the layout of the tables are slightly confusing, giving the general impression of a big amount of data piled up, somewhat awkwardly, in a confined space. Undoubtedly, however, this work will be heartily welcomed by, and extremely useful to, not only Buddhologists and Indologists, but also to the Historian of Religions and of Philosophy.

Riccardo Garbini

T. Richard Blurton, *Hindu Art*, Published by British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum, London 1992, 239 pp., 146 figs. in the text.

England has a long tradition of scientific literature for a wide public of readers — books written for the layman which the specialist cannot ignore. This handbook finds its legitimate place in that very tradition.

What immediately strikes the reader is that the author has a sound first-hand knowledge of India — particularly of the everyday experience of Hindu art by the devotee. Hindu artefacts are no museum items in his sight — they are objects of devotion and instruments of religious perception. Blurton does not deal so much with artistic development and styles, but rather points to the function of each object and its meaning in the religious context. Take for instance the section 'Visiting a temple' (pp. 59-74) — a highly enjoyable description which helps the reader to evaluate at one glance the meaning of space, architectural forms, images, trees, gestures, colours. To understand temple symbology thoroughly, wider reading is perhaps necessary, nevertheless the chapter on 'The Temple' in Blurton's book (pp. 40-75) is a very good

introduction for the serious student and a very useful reminder to the specialist as well.

The other chapters ('Hinduism', pp. 20-39; 'Shiva', pp. 76-110; 'Vishnu', pp. 111-53; 'The Great Goddess, Devi', pp. 154-86; 'Regional and Chronological Survey', pp. 187-231) are as good as the one on 'The Temple' and provide an excellent introduction to the Indian galleries of the British Museum or any other comprehensive collection of Indian art.

The illustrations — both in colour and black and white — are of high quality and cleverly selected. Much space is allotted to painting, and popular painting is not banned at all. The captions are always precise and penetratingly clear. A few examples will suffice to show how accurate the author is even when dealing with minor works of Hindu imagery.

Fig. 62 shows a wildly coloured popular print of Murugan, from Madras: a masterpiece of *kitsch*, one might feel tempted to say, and so dispose of this 'childish' image of the god with a smile. But Blurton in the relevant caption writes, 'Stylistically popular prints such as this look back to the pioneering historicist paintings of Ravi Varma'. No more details are given on Ravi Varma's painting, but this is enough for the reader to become aware that even these secondary works have their own content and deserve historical scrutiny. The case is actually different for the popular print from Gujarat of fig. 99, an image of a goddess of which Blurton very aptly says that it is 'suggestive of the influence of film imagery on the producer of the original painting'.

Some of the photographs are strongly evocative of the humblest devotion and to have included them is also a very intelligent choice: the rural shrine in Bellary District, fig. 2, and the heap of contemporary pots and terracotta figurines in Chhota Nagpur, fig. 8, are the best examples.

As for the origin of Hindu iconography, Blurton is extremely — and wisely — cautious, though he provides the reader with all the useful information and references to enable him to see his way clearly in the study of this complicated subject.

The bibliography at the end of the volume is very succinct but well selected too. Being unable for obvious reasons to give an exhaustive bibliography, Blurton very aptly lists the titles of

books and articles from which a keen student can easily draw useful suggestions for further reading.

A 'Glossary of Frequently-Used Indian Language Terms' (pp. 234-35) and an Index (pp. 237-39) make the use of this book easier.

Maurizio Taddei

Enamul Haque, *Bengal Sculptures: Hindu Iconography upto C. 1250 A.D.*, Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka 1992.

After a long and patient waiting the Ph.D. thesis of Enamul Haque, former Director General of the Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka, has been published through the courtesy of the Bangladesh National Museum. We join Enamul Haque in thanking Jahanara Begum, Minister of State for Cultural Affairs, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for being responsible to get this important and useful thesis published. This thesis was submitted by Enamul Haque to the University of Cambridge in 1973 for the doctoral degree under the guidance of Dr J.C. Harle, Keeper of the Eastern Art in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Dr J.C. Harle is well-known to the art-historians as an efficient scholar in the field of Eastern Art. The original title of the thesis was, *The Iconography of the Hindu Sculpture of Bengal (upto C. 1250 A.D.)*. We congratulate Enamul Haque for selecting the topic of Hindu Iconography of Bengal. Frankly speaking, after N.K. Bhattasali's Dhaka Museum Catalogue, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* in 1929, this volume of Enamul Haque is the most substantial contribution to the study of Hindu iconography of Bengal sculptures. Enamul Haque took great trouble to travel all over Bengal (mod. West Bengal in India and Bangladesh) to different places and museums to take photographs of the Hindu sculptures. The list of sculptures given in Appendix A of his volume has 1860 items (in the original thesis the number was 1852). It is very unfortunate that he could not include many important sculptures from the Malda Museum in West Bengal. This museum is one of the most well-known museums of West Bengal and Bangladesh for its valuable collection of the period in question. Enamul

Haque also could not include the sculptures of the Balurghat College Museum and the Balurghat Public Library Museum of West Bengal.

For the delay in publication of his thesis Haque himself has given adequate reason and apologized to the scholars from different parts of the world. In a long list he has mentioned scholars to whom he is thankful for their sympathy (unfortunately a big mistake occurs in the name of Claudine Bautze-Picron). Haque shows special indebtedness to Susan L. and John C. Huntington who had provided him with a large number of prints from their personal collection of negatives and to Tarapada Santra for several photos of unpublished images from different parts of West Bengal. But he expresses his disappointment with the Director of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (in 1972) who did not permit him to take photos of the sculptures of Bengal in the reserve collection of the museum. This is very regrettable. The Directors and Curators of different museums of the Indian Subcontinent should realize the importance of a research work and help the candidates generously and should not create difficulties in their work.

In seven chapters Enamul Haque has discussed and described various Hindu deities of Bengal; a select bibliography and a valuable index have been provided at the end of the volume.

The published volume has a list of plates of 263 sculptures (in the thesis this number was 237). Unfortunately no sculpture of Agni, the Fire-god, is included in the list. As an independent deity Agni images are rare in Bengal. Haque has not discussed the iconography of this deity.

It is very thoughtful and extremely nice of Enamul Haque to dedicate his book to N.K. Bhattasali, the eminent scholar and the founder-curator of the Dhaka Museum. The small museum of Bhattasali is to-day an ambitious and 'one of the largest museums in the Third World having approximately 300,000 square feet of floor-space'. There could not have been a more worthy person in Bangladesh than the brilliant iconographer Bhattasali, to whom this volume could be dedicated. For many parts of his discussion on iconographical matter Haque had to depend on Bhattasali. There is no doubt that we have no better and original scholar than

Bhattasali for the iconography of Bengal sculptures, Hindu or Buddhist.

Enamul Haque's volume is on the iconographical study of the Hindu sculptures from Bengal and not the stylistic development of them, and that's why this volume is quite different than the well-known volumes, *The Art of Eastern India, 300-800* by Frederick M. Asher, and *The 'Pala-Sena' Schools of Sculpture* by Susan L. Huntington. As the largest number of images from Bengal are of Viṣṇu, Haque starts his discussion with the twentyfour forms of Viṣṇu and his Avatāras (altogether 695 images) into different groups from the two-armed to twenty-armed images. For the four-armed variety, the largest number of images, 674 in number, Haque arranges the images according to the *caturvīṃśati* (twentyfour) forms of Viṣṇu mentioned in the various (seven in number) *Purāṇas* and iconographic texts, viz. *Āgri-p.*, *Skanda-p.*, *Rūpamaṇḍana*, *Garuda-p.*, *Padma-p.*, Hemādri's *Vṛatakhanda* and *Haryaśiṅga-Pañcarātra*, which give different names to the deity according to the arrangement of the attributes, *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gādā* and *padma*. But there is a great difficulty in following this order, because in most of the Viṣṇu images from Bengal, and certainly in the earlier ones, no lotus is given as an attribute to the deity. In most of the cases of later images a small flower is engraved on the palm of the lower right hand of Viṣṇu which is shown in *varada-mudrā*, and should be treated as an auspicious mark and not an attribute. Only in a few cases in the very late Viṣṇu images a lotus appears as one of the four attributes. See for example, Haque, figs. 31, 40, 44 and 53. In several images Viṣṇu holds a fruit (*mātulaṅga* or *bīṣapūra*), see Haque, figs. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 39 (according to Haque PCGS order of attributes!).

In the Akshaykumar Maitreya Museum of the North Bengal University there is an inscribed stone image of Viṣṇu holding a jewel in his front right hand, and in the inscription the object is mentioned as *manī*. This image cannot be put in any of the twentyfour varieties. While discussing the Viṣṇu images Enamul Haque has rightly refuted the bias of many art-historians as regards the Chaitanpur (Burdwan district, W. Bengal) Viṣṇu image (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), List No. 464, fig. 9. This image was identified in a novel way as Ābhicārika-Viṣṇu-

mūrti by J.N. Banerjee (*JISOA*, 8, pp. 159-61; 13, p. 73). But Banerjee was wrong. Haque has pointed out this mistake (p. 59). In his long discussion on the Viṣṇu images Haque should have referred to the long published article by Claudine Bautze-Picron, 'L'image de l'Ādimūrti Vārudeva au Bihar et au Bengale, du 5e au 12e siècle', published in *AION*, 45, 1985, pp. 437-81.

As Viṣṇu-Viṣṇurūpa Haque has illustrated a twenty-armed but one-headed fragmentary stone image from North Bengal, now in the VRM, No. 1492 (Haque, List No. 352), fig. 72 (p. 97). Haque mentions two other images of this type. It is difficult to identify these images as Viṣṇurūpa, which Haque has done, because Viṣṇurūpa is a very special form of Viṣṇu (see Th. S. Maxwell, *Viṣṇurūpa*, Delhi 1988).

In the Bangladesh National Museum on the other hand, there is a five-headed image of Viṣṇu of which four are animal heads (fish, tortoise, boar and lion). This important image should have been included in the volume (see our article, 'A Unique Viṣṇu image from the National Museum of Bangladesh', in C. Jarrige, ed., *South Asian Archaeology 1989*, Madison, Wisc., 1992, pp. 317-26).

Haque's figs. 101A and 101B, the four-armed dancing images on Garuḍa are not of Viṣṇu but of personified *Sudarśana-cakra*. Banerjee had rightly identified them. See J.N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1985, pp. 538-39, pl. 26.4.

After his discussion of the Vaiṣṇava images Haque takes up the Śaiva images starting with the *śivaliṅgas*: *ekamukha-liṅga*, *caturmukha-liṅga* and *pañcamukha-liṅga*. In this connection Haque refers to eleven specimen of *liṅgas* surrounded by four stereotyped female deities, all in sandstone and from North and West Bengal. Haque could not identify these images, but see our article, 'Identification of a Group of Strange Sculptures from Bengal', *South Asian Studies*, 9, 1993, pp. 93-95.

On the bronze image of Śiva from Habibpur (Barisal), now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta (Haque, fig. 108) Haque remarks, 'The image is obviously a product of a syncretic idea between Buddhism and Hinduism and J.N. Banerjee very appropriately termed the image Śiva-Lokeśvara'. But Banerjee was wrong, de Mallmann had a right

explanation (see M.-Th. de Mallmann, 'Hindu Deities in Tantric Buddhism', *ZAS*, 2, 1968, pp. 41-54). To this category belong also the Viṣṇu images from Pathra and Kalandarpur, Haque, figs. 38 and 39 respectively, and the fragmentary Śūrya image of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta (see Banerjee, *DHI*, pp. 547-48, pl. 48.3).

Like most of the art-historians Enamul Haque describes the bull of Śiva as Nandi. Long back, in our article, 'Nandin and Vṛabha', *ZDMG*, Suppl. III 2, 1977, pp. 1545 ff., we had pointed out that it is a misnomer to call the bull of Śiva as Nandi or Nandin, because a *gaya* of Śiva is known as Nandin, and as such described in the Sanskrit literature. And thereafter, in our second article, 'Representation of Nandin in Medieval Stone Sculptures from Bengal', in *Indian Studies: Essays Presented in Memory of Prof. Nihar Ranjan Ray*, Delhi, pp. 131-37, we have shown how, with the two attendants (*gayas*) of Śiva, Nandin and Mahākālā, the bull (*vṛa* or *vṛabha*) of Śiva are illustrated. Compare figs. 112, 113, 114 of Haque. Enamul Haque could not go through my article, although he has mentioned the article in his bibliography.

As regards the five-headed and ten-armed pot-bellied image of Bhairava from Balrhatta, West Dinajpur (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), Haque, p. 173, List No. 1766, fig. 145, we like to point out that the inscribed image has been published by Claudine Bautze-Picron in *Arts Asiatiques*, 45, 1990, pp. 61-66 with detailed illustrations and descriptions. Haque has wrongly described the eight attendant, dancing Mother-Goddesses (*mātṛkās*) as, 'eight 4-armed pot-bellied males and females'.

Also like most of the art-historians Haque uses the term *tribhanga* as a standing posture of a deity. K.M. Varma of Santiniketan in his interesting volume, *Myth of the so-Called 'Tribhanga' as a 'Pose', Or The Nature and Number of Bhāngas*, Santiniketan 1983, has pointed out that there is no such position as *tribhanga*, the *bhāngas* are three (*tri*) in number, and these are *ābhānga*, *śamabhānga* and *atibhānga*. Actually the *ābhānga* position of a deity is wrongly called *tribhanga* by the art-historians.

Haque uses the general term for the dancing images of Śiva as Natarāja, but in Bengal they are described as *marīceśvara* (not *marīceśvara*!), see

for example the Bharella image inscription, Bhattasali, in *Ep. Ind.*, 17, p. 349. This term occurs also in the Buddhist Iconographic text, *Sādhnamālā* as *padma-nariteśvara* as an epithet of dancing Avalokiteśvara.

As regards the terminology, *kalyāṇasundara-mūrti* for the North Indian marriage images of Śiva and Gaurī we should point out that this is not justified, although most of the art-historians do that. Bhattasali also did that. The term *kalyāṇa* in the sense of marriage is not Sanskrit but Tamil, and the whole expression refers specially to the marriage of Sundarēśvara and Mīnākṣī. For the North Indian images we should employ the expression, *Śiva-Vaivāhika-mūrti* or *Śiva-Parinaya-mūrti*.

In Haque's bibliography the article of M.M. Mukhopadhyay, 'Kalyāṇasundara Theme in North Indian Art', *JISOA*, n.s., 2, 1967-68, pp. 4-15, is missing.

In his chapter on Śaiva images Haque has very ingeniously pointed out that the term, *vaiśākha-sibānaka* of the *Matsya-purāṇa* as an epithet of the dancing Śiva means the pose of an archer and not standing on the bull as J.N. Banerjee has interpreted. *Vaiśākha-sibāna* as an archer's position appears already in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

In his discussion on the images of Brahmā Haque should have taken into consideration the article of Claudine Picron, 'Brahmā in Pāla-Sena Stone Sculpture', *Oriental Art*, n.s., 30, 1984, pp. 93-99.

We don't understand why Haque while discussing the images of Gaṇeśa has not illustrated the important inscribed image of the deity from Mandhuk (Comilla district), his List No. 1462. Haque has not discussed the importance of the image at all. It is earlier to the Narayanpur (Comilla district) Vināyaka image, 4th regnal year of Mahīpāla, whom Haque identifies with Mahīpāla (II) (see Haque, fig. 253, List No. 1403). The Mandhuk image of Vināyaka (Haque's List No. 1462) belongs to the 1st regnal year of Gopāla (II).

Enamul Haque's discussion on the Devi images from Bengal is praiseworthy. In this chapter he has discussed several extraordinary images.

Very ingeniously Haque points out the mistake committed by de Mallmann in translating

the expression *rambbā-vane* in the *Agni-p.*, ch. 50, v. 14a as 'Rambhā in the forest'; but the expression means, 'in the banana forest' which the Bengali artist also display. Still we have certain difficulty in accepting the interpretation of Haque of the ambiguous passage of the *Agni-p.*, chap. 50, vv. 13b-15a:

taibā gaurī caṇḍik-ādyā kaṇḍy-akṣa-varad-āgni-dhṛk//
s-ava rambbā-vane siddh-āgnibīnā lalitā taibā//
skanda-mūrdha-karī nāme dvitīye dhyāta-darpanā//
yāmnye phal-āñjanī-bastā saubhāgyā tatra c-orubhikā//

Haque (p. 234) translates and remarks,

'[...] Gaurī, Caṇḍikā etc. carrying the *kamaṇḍala*, *akṣamālā*, *varada* and *agni* are placed in the forest of plaintain trees (among the sanctified fire altars); Lalitā occurs there without such fire; her one hand to be placed on the head of Skanda (who is standing) in the left, and the second left hand carries a *darpana*; one right hand carries a *phala* (and the other) an *āñjanī* (or *śalākā*); there she is auspicious'. So, it may appear that there is not much difference between the two translations except that the goddesses Rambhā and Siddhā, as mentioned by de Mallmann, disappear, and we have almost an injunction, by inference of course, that Lalitā should not be depicted with fire-altars as should be the cases of Gaurī and others.

We have interpreted the passage in a different way. Verses 13b and 14a of the *Agni-p.* text mean actually that Gaurī indeed should be called Siddhā holding *kaṇḍī*, *akṣamālā*, *varada-mudrā* and *agni* in her four hands when she stands in the forest of banana plants (*rambbā-vane*), and Lalitā should be without fire (*agni-bīnā*).

The other deity which developed out of Siddhā is Lalitā, whose description in the *Agni-p.* is typical for the figures from Bengal (see our article, 'A Special Type of Devi Figure from Bihar and Bengal', in *Facets of Indian Art*, London 1986, pp. 33-40).

On the theme 'Mother and Child' (Gaurī with *sadyojāta* Śiva) it is Enamul Haque who drew our attention to an inscribed sculpture from Kosham Shabar, Bogra district, now in the Mahasthangarh Museum, where the lying female deity is mentioned as Gaurī, and thereby corroborates the identification of Bhattasali of Gaurī and the child Śiva of the Vaivāhika legend of Śiva described in the *Brhad-p.* (see our article, 'The Munificence of Lady Catuḥsmā', in *Akṣayanārī: Essays presented to Dr Debala Mitra in admiration*

of her scholarly contributions, Delhi 1991, pp. 313-22.

On the topic, *Manasā* or the Snake-goddess, unfortunately Enamul Haque could not consult our article, 'Nāgendrāvāhinī Devī: The Snake-Goddess on an Elephant', in *Makaranda: Essays in honour of Dr James C. Harle*, Delhi 1990, pp. 173-84. An inscribed bronze image of the Snake-goddess from the Linden Museum, Stuttgart, is called *svargāi-bhāṭṭārikā* in the inscription belonging to the time of Mahāpāla (I). The image is most probably from North Bengal. We have doubt if the images of the Snake-goddess were called *Manasā* or *Manasā-devī* at all in the period when they were created. It is for the first time that the *Brabma-vaivarta-p.* (the present text is quite late) mentions the name of *Manasā* or *Manasā-devī*. Enamul Haque contends that Al-Bīrūnī (11th century) knew the text of the *Brabma-vaivarta-p.*, but in which form? Most probably the episode of the Snake-goddess was not incorporated therein.

Haque is right when he remarks that the *dhyanas* quoted by him do not conform to any of the images known to us.

In Haque's fig. 216 the pedestal inscription describes the deity as *Piṣitāsānā*, hence it is wrong to call her *Cāmūṇḍā*. *Piṣitāsā* (not *Piṣitāsāl*) is mentioned as one of the 64 Yoginīs in the *Agni-p.*, 52, 6b as mentioned by Haque. We think that *Piṣitāsānā* (corrected form of *Piṣitāsānā*) is same as *Piṣitāsā*. Haque is right, there is a confusion in Hemādri's quotation from *Mayadāpikā* of *Piṣitāsā*.

Haque's identification of *Gaurī* (figs. 186, 187, 188 and 189) is not quite all right. He identifies the deity with the mount (*svāhara*) iguana (*godhā* or *godbhikā*) mostly without *Kārttikeya* and *Gaṇeśa* as *Gaurī* after the maxim, *godhāsānā bhaved gaurī* of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, which is not to be applicable to the images from Bengal.

Enamul Haque should not have followed the dating of the ruling period of Pāla and Sena rulers given by the earlier historians. The important discovery of the Jagajībanpur (or Jagibānpur), Malda district, West Bengal, copper plate inscription of the so far unknown Pāla ruler, Mahendrapāla in 1987, will change the old Pāla chronology radically (see our note, 'The New Pāla

Ruler Mahendrapāla: Discovery of a Valuable Charter', *South Asian Studies*, 4, 1988, pp. 71-73). The recent discovery of the Rajibpur, Dinajpur district, West Bengal, of the last Pāla ruler, Madanapāla will change the chronology further.

Haque's bibliography is praiseworthy, although not up-to-date, as we have mentioned in our discussion several times. He should not have omitted the two important articles of Marie Thérèse de Mallmann, viz. 1) 'Notes d'iconographie hindoue, III. Lalita Devī', *Arts Asiatiques*, 9, 1962-63, pp. 115-16, and 2) 'Hindu Deities in Tantric Buddhism', *ZAS*, 2, 1968, pp. 41-54. It is very unfortunate that Haque has not included in his bibliography any of the articles of Claudine Bautze-Picron, who is a specialist in the study of sculptures from Bihar-Bengal.

We are glad that Haque has taken much care to see that the diacritical marks have been used carefully. We are always alert when a text in Sanskrit or with Sanskrit words is published in India now-a-days — there will be several spelling mistakes and disorder in putting the diacritical marks. There are a few mistakes which could have been avoided, viz. the Sanskrit word is *dhyanas* and not *dhyanu*, or in some cases of Sandhi.

The printing is excellent and the get-up of the volume is quite tasteful. Only the plates are not of a very good standard. The plates should have been of a better quality considering the quality of the sculptures.

Enamul Haque has done a big job by publishing and listing a large number of Hindu sculptures of Bengal (both West Bengal and Bangladesh). For the study of art and iconography of pre-Muslim period of Bengal this volume is the most important contribution till to-day. So far the art-historians had no such help for the study of sculptures from Bengal. We congratulate the Muslim scholar from Bangladesh for his thorough study of iconography of the Hindu sculptures of Bengal and thereby deserving unreserved admiration of the art-historians, both foreign and indigenous.

Gouriswar Bhattacharya

S. Settar, *The Hoysala Temples*, Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University & Kalā Yātra Publications, Dharwad & Bangalore

1992, xx-424 pp. (vol. I: Text), viii-319 pp. (vol. II: Illustrations).

The Hoysala dynasty ruled over large parts of South India (in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala) from c. A.D. 1000 to 1346, a period roughly corresponding to the years from Mahmud of Ghazna to Firuz Shah Tughlak in Northern India and from Emperor Otto III to Louis the Bavarian in Europe — a period rich in well-known political events and cultural achievements, though until the mid-1970's even scholarly people knew little about the art and architecture patronized by this dynasty. South India is indeed the country of 'Forgotten Empires'!

A.K. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York 1927) dealt with Hoysala art in less than twenty lines; B. Rowland (*The Art and Architecture of India*, London 1953) consecrated one full page to the subject, but the key-note had already been given by P. Brown (*Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Bombay, n.d.). This scholar had devoted to Hoysala architecture a fairly detailed description, but his conclusion — which Rowland himself and others accepted — was that the works of the Hoysala (and Calukya) temple-builders 'appertain more to an illuminated missal transmuted into sculpture, than to a full-scale architectural composition'. 'What they produced' — Brown said — 'was in reality not architecture, but applied art'. Such evaluations sound rather derogatory if one takes Graeco-Roman or Italian Renaissance architecture (in which sculptures are expected to be set in an architectural frame, not to be seen as architectural components themselves) as a model to be followed by any builder under the sky — a very outdated approach which was not shared by Brown nor by Rowland, though both of them were still unconsciously influenced by it. On the other hand, if we recall that the Indian temple does not pretend to enclose a rationally ordered space but is itself a living mountain in the centre (or better, which is *the* centre) of space, the characteristics which inspired Percy Brown's words can be viewed in a different perspective. Then, the Hoysala temple will appear to our eyes as one of the most outstanding achievements in the history of Indian art.

The Rococo appearance of Hoysala sculpture

— in a time which was accustomed to look down upon Rococo as a debased successor of the already questionable Baroque style — built up a sort of wall that prevented the Western amateur of Indian art from appreciating this rich production in the proper perspective. It was perhaps the scholarly catalogue *Hoysala Sculpture in the National Museum, Copenhagen* (Copenhagen 1975) by S. Settar that opened the eyes of many people, thanks to the high quality of both the collection and the text. The new, highly descriptive and penetrating book by Dr Settar fills a gap that was by now keenly felt. One should also add that the illustrations (in vol. II) are of a high standard and that the layout (also done by Dr Settar) is extremely elegant — the two volumes hold an outstanding place in Indian high-quality book production.

The subject matter is treated in a very original way — Section I (pp. 1-80) — deals with 'Political Roots and Royal Patronage', Section II (pp. 81-143) with 'Artists and Craftsmen', Section III (pp. 145-245) with 'Architecture', Section IV (pp. 247-350) with 'Sculpture'. So the reader will find all information concerning the morphological and iconographical characteristics of Hoysala architecture and sculpture in Sections III and IV, while the first two Sections provide a detailed account of the position the artists enjoyed in Hoysala society and the links connecting the dynasty with Jaina, Vaishnava and Saiva communities — the only correct approach for understanding such an unusual flowering of artefacts so clearly diverging from (Calukya) tradition.

A few years ago J.C. Harle (*The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, Harmondsworth 1986, p. 263) expressed the wish that 'Further research, given the considerable number of dated temples, may help to distinguish a pre-Hoysala or early-Hoysala style'. Settar is now in a position to state (p. 73) that 'The temples of the first hundred years, built under Vinayaditya, Ereyanga and Ballala I, lack the Hoysala character because they were established with little forethought. With the beginning of the great building era under Virajvardhana [A.D. 1106-1142], the Hoysala identity began to emerge more boldly'. Even more interesting and thought-provoking are the words that follow the above statement: 'The choice of the medium as well as the architectural

idiom may not have been made personally by Vignuvardhana himself, but it cannot have been made without satisfying his sensibilities. The major decision on the choice of art form, artists, sites, and religious causes were in all probability, made on the floor of the council chambers, if not in the court-hall, with private parleys with the king, queens and counsellors playing their own role'.

The involvement of the artists in the life and machinery of the Hoysala State is therefore a very interesting aspect that can provide some clues for understanding the close connection between the dynasty and art production. Settar (pp. 88-89) lists the names of those artists who held posts in the State bureaucracy: 'Several artists, like poets, held important offices in villages and the *nāḍa*. Būcana was a *nāḍ-senabbova*, or accountant of a District, while Siddoja, Kaṭṭiga, Isapacāri also served as *senabbovas*. Madhuvanna was a treasurer (*bbaṇḍari*), Nāgadeva was a superintendent of the royal camp (*debara*), while Viśvāsa held the position of palace accountant [...]'. No surprise then, when we are told by Settar (p. 89) that 'The low social status assigned to the artisans by Manu seems to have been considerably altered by about the 12th cent., in the lower Deccan. Scribes, sculptors, architects (not to speak of masons), carpenters, smiths and jewellers, were not only in great demand at this time, but were considered to be an important limb of the society'. This was perhaps true only of the 'distinguished artists', not of those 'of humbler attainments', who remained in their villages with a status of 'rural artisans'.

This book by Settar is rich in other such penetrating insights into the culture of the Hoysala period, and it is perhaps needless to deal at length with the contents of the book itself. One should only be aware of the fact that this book 'would have seen the light of day as far back as 1970, had [the author] given the manuscript to a publisher in Europe soon after obtaining [his] Ph.D. degree as a student of the Churchill College at Cambridge' (p. xvi) — the twenty years that have elapsed were certainly not lost, as the author devoted most of his energies to probing many questions and the preparation of a richly illustrated publication. *The Hoysala Temples* will therefore remain a milestone in the study of

South Indian art and architecture. If we put beside these two volumes the other books Settar has written and/or edited in the past years (S. Settar, *Sruvana Belgola*, Dharwad 1981; S. Settar & G.D. Sontheimer, eds., *Memorial Stones*, Dharwad & Heidelberg 1982; S. Settar, *Inviting Death*, Dharwad 1986; S. Settar, *Pursuing Death*, Dharwad 1990; and the above-mentioned catalogue of the Copenhagen collection), we could fill a whole bookshelf to which any student of South India will have to refer for reliable information and guidance.

Appendix I (pp. 351-67) lists the 'Surviving temples in Karnataka'. The information provided covers: place, name of temple, date, remarks (including typological references), bibliographic references. Seventeen pages of highly concentrated information in small print, are certainly an admirable achievement of which Dr Settar can legitimately be proud.

Appendix II (pp. 369-78) lists 'The Hoysala artists'. I am sure very few people could ever have imagined that one might be able to identify as many as 282 artists!

The text ends with a Bibliography (pp. 379-86), a General Glossary (pp. 387-96), and an Index (pp. 397-424).

Maurizio Taddei

Raju Kalidos, *Temple Cars of Medieval Tamilabam*, Vijay Publications, Madurai 1989, xiv+492 pp., 4 drawings in the text, 96 photos (numbered 5 to 100) on 48 unnumbered plates, 1 photo on the frontispiece.

Dr Raju Kalidos deserves our gratitude both for the painstaking collection and analysis of the material which eventually led to the completion of this doctoral thesis of the Madurai Kamaraj University (1982). This volume is worthy of a far wider distribution than it has enjoyed until now (it is not by chance that we were not able to review it before), though one must observe that the number of misprints exceeds the average generally tolerated. However, they create no real inconvenience since no initiated reader will find any difficulty in recognizing the *keṇḍalini* through the random spelling *keṇḍalini* (p. 216) —, but at least note should be taken that *rebda* (p.

20) is no Latin word — instead it is to be read *rheda* (or better, as *rueda*) 'a four-wheel carriage', a word apparently imported from Gaul.

This is the first attempt to bring to scholars' attention a systematic approach to the large and admirable heritage of temple cars from Tamil Nadu (866 of which actually survive). They certainly do not date back to more than two centuries ago, nevertheless they show strongly conservative characteristics which make them even more interesting — not only do they preserve mediaeval art traditions, but they also appear to be extremely reluctant to accept any innovations from modern artistic trends.

Attempts to trace the origin of temple cars back to the Indus Valley civilization are only too natural but certainly of no scientific value. Dr Kalidos wisely refrains from ascribing too much importance to possible forerunners in the Indus Valley seals and limits himself to referring the reader to Marshall, Heras, Meriggi, Mahadevan, and Parpola. (Incidentally, I wonder why the Italian scholar P. Meriggi is referred to as 'Herr Meriggi'?, p. 6). Dr Kalidos points out that the first precise documentation concerning the temple cars in Tamil Nadu dates back to the 4th-6th centuries A.D.: 'The earliest car festivals are described by the *Cilappatikāram* and *Manimekalai*. The former refers to the car festivals of the Buddhist god, Arukan' (pp. 9-10). Later literature and epigraphy are rich in references to temple festivals and cars, and Dr Kalidos makes free and fruitful use of them.

This book provides the reader with an abundance of information concerning the following subjects: — 'evolution of temple cars', 'structural styles', 'iconography of the gods', 'erotic symbolism', 'the car festival and its place in society'. The bulk of it deals with iconography — pp. 67 to 216, to which an 'Iconographical Catalogue' and other iconographic indices are appended, pp. 289-400.

Dr Kalidos rightly emphasizes the social aspects of the car festivals (see chap. X, 'The Temple Car and Society', pp. 231-39). On the grounds of ritual evidence and interviews with some of the priests in charge of the organization, he argues that the car festivals are moments of communal cooperation in which well-established social practices such as

untouchability are prohibited or even give way to opposite attitudes — e.g., 'caste Hindus [...] prostrate before the Paraiya priest, get his blessings and receive the *prasādam* [food offered to the gods and distributed among the devotees] offered by him. Muslims were also respected during car festivals and invited to participate. Thus [...] the communities which were treated as untouchable in the ordinary walk of Hindu life became venerable' (p. 234). It is also interesting to observe that there are even Mohammedan and Christian cars in Tamil Nadu — no surprise after all if one recalls the many Christian processional car festivals in Europe. These considerations might lead to a more thorough comparative analysis of the phenomena recorded by Dr Kalidos. He is right in concluding (p. 249) that: 'What has been already done is very little [...] and there is more and more scope for microstudies on the basis of thematic variables or even the conventional *śāstric* model'.

I only wish to point out that the table on p. 245 is extremely significant and can serve as a starting point for further reflections on the role of each deity in the religious life of Tamil Nadu. It provides a tabulation of statistical data concerning the specific pertinence to the various deities of: i. temples, ii. temple cars, and iii. images. From this we learn that the greater gods (Śiva and Viṣṇu) are more frequently related to temples than to temple cars — 43.9% of the temples surveyed belong to Śiva, 28% to Viṣṇu, but only 31.5% and 21.3% of the temple cars belong to the two gods respectively. On the other hand the figures are reversed in the case of the goddess Amman and Gaṇapati (1.6% and 0.4% of the temples, as compared to 21.9% and 7.6% of the cars, respectively). This is obviously evidence of a particular status enjoyed by such 'minor' deities as Amman and Gaṇapati and Dr Kalidos suggests some interesting hypotheses concerning this and other aspects of the tabulation.

Erotic representations on temple cars are also given some attention by the author (chap. VIII, 'Erotic Symbolism', pp. 211-16). This is a subject he already dealt with in a paper published in our Journal ('Viṣṇu's Mohini Incarnation', *EW*, 36, 1986, pp. 183-204). Dr Kalidos enumerates the various interpretations which have been given to

explain the presence of erotic scenes in places of worship (including the fanciful one according to which erotic images were meant to protect temples from lightening!), but he does not appear to be willing to embrace any of them, even though he accords more attention to the 'tantric' explanation than to the others. It is perhaps surprising that none of the interpretations listed by Kalidos is based on the concept of fertility — a clue to the interpretation of such religious phenomena that was very popular in the past which now seems to have been forgotten altogether; even more surprising is the author's over-cautious approach as he considers the evidence in the local framework only and not in the more general context of Indian religious art — a glance at some Nepalese temples might enhance one's understanding of these erotic scenes, in the wake of those scholars who have already dealt with this slippery theme (e.g. G. Tucci, *Rati-līlā*, Geneva-Paris-Munich 1969).

Whatever the more sophisticated interpretations might be, I would not disregard the fact that — as Kalidos himself writes — 'it was hoped that good rains poured, good health prevailed and women gave birth to good children in a land where *ratbairmāyā* (manufacture of cars) and *ratbotseva* (car festival) were conducted' (p. 217) and that, as we have seen, the festival includes a reversal of social conventions — two aspects that should not be considered separately from each other.

The book contains a Glossary (pp. 411-26), a Bibliography (pp. 427-64), and an Index (pp. 469-77).

Maurizio Taddei

Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, The New Cambridge History of India I: 4, Cambridge 1992, XXXI-367 pp., 226 pls.

This volume by Catherine B. Asher, which came out two years ago in The New Cambridge History of India series, is a definite and most useful step forward in the knowledge of the monuments of Mughal India which, in fact, had remained static ever since the scholarly, but by now out-dated, synthesis by Percy Brown in the distant 1940's (P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Bombay 1942). It has been

included and revised in successive editions up to the 5th in 1968 (not 1958, as mentioned on page 335 of Asher's text). Indeed in the intervening period other monographic studies have appeared on single monuments, cities or periods of Mughal art (e.g. on Fatehpur Sikri, the mausoleums of Humāyūn and Mumtaz Mahal, etc.), of which the present volume gives an ample bibliography. More recently, two successive editions came out by R. Nath, *History of Mughal Architecture*, the first in 1982, on Babur and Humāyūn; the second in 1985, on Akbar; while a third has been printed only in the last few months dedicated to Jahāngir (1994). These latter, however, as all the books by this author sustain, somewhat dogmatically, the Hindu origin of almost all the Mughal monuments and, more than identifying new elements to further knowledge, seek to find structural parallels with previous buildings.

Immediately prior to the volume by Asher two condensed volumes were published on the Mughal period, the first, *Mughal India* by G.H.R. Tillotson (1990), which has also been translated into Italian by Vallardi; and the other, *Mughal Architecture — An Outline of Its History and Development (1526-1858)* by E. Koch (1991). The former, although accurate, is in reality only a good guide-book to the Mughal capitals (which the author himself claims to have been his intention); whereas the latter, listed in Asher's bibliography but not studied because it came out shortly before her own work, is certainly fuller and well researched even though a little concise since it ends practically with the death of Aurangzeb and covers the successive late Mughal period in no more than a couple of pages.

By contrast, Asher's work is fully comprehensive in so far as it combines all the data gleaned from the most recent studies with those found in the earlier, but still valid, excavation reports in the invaluable *Archaeological Survey of India*, already synthesised by P. Brown, with many other monuments the author states she 're-discovered' during her long career doing field work, of which we would mention in particular that carried out in Bengal and in present-day Bangladesh (cf. *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, published by UNESCO and edited by G. Michell in 1984).

One of the most original aspects of this volume is the interesting 'rehabilitation' the

author makes of the architectural value of the monuments built under Aurangzeb and especially those dating from the chaotic period of his later successors, which up to now have been treated superficially, if not cursorily dismissed as decadent, or as totally insignificant. Even Hermann Goetz in his historical synthesis of the Mughal period, published in 1962, in the 4th volume of *Le Civiltà dell'Oriente*, dismissed the late Mughal period with a rather cutting phrase: 'Taken all in all' he affirmed, 'an artificial paradise, fleeting, gay, frivolous, in a period of misery' (p. 823). Instead, the author demonstrates the value of many works of the period, reversing even the negative criticism usually reserved for the Bibika Maqbara, the mausoleum of Aurangzeb's wife, which the majority consider to be but a poor copy of the celebrated Taj Mahal.

The present volume, divided into seven chapters, is introduced by two prefaces, one by the editor and the other by Asher. It has an exhaustive glossary and a map of the most important pre-Mughal and Mughal sites, as well as a detailed, annotated bibliography.

In the first chapter entitled: 'Precedents for Mughal Architecture', the principal sources of inspiration of Mughal architecture are examined. Asher identifies these with the Indo-Moslem inspiration of the earlier Sultanates of Delhi and of the Islamic dynasties which gradually gained independence from Delhi, i.e. Jaunpur, the States of Deccan, Chanderi, Gujarat, Bengal and Malwa; and with the non-Islamic ones, Hindu and Jaina, which developed simultaneously in various regions of Islamised India; and lastly with those in the Iranian Islamic tradition of the Seljuqs, but more especially of the Timurids, given the central asian origin of the dynasty. With regard to these latter, that is the Timurid traditions, Asher maintains that they reached the Moghuls not directly from Central Asia but via the Bahmani Deccan where they were already established. At Bidar, one of the Bahmani capitals, it is quite probable that the Vixier Mahmud Gawan, a native of Gilan on the Caspian Sea, entrusted the construction of a splendid *Madrasab*, bearing his name, to a Persian architect of the Timurid school. Indeed, Percy Brown was quick to notice its persian quality: '[...] like a piece of Persia planted in India'. Also other scholars had pointed out the close resemblance of

this building of c. 1481 to the famous *Madrasab* of Khargird, the masterpiece of Qavam ud-Din, the great Persian architect, who worked for thirty years under Shah Rukh and his wife Gawhar Shad, at Herat, Mashhad and at Khargird itself, in the early part of the 15th century. According to Asher the Mughal style that resulted from the re-elaboration of this series of different influences then spread with the same characteristics all over the vast empire conquered by Babur and his great successors.

The following chapters are dedicated respectively to: Babur and Humāyūn ('The Beginning of Mughal Architecture'); Akbar ('The Age of Akbar'); Jahāngīr ('Jahāngīr: An Age of Transition'); Shāh Jahān ('Shāh Jahān and the Crystallization of Mughal Style'); Aurangzeb ('Aurangzeb and the Islamization of the Mughal Style'); and lastly to the later Mughals ('Architecture and the Struggle for Authority Under the Later Mughals and Their Successor States'). Each chapter has an historical introduction on the period and goes on to examine the religious, civil, public and municipal works, etc., built either by order of the sovereigns themselves, or of some members of the imperial family, or under the patronage of the most prominent nobles of the empire in the territory conquered in India.

The first chapter (pp. 1-18) also contains a summary of the characteristic architectural features of the various Sultanates of Delhi (Mamluk, Khalji, Tughluq), those of the Islamic States which formed as the Tughluq Empire weakened and then dissolved following the disastrous and rapid invasion by Tamerlane, and those of the Great Moghul's immediate predecessors, the Afghans, Lodi and Sur. The latter, who usurped Humāyūn's throne and obliged Humāyūn who had succeeded his father Babur only shortly before to seek refuge with the Safavids of Iran, then reigned in place of him for about a decade. Although their dominion was brief it was to exercise a strong influence on the development of the Mughal artistic taste and in particular on that of Akbar, as Asher shows by comparing several works of the period.

The second chapter (pp. 19-38) first draws a profile of Babur before his conquest of India and then traces his search for an individual style, after establishing himself in Hindustan. However

since he was to die only five years later he was unable to concentrate on more than the layout of magnificent gardens. His first care in fact was to recreate in the oppressive and suffocating climate of India, the beauty and freshness of the Timurid gardens he so much admired during his previous visits to Samarkand and Herat. The mosques and other buildings built between 1526 and 1530 were therefore the work of his nobles, with the exception of the mosque of Panipat which Bābur himself commissioned.

Neither was Humāyūn able to create a really individual dynastic style, due once again to the brevity of his reign, interrupted by his long exile and then by his death only six months after he returned to his country. His architectural activity therefore, like that of his nobles, presents characteristics similar to the preceding style of Lodi and more especially Sur's.

However, in the mosque of Kachpura, certainly ordered by Humāyūn, Asher points to some typically Timurid features, like the grand *pishtaq* in the centre of the façade of the prayer hall, which then became a constant characteristic of the great Mughal mosques and emblematic of the ideological-artistic choices of the dynasty.

Chapter three on Akbar's period (pp. 39-98) is, as one might expect, very full because besides examining all the numerous foundations of the sovereign, from the fortresses, cities, religious monuments (mausoleums, mosques, madrasahs, *dargahs*) to the civil ones (bridges, hammams, caravanserais, *kos minars*), it also takes into consideration the Hindu monuments the sovereign allowed the Rajput Princes, who entered his service, to build. Apart from duly mentioning one of the most important of these, Raja Man Singh of the Kachhwaha who promoted famous temples like Govind Deva at Brindavan and Jagat Shiromani at Amber, it goes on to cite all the buildings erected under the patronage of the principal nobles at court throughout western, northern and eastern India.

Chapter four (pp. 99-168), dedicated to Jahāngīr, is equally rich, but had been treated by Brown in a very concise manner. In fact it was believed that Jahāngīr, being far fonder of miniatures than of the art of building, had not given much importance to the latter. Asher shows to the contrary that both the Emperor and particularly Nur Jahān, his noble, cultured

and favourite wife, as well as his princes and most faithful nobles expended much energy on embellishing not only the great capitals like Agra, Lahore, Delhi, but also cities like Ajmer, Mandu, Ahmadabad, Srinagar and all of lower Kashmir, with palaces, mausoleums, pavilions, hunting lodges and marvellous gardens, of which there are still extensive remains. Much importance is given here to the building activity of the Rajput nobles who dedicated to Jahāngīr entire wings of their palaces, such as those of Orchha and Datia in Bundelkhand, in order to entertain him when he wished to honour them by visiting their territory. In reality, however, as Asher, on the basis of historical sources, states (cf. p. 162 and fn. 34), it appears that the Emperor considered the Feudal States of his Rajas either as his own property or the State's to the extent that at times the palaces of the Rajas were confiscated by the sovereign on even a slight pretext. Such was the case with the palace of Ram Das Kachhwaha, which Jahāngīr confiscated from its Hindu owner in 1612 because he was dissatisfied with his performance in battle.

Chapter five is dedicated to Shāh Jahān (pp. 169-251), whose reign traditional texts consider to be the most splendid of the Mughal era. Asher, on the contrary, appraises it as a time when the style lost its vitality and cristallised becoming '[...] increasingly ceremonial and formal' as never before in the foregoing Mughal period. However, Asher adds that the use of white marble inlaid with semi-precious stones which characterised much of the architectural production of Shāh Jahān's reign, and which had already been noticed during the last part of Jahāngīr's, gave to the edifices an aspect that was '[...] increasingly refined, establishing a style that became an Indian classic' (p. 169).

In contrast to other publications this work treats the famous mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal in the same way as all the other monuments, without giving it particular relief.

On the other hand we have already mentioned the importance Asher gives both to the period of Aurangzeb (pp. 252-91) and those of his successors: these are carefully re-examined and the esthetic judgement is supported by an equally detailed list of the monuments, many of which are studied here for the first time, correlated with precise documentation.

The closing chapter (pp. 292-334), besides treating the works of the last nominally Mughal rulers, deals with those of the dignitaries with a certain amount of influence at court (often the Chief Eunuchs, who nonetheless commissioned important works such as the *dargahs* of famous saints, or grand caravanserais). To these are added the constructions of the emerging Princes of Awadh (with the capitals of Faizabad and Lucknow, hybrid examples typical of the fusion with European architecture), and of the other centres in western and eastern India where British rule was later to be established.

In conclusion, we cannot but warmly praise this volume, so richly documented and illustrated, which in addition to filling the gap to which we have already referred, provides a number of new and original points on this extremely important period of Indian art and of Islamic art in general.

Bianca Maria Alfieri

Journal of Marine Archaeology, ed. by S.R. Rao, Society for Marine Archaeology, National Institute of Oceanography, Dona Paula, Goa: Vol. 1, January 1990, iv-120 pp.; Vol. 2, July 1991, iv-120 pp.; Vol. 3, July 1992, 92 pp.; half-tone illustrations and drawings in the text.

The Society for Marine Archaeology was founded in 1988 with the aim of undertaking research into the maritime history, shipping, trade and culture of the Indian Ocean countries. After only one lustre of activity, Dr S.R. Rao, President of the Society and Founder Editor of this Journal, can be legitimately proud of several important achievements — among them the regular sponsoring of the bi-annual Conferences, the first of which was held at Jamnagar in October 1987, prior to the foundation of the Society. Our readers perhaps remember that the proceedings of the Second Indian Conference on Marine Archaeology of Indian Ocean Countries, held at Bangalore in January 1990, co-sponsored by the Society for Marine Archaeology and the National Institute of Oceanography, were reviewed in this Journal (*EW*, 42, 1992, 2-4, pp. 534-36). The Third Conference was held at Dharwad in April 1992.

It is a pleasure for the Editors of *East and West* to draw their readers' attention to this young Journal, devoted to archaeology in its manifold connections with water — not only marine archaeology *stricto sensu* but also riverine archaeology, ancient sea-faring and trade, fishery, sea-deities and cults, etc.

Among the many useful contributions which are included in these first issues of the *Journal of Marine Archaeology*, the reports on the research carried out by Dr R.S. Rao and his team at Dwarka, Gujarat, certainly deserve special mention — S.R. Rao, 'Excavation of the legendary city of Dwaraka in the Arabian Sea' (vol. 1, pp. 59-98); L.N. Santhakumaran, 'Marine borer attack on the wreck of a wooden ship off Dwarka coast and the significance of such damage to archaeology' (vol. 1, pp. 99-102); O.P. Agrawal et al., 'Scientific and Technological Examination of some objects from Dwarka' (vol. 1, pp. 103-9); A.S. Gaur, 'Ceramic Industries of Dwarka' (vol. 1, pp. 110-13); K.H. Vora et al., 'Offshore Extension of Gomati River, Dwarka' (vol. 2, pp. 32-38); S.R. Rao & A.S. Gaur, 'Excavation at Bet Dwarka' (vol. 3, pp. 42-47).

We are particularly grateful to Dr Rao and his collaborators both for what they have already achieved and for their planned activities and authoritative recommendations to the governments concerned, such as those regarding the regular training of experts in the field of marine archaeology, the modification of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act in order to regulate underwater excavation, the cooperation between India and Sri Lanka in retrieving the Buddhist sculptures from Bharhut which sank in Sri Lankan waters in 1885, etc. (vol. 1, 'Editorial').

We wish the Society for Marine Archaeology and the *Journal of Marine Archaeology* may prosper in the years to come.

Maurizio Taddei



CHINESE STUDIES

Cho Kyo (Zhang Jing), *Koi no chūgoku bunmei shi* (History of Chinese Civilization Concern-

ing Love), Chikuma Raiburari, Tokyo 1993, 290 pp.

The author, Zhang Jing, was born in Shanghai in 1953 and went to Japan after completing his studies. He obtained a doctorate in comparative literature and culture at the University of Tokyo with a thesis on 'Love and emotions in Chinese civilization'.

The title, *History of Chinese Civilization Concerning Love*, is very attractive but a little misleading. The fact that the history in question is concerned with the literature of love rather than life and sexual mores or philosophical reflection on the concept of love is revealed only in the presentation on the dust-jacket and the introductory notes. Moreover, 'love' is to be understood as a medium for exchanges between the Han and other ethnic groups.

After a brief examination of some terms related to the concept of 'love' (pp. 7-13), the introductory chapter presents the perspective orienting the work as a whole: the evolution of the concept of love between the two sexes in Chinese literature through the complexity and evolution of the so-called Han culture and above all through the interweaving of the various peripheral minority cultures both with Han culture and with one another. The historical references focus largely on the cultural contacts and contrasts and the ethnic intermingling occurring in the course of Chinese history. The stress laid on this point also constitutes one of the work's novel aspects and more than a fifth of the text (cf. pp. 13-24, 43-52, 79-85, 133-36, 151-57, 158-66, 174-81, 197-200, 234-48) is devoted to the influence of interaction between minorities and nationalities in Chinese history, revealing the author's particular interest in anthropological aspects.

The documentation examined is of a predominantly literary character with many historical references. Despite its character as a popularizing work aimed at the Japanese reader — the European reader could well be puzzled to find some problems presented by focusing solely on a few themes and works regarded as the most significant — the book deserves attention for raising a series of stimulating points and introducing new perspectives.

The author has succeeded in his difficult

attempt to combine thematic division of content with a diachronic overall approach. Taking as its starting point a few quotations from the 'Classic of Odes' and from dynastic histories, the first chapter thus outlines the importance of the family and of match-makers in matrimonial choice from antiquity on (pp. 27-43). The second chapter (pp. 53-76) is devoted entirely to the concept of *Chuci* and to southern mores, while the third discusses love in the fantastic tales of the 3rd-6th centuries as well as the customs of the northern peoples and their evolution after emigration towards the south (pp. 86-104). Under the title 'The beautiful foreign courtesans', the 4th chapter (pp. 105-38) describes the life of the Chinese and foreign courtesans, actresses and female musicians at the Tang capital, largely on the basis of literary references. The 5th chapter presents a number of Song works and some erotic texts (pp. 139-57), while the 6th outlines the different marriage customs of the various communities during the Mongol domination through a reading of historical sources and of the most famous dramatic works of the time (pp. 167-96). The 'talent and beauty' genre is seen as a compromise between Confucian aspirations and the maintaining of a certain sexual freedom (p. 186). In the 7th chapter, which examines eroticism in Ming literature (pp. 197-224), the author seeks to explain the meaning of the various forms of carnal union and goes on to discuss the development of erotic fiction (pp. 204-6) in the light of Matteo Ricci's comments on the extent to which adultery and prostitution were practised in China at the time. The last two chapters are concerned respectively with the new sensibility represented by the *Dream of the Red Chamber* and the role of Manchu influences in the course of the last dynasty (225-48), and the rediscovery of love in 20th century China (pp. 249-76).

The work also contains 10 illustrations, a number of maps, a bibliographic list and a chronological outline showing the dynasties, their ethnic origins and the major literary works referred to.

Paolo Santangelo

Martin Kern, *Zum Topos 'Zimbaum' in der chinesischen Literatur. Rhetorische Funktion*

und poetischer Eigenwert des Naturbildes kwei,
Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1994, 168 pp.

As the eighteenth volume in the *Sinologica Coloniensia* directed by Martin Gimm, this interesting essay has appeared on the subject of a *topos* frequent in Chinese literature, i.e. the cinnamon tree (*kwei*) *topos*. In the first two chapters the author tackles the problem of the use of the *topos* in Chinese literature, particularly in the poetry: the *kwei*, an aromatic plant of the south, becomes paradigm of an exotic nobility. The third chapter is dedicated to examination of the *kwei topos* in southern poetry, i.e. the *Cb'u-tz'u*. During the Han dynasty the *kwei* influenced the court culture, art and literary life. For the Taoists, however, the *kwei* was also a magic symbol, elixir of immortality; thus it appears in both the oldest pharmacological literature and the Taoist hagiographies. The author also points up the recurrence of the *kwei* in the poetry of Ts'ao Ch'ih (192-232). Again, the *kwei* was fondly imagined to exist on the moon — a poetic image that recurs frequently in the subsequent Chinese literature. Finally, the author examines the diffusion of the *kwei topos* also in Buddhist literature, especially in the T'ang period. Kern's volume can be recommended to students of literature and religion alike.

Lionello Lanciotti

Hans van Ess, *Politik und Gelehrsamkeit in der Zeit der Han (202 v. Chr.-220 n. Chr.). Die Alttext/Neutext-Kontroverse*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1993, XVII-338 pp.

This volume on politics and erudition in the Han dynasty examines one of the most interesting issues of a period which saw the creation of the canon of the five Confucian classics, the reconstruction of the texts lost in the *auto da fé* of 213 B.C., the founding of the schools and a wealth of commentaries on the classic texts. The burning question for the scholars of the period was, however, the controversy between the schools of the old text and the new text. This detailed discussion of all the principal representatives of Han thought and literature is not confined to the role of the literary sphere but encompasses the major political events of the time, including the

expansionist policy of Emperor Wu, the reforms of Wang Mang and the reforms introduced with respect to rites, to offerings connected with the official state religion and to the imperial temple of the ancestors as well as the construction of the Ming-t'ang. A rich and complex work which casts new light on the Han period and should be read by all those interested in studying this dynasty in terms of such varied topics as philology, politics and philosophy as well as the history of institutions and religion.

Lionello Lanciotti

Guo Ruoxu, *Notes sur ce que j'ai vu et entendu en peinture. Traduit du chinois et présenté par Yolaine Escande*, La lettre volée, Brussels 1994, 205 pp.

Previously no translation from the Chinese into French had existed of *T'u-hua chien-wen chih* (or Record of the paintings I have seen or heard of) by Kuo Jo-hsü (fl. 1070-1080). A.C. Soper published an English translation with the Chinese text in facsimile, entitled *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting* (Washington 1951), while Lin Yutang presented a few selected extracts in his book on *The Chinese Theory of Art* (London 1967).

As we all know, Kuo Jo-hsü's work is one of the most important texts on the aesthetic theory of Chinese painting, dating back to the Sung period. The volume under review has come out in the excellent series of 'Documents sur l'art' directed by Philippe Sers with a very brief introduction by François Cheng to present the translator, while Ms. Escande herself introduces her translation with a comprehensive, scholarly presentation of the work. The translated text is amply annotated but not, however, complete. In fact, only the first chapter on aesthetic theory is given in full, while only the most important of the 383 — no less — biographies of Chinese painters forming chapters II, III and IV are translated. Again, of the anecdotes about early painters narrated in the last two chapters, the translator gives only those offering some historical or aesthetic interest. Fine reproductions of Chinese paintings, a glossary and an accurate index complete this handsome volume.

Lionello Lanciotti

Hok-lam Chan, *The Fall of the Jurchen Chin. Wang E's Memoir on Ts'ai-Chou under the Mongol Siege (1233-1234)*, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart 1993, ix-181 pp.

The Jurchen, who adopted the Chinese name Chin in 1115 and soon afterwards extended their rule to the whole of northern China, had five capital cities, the most important of which was Yen-ching, present-day Peking, where the Emperor resided from 1153 on. As a result of Mongol attacks, however, the Chin were forced to move their capital to K'ai-feng in 1214. Having occupied Peking, Gengis Khan showed no interest in completely wiping out the Chin and a temporary truce was granted on his death in 1227. Ogödei, Gengis Khan's third son, resumed the war and conquered K'ai-feng. The last Chin sovereign took refuge at Ts'ai-chou, a city in the southernmost portion of the country. Against the background of these well-known facts, the Mongol siege and conquest of this last stronghold are examined by Hok-lam Chan in the 66th volume of the *Münchener Ostasiatische Studien*.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first is devoted to the life and career of Wang E, while the second includes an introduction to and translation of the *Ju-nan i-shih*, a work edited by him. Wang E (1190-1273) witnessed a change of dynasty. After brilliantly passing the civil service examinations under Ai-trung, the last Chin sovereign, in 1233 he was assigned an important position in the Presidential Council by the ruler himself. Taken prisoner by the Mongols, Wang E was luckier than the other Chinese intellectuals who had served the Chin court. He continued his studies and devoted his energies to compiling the *Ju-nan i-shih* (*Reminiscences of Ju-nan*). When invited to Qara Qorum in 1244 by Qubilai, Wang E proposed to the emperor that a history of the defeated dynasty should be written.

The first part of the book deals with Wang E's life and contribution to Chinese historiography and stresses his importance in the 'political and intellectual milieu of the period'. The second presents a translation of the text based on a manuscript copy from the *Ssu-k'ü* collection. As Hok-lam Chan points out, the work 'was primarily based on a diary that he kept as an

eyewitness to the Mongol onslaught at Ts'ai and on his later recollections' (p. 10).

The volume, furnished with appendices on the chronology of the Chin sovereigns, a conversion table of Jurchen orthography in various editions of the translated text, a glossary, an ample bibliography and a carefully prepared index, is a model of historiographical research.

Lionello Lanciotti

Linda Cooke Johnson, ed., *Cities of Jiangnan in Late Imperial China*, State University of New York Press, Albany 1993, XII-310 pp.

This urban history of the Lower Yangtzu region is the joint work of six authors. The T'ang dynasty term Chiang-nan ('South of the River') was revived at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty and fell back into disuse during the reign of K'ang-hsi. The work stems from a panel on the urban history of the region held in Washington in 1989 and includes further contributions. The introduction by William T. Rowe discusses the relations between city and hinterland (pp. 1-15) and Michael Marmé's examination of the rise of Suchow from 1127 to 1550 (pp. 17-46) tells the story of how the 'land of rice and fish' came to be known as 'heaven on earth' over a period beginning in and extending beyond the Sung dynasty. Rowe rightly describes Suchow as 'the only large premodern city which subsidized the state rather than being subsidized by it' (p. 44). Susumu Fuma's discussion of late Ming urban reform and the popular uprising in Hangchow (pp. 47-80) examines the problems, disparity in the treatment of different social groups and resulting conflict caused by the rise in population due to immigration from the countryside. Paolo Santangelo's examination of urban society in late imperial Suchow (pp. 81-116) picks up and develops the topic discussed by Marmé, providing a thorough analysis of the rise of the textile industry, the imperial factories, the merchants and their guilds followed by detailed examination of the term *chi-bu* (literally 'textile families') originally applied to a group of families initially assigned to task of producing textiles in the imperial factories. The essay closes with a discussion of the social conflicts — leading at

times to rioting and revolts on the part of the textile workers — and the status of the 'outsiders', generally the object of suspicion. Antonia Finnane focusses on the city of Yangchow, which she rightly describes as a central point in the Ch'ing empire (pp. 117-50). Linda Cooke Johnson, the editor, deals with Shanghai in the period stretching from 1683 to 1840 (pp. 151-82), i.e. from K'ang-hsi's revocation of a number of prohibitions dating from the Ming dynasty which had blocked the city's development at the time it was made open to the western powers (1843).

This very useful volume, furnished with ample notes, a precise glossary and an exhaustive bibliography, may be regarded to some extent as a complement to *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner, 1977. The geographically restricted focus is also a positive factor in that, as Skinner points out, this one region contained both small market towns with under one hundred families and cities with over a million inhabitants.

Lionello Lanciotti

Marion Eggert, *Rede von Traum. Traumauffassungen der Literatenschicht im späten kaiserlichen China*, Franz Steiner, Stuttgart, 1993, 292 pp.

The question of dreams in China has been addressed over the last few decades by a number of sinologists including W. Eberhard, M. Soyumié, R. Ong, M. Strickmann, M. Lockner and the author of the work under review, the 64th volume of the *Münchener Ostasiatische Studien*. Marion Eggert's very thorough study can be regarded as the most exhaustive treatment to appear so far. It begins by examining the dreams documented in the earliest Chinese texts and the attempts made at their classification and interpretation, ranging from the first thinkers to address the problem (Lieh-tzu and Wang Ch'ung, to mention but two) to writers of the late imperial period. The most important part of the volume is, however, the section concerned with dreams in narrative literature and particularly in three works: the drama *Mu-tan-f'ing* (The Peony Pavilion) and the novels *Hsi-yu pu* and *Hung-lou meng*. The appendix contains a translation of two

short essays on dreams by Tung Yüeh, the author of *Hsi-yu pu*, and a very ample bibliography of Chinese and Western works is evidence the author's thorough documentation. The latter could be improved by the addition of the translation and philological comment on *Hsi-yu pu* by Paolo Santangelo (Dong yue, *Il sogno dello scimmietto*, Venexia 1992), the first Italian author to deal with this author and with the problem of dreams. Readers will find Maion Eggert's work very useful.

Lionello Lanciotti

Noel Golvers, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687). Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries*, Steyler Verlag, Nettetal 1993, 547 pp.

The Belgian Jesuit missionary Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) succeeded Father Adam Schall S.J. in the mission to China. A mathematician and astronomer, Verbiest argued that the West surpassed China in astronomy. His *Astronomia Europaea*, written above all with political and ecclesiastic leaders of the west in mind as well as all Jesuits, was published in Dillingen a year before Verbiest's death. In this edition the Latin text is given in an English translation complete with a wealth of critical notes and — of a certain importance — a list of Latin neologisms regarding astronomy. Altogether, this work makes a significant contribution to our scientific knowledge of a famous missionary.

Lionello Lanciotti



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